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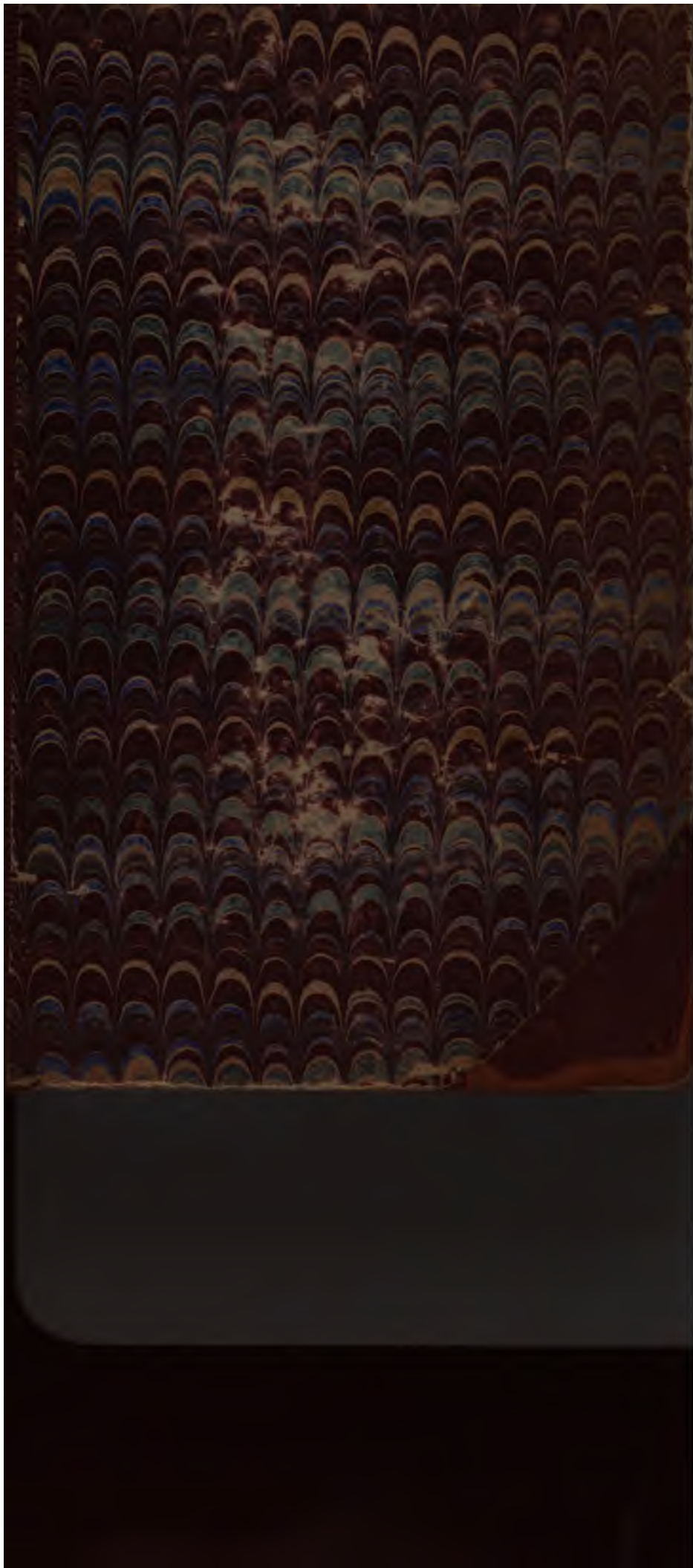
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"Let us all consider the history and declarations of the great parties, and thoughtfully conclude which is more likely to promote the general interests of our people."—*Benjamin Harrison.*

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THE  
**REPUBLICAN**  
**CAMPAIGN TEXT-BOOK**  
FOR  
**1888.**

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BY  
**GEORGE FRANCIS DAWSON,**  
LATE LIBRARIAN OF THE U. S. SENATE; COMPILER OF THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN  
TEXT BOOKS FOR 1878, 1880, AND 1884.

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**REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE**  
BY  
**BRENTANO'S,**  
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## WORDS OF WEIGHT.

### ONE SIDE.

"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of officeholders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize government for the people."—*President Cleveland's Letter of Acceptance, 1884.*

"My friends, you will never have any genuine reform in the Civil Service until you adopt the one-term principle in reference to the Presidency. So long as the incumbent can hope for a second term, he will use the immense patronage of the Government to procure his renomination and secure his re-election."—*Allen G. Thurman, 1872.*

"We are confronted with the Democratic party, very hungry, and, as you may well believe, very thirsty; a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct national policy which it dares to present to the country; a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils."—*George William Curtis, 1884.*

"When is the suction to close? When are we to see the last and final bid, a service pension to every man who served in the Federal Army during the war? The proposition comes here now to pay a pension of one cent a day for the term of service. . . . I say here, now, that I hope it may die the death in the other branch of the national Congress, and if not there, at the hands of the Executive."—*Senator George Vest, 1888.*

"What is labor? . . . Labor is as much a commodity, selling in the market, as the materials to be worked up."—*Representative William D. Bynum, 1888.*

These four words pauper labor of Europe have cost the tax-payers of the United States hundreds of millions of dollars. . . . I believe in the doctrine that we should be permitted to hire where we can hire cheapest. . . . I am not in favor of prohibiting the immigration of contract labor."—*Representative John J. Hemphill, 1888.*

### THE OTHER.

"The gates of Castle Garden swing inward. These men who have toiled at wages in other lands, barely sustained life, and opened no avenue of profit to them or their children, know the good land of America as well as the swallow knows the land of summer. They testify that here there are better conditions, wider and more hopeful prospects for workmen, than in any other land."—*Benjamin Harrison, 1888.*

"The more work there is to do in this country, the higher the wages that will be paid for doing it. The policy which secures the largest amount of work to be done is the policy which will secure to our laboring men the best employment at the best wages. A policy which will work from our mines and factories to foreign markets, and foreign factories inevitably tends to the depression of wages here."—*Benjamin Harrison, 1888.*

"The Protectionist claims that his theory of revenue serves the newer nations from being devoured by the older, and offers to human labor a shield against the exacting competition of foreign capital."—*James G. Blaine, 1884.*

"It is better to trust those who are tried, than to trust those who pretend."—*John A. Logan, 1878.*

"Labor has that in it which cannot be bought or sold. The labor of man is civilization; it is advancement; it is the upward trend of humanity. . . . In whatever field labor is exercised, it is, and must be, the grandest material force."—*Senator O. H. Platt, 1888.*

"I believe in the old Bible doctrine that 'he who sows to the flesh shall also reap to the flesh,' and that 'he who sows to the Spirit shall also reap to the Spirit.' . . . I believe that the man who sows to the Spirit shall also reap to the Spirit."—*Representative Nathan Goff, 1888.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### National Platforms—1888.

#### PART I.

##### Republican \*—1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished!

We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican Party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completes the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of Home Rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution, and the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot, and the just and equal representation of all the people, to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of public authority. We charge that the present Administration

and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of Protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The Protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic Party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican Party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue, by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our Protective System at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of

\* Adopted unanimously, by a standing vote, at Chicago, June 21, 1888.



trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not aliens—which the Republican Party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic Party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress, about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican Party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers titles to their homesteads and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity, only to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves Constitutions and State Governments and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the act of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican Party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the

admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican Party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end, to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant; where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence, which is to preserve us as a free Nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people, and the purity of the home. The Republican Party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress on the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our Navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of National importance in the improvement of harbors, and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be

far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America, and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and of our National influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing-vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing-vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry, and an indispensable source of defence against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights, it should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican Party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic Party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom or purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the Civil Service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the Civil Service auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be

observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the Free Trade policy of the present Administration.

## PART II.

### Democratic \* — 1888.

The Democratic Party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation. Among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of the indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution strictly specifying every granted power, and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

The Democratic Party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which, four years ago, was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States, but it challenges the most searching

\* Agreed to, unanimously, at St. Louis, June 7, 1888.

inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people during a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured. It has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only avoided disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of our people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly one hundred millions of acres of land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interest of the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period. It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government, and the people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provision of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control, the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record, thus exhibited, and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of Democracy, it invokes a renewal of public trust by the reelection of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent, and invokes, in addition to that trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican Party controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war, and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law, and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretence, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended or repealed.

The Democratic Party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people. Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything

they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed, when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican Party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense, and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurances of an extended market and steady and continuous operations in the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected. Revision of our tax laws, contemplated by the Democratic Party, should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic Party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

#### Additional Resolutions.\*

*"Resolved,* That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.†

*"Resolved,* That we express our cordial

\* A resolution was adopted declaring for the admission of the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico into the Union.

† "Adopted, amid loud applause."

sympathy with struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the effort of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home-rule in Ireland."

## CHAPTER II.

### National Platform Analysis, 1840-1888.

#### PART I.

##### General Party Doctrines.

###### Republican.

**1843** — [The "Liberty Party," in National Convention at Buffalo, declared:—

That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true Democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it can be truly Democratic or permanent.

That the Liberty Party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights, among men, in every State where the party exists, or may exist.]

**1856** — That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union, to the States shall be preserved; that, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction. [Plank 1.

**1860** — That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved. [Plank 2.

**1864** —

**1868** —

###### Democratic.

**1840** — That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the *asylum of the oppressed* of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

**1844** — Reaffirmed.

**1848** — Reaffirmed.

**1852** — Reaffirmed.

**1856** — Reaffirmed.

**1860** — Reaffirmed.

**1864** —

**1868** —

**1872** — Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal Legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude. [Plank 3.]

**1876** — *The United States of America is a Nation, not a League.* By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

**1880** — *The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract.* Out of confederate States it made a sovereign Nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal. [Cheers.] [Plank 2.]

**1884** — *The PEOPLE of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States.* The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

**1888** — In the spirit of those great leaders,\* and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican Party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completes the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution, and the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union. . .

**1872** — We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political. [Plank 1.]

**1876** —

**1880** — Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. [Plank 2.]

**1884** — The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

**1888** — The Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1854. . . . Among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of the indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

## PART II.

### The Rebellion.

#### Republican.

**1864** — That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and, that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes, the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor, to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions. [1st and 2d resolutions.]

**1888** — We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution, and the indissoluble Union of the States. . .

#### Democratic.

**1864** — That this convention does *explicitly declare*, as the sense of the American people, that, *after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war*, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity of war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that *immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities*, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States. [1st resolution.]

**1888** — Among its (the Democratic Party's) principles of party faith are the maintenance of the indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown. . . .

\* Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Logan, Conkling, and Philip H. Sheridan.

### PART III. Reconstruction.

#### Republican.

**1868**—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy. [Plank 1.]

The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States. [Plank 2.]

That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people. [Plank 3.]

**1888**—[See Part II., "The Rebellion."]

#### Democratic.

**1868**— . . . We regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. . . .

**1888**—[See Part II., "The Rebellion."]

### PART IV.

#### Home Rule, A Free Ballot, and Honest Returns.

##### Republican.

**1856**— . . . The dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment. [Plank 3.]

**1860**—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes. [Plank 4.]

##### Democratic.

**1856**—That we recognize the right of the people in all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and wherever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution . . . and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

**1860**—That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery. [Plank 3, Breckinridge, Dem.]

**1872** — Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal Legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude. [Plank 3.]

**1876** — *The United States of America is a Nation, not a League.* By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

**1880** — *The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract.* Out of confederate States it made a sovereign Nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal. [Cheers.] [Plank 2.]

**1884** — *The PEOPLE of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States.* The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

**1888** — In the spirit of those great leaders,\* and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican Party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completes the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

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**1888** — The Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884. . . . Among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of the indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

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That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor, to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions. [1st and 2d resolutions.]

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### PART III. Reconstruction.

#### Republican.

**1868**—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy. [Plank 1.]

The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States. [Plank 2.]

That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people. [Plank 3.]

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**1888**—[See Part II., "The Rebellion."]

### PART IV.

#### Home Rule, A Free Ballot, and Honest Returns.

##### Republican.

**1856**— . . . The dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment. [Plank 3.]

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**1856**—That we recognize the right of the people in all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and wherever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution . . . and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

**1860**—That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery. [Plank 3, Breckinridge, Dem.]

## 1864 —

**1868** — We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

## 1868 —

**1868** — After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it [the Republican party] has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a battle; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. . . . Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

**1872** — We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

[Plank 12.]

## 1880 —

**1884** — *Resolved*, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and a correct return.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic Party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic Party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

**1888**. — We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home-rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unwavering devotion . . . to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elec-

**1872** — Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

[Plank 4.]

**1880** — . . . "Home Rule."

[Plank 3.]

**1884** — The selection of Federal officers for the Territory should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion — religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count. . . .

**1888** — Reaffirmed.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control, the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record, thus exhibited, and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of Democracy, it invokes a renewal of public trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent, and invokes, in addition to that trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

tions, which are the fountains of public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves Constitutions and State governments and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the act of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican Party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

That we express our cordial sympathy with struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home-rule in Ireland. — [Additional Resolution.]

## PART V.

### The Veto Power — Protection of Voters.

#### Republican.

1856 —  
1860 —  
1864 —  
1868 —  
1872 —  
1876 —

1880 — . . . History will accord to his [President Hayes'] administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and *will honor his vetoes* interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

1884 — [See Part IV. as to necessity for securing honest "Home Rule" in the South.]

#### Democratic.

1844 — That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill, whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American People from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

1848 — Reaffirmed with the addition, after the words "United States," of the words "and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements."

1852 — Resolution of 1848 reaffirmed.

1856 — Reaffirmed.

1860 — Reaffirmed.

1864 —

1868 —

1872 —

1876 —

1880 — The existing Administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

1884 — . . . We recall to the memory \* of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the

[Plank 1.

\* A most unsavory "memory" to the people. The "noble" struggle referred to was that of the Southern Brigadiers, who, as General Garfield said, after failing to "shoot the Government to death," attempted to "starve it to death," by forcing obnoxious political "riders" upon general appropriation bills in order to enable the Democracy to keep the South "solid" by the exercise of intimidation and frauds at the ballot-box. It was this "noble struggle" that brought overwhelming defeat to the Democrats in the election of 1880; that made Gen. Garfield, who resisted it, President of the United States; and that largely contributed to make Mr. Blaine, who so gallantly met and overthrew the Brigadiers in both Houses, the popular nominee of the Republican Party for the same high office in 1884. It was a "noble" struggle to revolutionize the Government, which, through the patriotic efforts of such men as Blaine, Logan, and Garfield, utterly failed.

**1868** — We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief. . . .  
[See Part IV. as to "Protection to Voters."]

Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

**1868** — Reaffirmed.  
. . . The equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

## PART VI.

### Pensions — Duty to Union Soldiers and Sailors.

#### Republican.

**1864** — That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defence of the country, and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. [Plank 4.]

**1868** — Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of their country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people — a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's care. [Plank 10.]

**1872** — We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge. [Plank 8.]

**1876** — The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance. [Plank 14.]

**1880** — That the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

**1884** — The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican Party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of the application.

**1888** — The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for

#### Democratic.

**1864** — That the sympathy of the Democratic Party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic so nobly earned. [Plank 6.]

**1868** — . . . That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

**1872** — We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism. [Plank 9.]

**1876** — . . . The soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens. [Last resolution.]

**1880** —

**1884** — The system of direct taxation, known as "internal revenue," is a war tax, and *so long as the law continues* the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers; a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

**1888** — Reaffirmed.  
While carefully guarding the interest of the principles of justice and equity, it [the Democratic Party] has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

... We demand appropriations . . . for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers. . . .

## PART VII.

### Tariff, Internal Revenue, and Trusts.

#### Republican.

**1844** — [The Whig National Platform declared for:—

A Tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and *discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country.*]

**1852** — [The Whig National Platform repetitiously declared that:

Government should be conducted on principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time, ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and on laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, and when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country; an economical administration of the Government in time of peace, ought to be derived from duties on imports, and not from direct taxation; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, whereby suit-

#### Democratic.

**1840** — That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country.

That . . . no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

**1844** — Reaffirmed.

**1848** — That . . . no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union . . . in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved. . . .\*

That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union, in the principles, capacity, firmness and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, . . . and assure him in advance, that at the expiration of his Presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement, the esteem, respect, and admiration of a grateful country.

**1852** — That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country. . . .

That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

\* The entire "plank" is in these words:—

*Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a National Bank, in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the Land Proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes, in protecting the currency and Labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations; and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty."

able encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes, and to all parts of the country.]

1856 —

1860 — That, while providing revenue for the support of the general Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence. [Plank 12.]

1864 —  
1868 —

1872 — . . . Revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country. [Plank 7.]

1876 — The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which so far as possible should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country. [Plank 8.]

1880 — Reaffirmed.

1884 — It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

1856 — Re-affirmed; and this plank also adopted: That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. *The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free trade and progressive Free Trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.*

1860 — Reaffirmed.

[The eighth section of the Confederate Constitution contained these words:—

SECT. 8. Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounty shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duty or tax on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.]

1864 —

1868 — . . . A tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country. [Plank 6.]

1872 — . . . Recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, *wholly free from executive interference or dictation.* [Plank 6.]

1876 — . . . We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue. [Plank 11.]

1880 — . . . A tariff for revenue only. [Plank 3.]

1884 — The Democracy pledges itself to . . . reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic Party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must at every step be regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject to the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

*All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government.* The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that *the tariff shall be so revised as to place the public treasury at least on a footing commensurate with the needs of the Government economically administered.*

**1888.** — We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of Protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic Party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican Party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our Protective System at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

... We protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards. [See Part VIII.]

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the war continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

Instead of the Republican Party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

**1888.** — Reaffirmed.

The Democratic Party of the United States in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

The Republican Party controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law, and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretence, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended or repealed.

The Democratic Party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people. Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed, when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense, and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurances of an extended market and steady and con-



able encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes, and to all parts of the country.]

1856 —

1860 — That, while providing revenue for the support of the general Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence. [Plank 12.]

1864 —  
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We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that *Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.*

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and *so long as the war continues* the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

Instead of the Republican Party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

**1888.** — We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of Protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic Party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican Party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our Protective System at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

... We protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards. [See Part VIII.]

**1888.** — Reaffirmed.

The Democratic Party of the United States in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

The Republican Party controlling the Senate and resting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law, and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretence, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended or repealed.

The Democratic Party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people. Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed, when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense, and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and con-

tinuous operations in the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected. Revision of our tax laws, contemplated by the Democratic party, should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman and at the same time securing to him steady remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

[ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION.] That this Convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill \* for the reduction of the revenue, now pending in the House of Representatives.

## PART VIII.

### Capital and Labor.

#### Republican.

1868 —

1872 — Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican Party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization. [Plank 11.]

1880 — [See Part VII. for re-affirmation of Tariff Plank of 1876 as to protection to American labor.]

1884 — We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and . . . protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. [See also Parts VII. and IX.]

1888 — We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress on the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our Navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, of coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks." [See also Part IX. "The Chinese."] \*

\* The Mills Free-trade bill.

† And manifested its friendship by cutting down to starvation rates the pay of poor Department laborers, both male and female; by perpetual tariff-tinkering; by systems of peonage in the South; and by all other possible means.

#### Democratic.

1868 — *Resolved*, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

1872 —

1880 — The Democratic Party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.† [Plank 13.]

1884 — We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor. [See also Parts VII. and IX.]

1888 — Re-affirmed.

Debauched by this immense temptation [the surplus in the Treasury] the remedy of the Republican Party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense, and abolish unnecessary taxation. [See also Part VII., "Tariff, Internal Revenue, and Trusts," and Part IX., "The Chinese."]

... In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workmen whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the Free Trade policy of the present Administration.

## PART IX.

### The Chinese.

#### Republican.

**1876**—It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country. [Plank 11.\*]

**1880**—Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result. [Plank 6.]

**1884**—The Republican Party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

**1888**—We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

#### Democratic.

**1876**—Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

**1880**—Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded. [Plank 11.]

**1884**—In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores, our gates be closed.

**1888**—Reaffirmed.  
The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provision of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

## PART X.

### Education.

#### Republican.

**1876**—The public-school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control. [Plank 4.]

\* The Republican was the first political party to recognize the Chinese question as one of national importance, by the declaration in its platform of 1876, the subsequently adopted Democratic plank on the subject being simply a demagogical bid for votes.

† "Cherished" by outraging, violently expelling, or murdering school-teachers, and burning school-houses. In the South, prior to the war, common schools for the education of the people were contemptuously styled "free" schools, and their pupils regarded as an inferior caste, on an equality with free "niggers"!

#### Democratic.

**1876**—The false issue with which they [the Republicans] would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic Party has cherished from their foundation,† and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or

**1872** — . . . The Pacific railroad and other similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers. . . .

We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

**1876** — We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

**1880** — . . . No further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation . . . further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease.

**1884** — The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general Government, and the Republican Party distinctly announces its purposes to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways, alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

**1888** — The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic Party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican Party in the original grants.

. . . This policy [of appropriations demanded for various purposes, — see Part VIII., "Capital and Labor"] will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and *cheapen the cost of transportation*. . . .

**1872** — We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

**1876** — Reform is necessary to put a stop to the prodigate waste of public lands.

**1880** —

**1884** — While we favor all legislation that will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

**1888** — Reaffirmed.

It [the Democratic Party] has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 of acres of land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.\*

## PART XIII.

### Internal Improvements — National Defences.

#### Republican.

**1852** — [The Whig National Convention declared that —

The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, — said improvements being, in every instance, national and general in their character.

#### Democratic.

**1840** — That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence or carry on a general system of internal improvement.

That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

**1844** — Reaffirmed.

**1848** — Reaffirmed. [See also Part V., touching veto of "a corrupting system of general internal improvements."]

**1852** — Reaffirmed.

\* See, also, Part XI., "Public Lands and Free Homesteads."

**1856** — That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

[Plank 7.]

**1860** — That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

[Plank 15.]

**1864** —

**1868** —

**1872** —

**1876** —

**1880** — . . . That we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease.

**1884** — . . . We favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation.

**1888** — We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our Navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordinance, and other approved modern means of defence, for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; . . . for necessary works of national importance, in the improvement of harbors, and the channels of internal, of coastwise, and foreign commerce. . . . We affirm this to be far better policy for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

**1856** — That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.\* [Plank 2.]

**1860** — Reaffirmed.

**1864** —

**1868** —

**1872** —

**1876** —

**1880** — Plank 2 of 1856 reaffirmed.\*

**1884** — The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

**1888** — Reaffirmed.

## PART XIV.

### Foreign Relations.

#### Republican.

**1856** —

**1860** —

**1864** — That we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of

#### Democratic.

**1856** — *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this Continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

**1860** —

**1864** —

\* Yet the River and Harbor Bill of 1876 was a Democratic measure, concerning which the following message was sent by President Grant to the Democratic House: —

"To the House of Representatives: —

"In affixing my name to the River and Harbor Bill, No. 3822, I deem it my duty to announce to the House of Representatives my objections to some features of the bill, and the reason I sign it. If it was obligatory upon the Executive to expend all the money appropriated by Congress, I should return the River and Harbor Bill with my objections, notwithstanding the great inconvenience to the public interests resulting therefrom, and the loss of expenditures from previous Congresses upon incomplete works. Without enumerating, many appropriations are made for works of purely private or local interests in no sense national. I cannot give my sanction to these, and will take care that during my term of office no public money shall be expended upon them.

"There is very great necessity for economy of expenditures at this time, growing out of the loss of revenue likely to arise from a deficiency of appropriations to insure a thorough collection of the same. The reduction of revenue districts, diminution of special agents, and total abolition of supervisors, may result in great falling off of the revenue. It may be a question to consider whether any expenditure can be authorized under the river and harbor appropriation further than to protect works already done and paid for. Under no circumstances will I allow expenditures upon works not clearly national.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Aug. 14, 1877.

U. S. GRANT."

The River and Harbor Bill of 1882, concerning which opinions vary, was passed over President Arthur's veto mainly by the Democratic votes in both Houses of Congress. The River and Harbor Bill of 1884, originating in and passing the Democratic House, was also a Democratic measure; so, also, the River and Harbor Bill of 1888, which President Cleveland lacked the courage either to approve or disapprove, and which became a law without his signature. It may, therefore, fairly be said that the views of Democracy concerning the alleged unconstitutionality of "a general system of internal improvements" have, since 1856, undergone an entire and radical change, or that they have not "the courage of their convictions."

any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

1868 —

1872 — . . . Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the Nation kept in high respect throughout the world. . . . This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge of the future.

1876 —

1880 —

1884 — . . . We favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican Party favor a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

1888 — The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America, and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and of our National influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific Territory, with South America and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1850, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry and an indispensable source of defense against a foreign enemy.

1868 — . . . The Democratic Party . . . demand . . . the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign persons, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights. . . .

1872 — We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendship of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right, or to submit to what is wrong.

1876 —

1880 —

1884 — We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California,\* and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone; and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

1888 — Reaffirmed.

. . . It [the Democratic Party] has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and the people at home and abroad.

## PART XV.

### Naturalization, Allegiance, and Protection to Citizens Abroad.

#### Republican.

1860 — The Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto

#### Democratic.

1860 — That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his

\* It had been hitherto supposed that California was the fruit of conquest — not of "purchase alone."

accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the right of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both home and abroad. [Plank 14.]

1864 —

1868 — The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf. [Plank 9.]

1872 — The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance — "once a subject always a subject" — *having at last, through the efforts of the Republican Party, been abandoned*, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration. [Plank 9.]

1876 — It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born, and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose. [Plank 10.]

1880 — . . . Everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. [Plank 5.]

1884 — We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

1888 — The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home and follow and protect him abroad in whatever and he may be on a lawful errand.

rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens. [Plank 6.]

1864 —

1868 — Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction. [Plank 8.]

1872 —

1876 —

1880 —

1884 — The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad. . . . It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

1888 — Reaffirmed.

The Democratic party . . . challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then [1884] invited the suffrages of the people . . .

## PART XVI.

### Polygamy.

#### Republican.

1856 — That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

1860 —

1864 —

1868 —

1872 —

#### Democratic.

1856 —

1860 —

1864 —

1868 —

1872 —



**1876**—The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end, and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

**1880**—We re-affirm the belief avowed in 1876, that . . . slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories. . . .

**1884**—*Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

**1888**—The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican Party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned. And in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books, legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

**1876**— . . . in the \* total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom . . .

**1880**— . . . \* separation of Church and State, for the good of each . . .

**1884**— . . . we favor . . . \* the separation of Church and State . . .

**1888**—Re-affirmed.

## PART XVII.

### Civil Service.

#### Republican.

**1872**—Any system of the civil service, under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal, is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

[Plank 5.]

**1876**—Under the Constitution the President and heads of Departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

[Plank 5.]

**1880**—The Republican Party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention of respect for the Constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

#### Democratic.

**1872**—The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

**1876**—Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of Governmental business is not possible if the civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition.

**1880**— . . . A general and thorough reform of the civil service.

\* These are the only words in the Democratic platform that can be construed, by the utmost latitude of construction, as having the slightest bearing upon the odious system of polygamy—if any such bearing were intended.

**1884**—The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

**1888**—The men who abandoned the Republican Party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic Party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom or purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

**1884**— . . . We favor honest\* civil service reform; and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries. . . .

**1888**—Reaffirmed.

. . . The Democratic Party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States; but it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. . . .

## PART XVIII.

### Government Moneys and Banks—The Currency—National Debt and Interest—Public Credit—Repudiation, etc.

#### Republican.

**1844**—[The Whig National Platform declares for A well-regulated National Currency.]

**1864**—That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

[Plank 10.]

#### Democratic.

**1840**—That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank, that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

**1844**—Reaffirmed.

**1848**—Reaffirmed; and the following additional plank adopted:—

"That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents, in creating a National Bank, in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the Land Proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes, in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations; and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the Constitutional treasury; . . .

**1852**—The above two planks of platform of 1840 reaffirmed.

**1856**—The two planks of 1840 reaffirmed: the only amendment to them being the insertion of the words "National Bank" in place of "United States Bank."

**1864**—

\*"To the victors belong the spoils" is the maxim which has controlled the Democracy in all its past history in the matter of appointments. Under President Cleveland's administration, "civil service" has been a delusion and a hypocritical snare. [See Chapter on "Civil Service."]

**1868**—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. [Plank 3.]

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit. [Plank 4.]

The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done. [Plank 5.]

That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected. [Plank 6.]

**1872**— . . . A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates . . . [Plank 1.]

We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance. [Plank 13.]

**1876**—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payments. [Plank 4.]

**1880**—It [the Republican Party] has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold; it has restored upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent bonds sold at 80, to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. [Preamble.]

**1884**—We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

**1888**—The Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

. . . We demand appropriations for [see various objects set forth in Part VIII., "Capital and Labor"]. . . This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

**1868**—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the *lawful money* of the United States. [Plank 3.]

Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities. [Plank 4.]

**1872**—We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industries of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof. . . .

The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise. [Plank 7.]

**1876**—Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

**1880**— . . . Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national. [Plank 3.]

**1884**—We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

**1888**—Reaffirmed.

. . . The Democratic party . . . challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then [1884] invited the suffrages of the people. . . .

## PART XIX.

### Resumption.

#### Republican.

**1872**— . . . Our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment. [Plank 13.]

**1876**—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and solemnly

#### Democratic.

**1872**—A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government. [Plank 8.]

**1876**—We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has ob-

pledged its faith to make provision at the "earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

1880— . . . It [the Republican Party] has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country.

1888— The Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

structed resumption, by wasting our resources, and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

1880— . . . Honest money . . . consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

1888— Reaffirmed.

The Democratic Party . . . challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then [1884] invited the suffrages of the people.

## CHAPTER III.

### The Tariff Question — Its History, Legislation, Votes, etc., from 1789 to 1888 inclusive.

"The fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 . . . have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union . . . in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842." — Democratic National Platform, 1848.

"No more revenue . . . than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and . . . extinction of the public debt." — Democratic National Platform, 1852. [Re-affirmed, 1856.]

"The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive Free Trade throughout the world." — Democratic National Platform 1856. [Re-affirmed, 1860.]

"A tariff for revenue." — Democratic National Platform, 1868.

"We remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation." — Democratic National Platform, 1872.

"Custom house taxation shall be only for revenue." — Democratic National Platform, 1876.

"A tariff for revenue only." — Democratic National Platform, 1880.

"Revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered . . . reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations. — Democratic National Platform, 1884. [Re-affirmed, 1888, with indorsement of "the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as to the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction," and of "the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation," together with indorsement and recommendation of "the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives." — See Platform chapters.]

"We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of Protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The Protective System must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff." . . . — Republican National Platform, 1888.

## PART I.

**The Republican American "Protective" System — Advocated by Franklin, Hamilton, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, Munroe, Clay, Jackson, John Q. Adams, Lincoln, Dallas, Webster, Taylor, Fillmore, Garfield, Grant, Blaine, Logan, Harrison, and Bismarck.**

Benjamin Franklin, as far back as 1771, said:—

"It seems the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries."

Alexander Hamilton, in 1779, wrote:—

"To maintain between the recent establishments of one country and the long-matured establishments of another country a competition on equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable. The disparity in the one or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rivalry without extraordinary aid and protection from the Government."

Alexander Hamilton, in 1790, in his celebrated Report on Manufactures, said:—

"Not only the wealth but the independence and

security of a country appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence. The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body politic, to the safety as well as the welfare of society. The want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion: and in the various crises which await a State it must severely feel the effects of any such deficiency. The extreme embarrassments of the United States during the late [Revolutionary] war, from an incapacity of supplying themselves, are still matters of keen recollection. A future war might be expected again to exemplify the mischiefs and dangers of a situation to which that incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely and vigorous exertion. To effect this change as fast as shall be prudent merits all the attention and all the zeal of our public councils. It is the next great work to be accomplished."

George Washington, in his first message to Congress, said, of "a free people":—

"Their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent on others for essential, particularly military, supplies."

"The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation."

The very first act of the first Congress—excepting that which prescribes a form of oath for Federal officials and which necessarily preceded all else, going, as it did, to the organization of the Government itself—was a tariff act, which opened with the following preamble:

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported."

In his seventh annual message to Congress, Washington thus states the results of the American policy of protection:

"Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond example. . . . Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived. . . . Is it too much to say that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equaled?"

In his eighth annual message, President Washington says:

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

President John Adams, in his first message to Congress, strenuously insisted on extending the principle of American Protection to commerce.

"The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the Nation. With a sea coast of near 2,000 miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to those objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders. To prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection."

In his inaugural address, President Jefferson said:

"Economy in the public expense that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and

sacred preservation of the public faith; *encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid*. . . . These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

In his second annual message Jefferson says:

"To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises, to foster our fisheries and nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the Nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practice with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burden: to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the Federal Union as the only rock of safety—these, fellow-citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings."

In his second Inaugural, President Jefferson said:—

"The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboard and frontiers only, and incorporated with the transactions of our mercantile citizens. It may be the pleasure and pride of an American to ask, what farmer, what mechanic, what laborer, ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States?"

In his sixth Annual Message, Jefferson said:—

"The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other objects shall these surpluses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals, when the purposes of war shall not call for them?"

"Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? Or a few articles of more general and necessary use the suppression in due season will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of Federal powers."

In his eighth Annual Message, he also said:—

"The suspension of our foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent."

Madison, in his Inaugural Address, enunciated this as one of the great principles that should govern the American people:—

"To promote by authorized means, improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce."

His special message, May 23, 1809, contains this recommendation:—

"The revision of our public commercial laws."

proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy, at the same time, of their just and provident care, to make such further alterations in the laws as will *more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture* which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."

In a special message, Feb. 20, 1815, Madison said:—

"But there is no subject that can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of Congress than a consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. This source of national independence and wealth I anxiously recommend, therefore, to the prompt and constant guardianship of Congress."

In his seventh Annual Message, Dec. 5, 1815, President Madison said:—

"In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches that so many circumstances must occur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency which justify the belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded."

John C. Calhoun, in 1816, said, —

"It [the encouragement of manufactures] produced a system strictly American, as much so as agriculture, in which it had the decided advantage of commerce and navigation. The country will from this derive much advantage. Again, it is calculated to bind together more closely our wide-spread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will as a necessary consequence excite an increased attention to internal improvements, — a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely; that it would form a new and most powerful cement, far outweighing any political objections that might be urged against the system. In his opinion, the liberty and the union of the country were inseparably united; that, as the destruction of the latter would most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will with equal certainty preserve it."

Secretary of the Treasury Dallas, in a report to Congress on a Protective tariff, in 1816, said, —

"There are few, if any, governments which do not regard the establishment of domestic manufactures as a chief object of public policy. The United States have always so regarded it. In the earliest acts of Congress, which were passed after the adoption of the

present Constitution, the obligation of providing, by duties on imports, for the discharge of the public debts is expressly connected with the policy of encouraging and protecting manufactures. (19) In the year 1790 the Secretary of the Treasury was directed by the House of Representatives to take the subject of manufactures into consideration with a view particularly to report upon 'the means of promoting such as would render the United States independent of foreign nations for military and other essential supplies.' (20) In the year 1810 the Legislature again manifested a marked solicitude to ascertain the progress of the national independence in manufactures by combining the business of the census with an inquiry into the state of the several manufacturing establishments and manufactures within the several districts, territories and divisions of the United States. (21) But it was, emphatically, during the period of the restrictive system and of the war that the importance of domestic manufactures became conspicuous to the Nation, and made a lasting impression upon the mind of every statesman and of every patriot. The weapons and munitions of war, the necessities of clothing, and the comforts of living were at first but scantily provided. The American market seemed for a while to be converted into a scene of gambling and extortion; and it was not the least of the evils generated by the unequal state of the supply and the demand that an illicit traffic with the enemy by land and by water was corruptly and systematically prosecuted from the commencement to the termination of hostilities.

"The matured state of the first class of manufactures relieves the task of forming a tariff, with respect to them, from any important difficulty. Duties might be freely imposed upon the importation of similar articles, amounting wholly, or nearly, to a prohibition, without endangering a scarcity in the supply; while the competition among the domestic manufacturers alone would sufficiently protect the consumer from exorbitant prices; graduating the rates of the market generally by the standard of a fair profit upon the capital and labor employed. It is true, however, on the other hand, that, by imposing low duties upon the imported articles, importation would be encouraged and the revenue increased; but without adding to the comfort or deducting from the expense of the consumer, the consumption of the domestic manufacture would, in an equal degree, be diminished by that operation, and the manufacture itself might be entirely supplanted. It is, therefore, a question between the gain of the revenue and the loss of the manufacture, to be decided upon principles of national policy. Under the circumstances of an abundant market, the interest of the consumer must stand indifferent, whether the price of any article be paid for the benefit of the manufacturer or of the importer; but a wise Government will surely deem it better to sacrifice a portion of its revenue than to sacrifice those institutions which private enterprise and wealth have connected with public prosperity and independence."

President Monroe in his Inaugural, March 5, 1817, said:

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets."

In his fifth Annual Message, Monroe said:

"It cannot be doubted, the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign powers for every national as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity."

"By the increase of domestic manufactures will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased, and thus will the dependence of the several parts of our Union on each other, and the strength of the Union itself, be proportionably augmented."

In his special message, March 26, 1822, President Monroe said:

"It is known that no burdens whatever have been imposed; on the contrary, that all the direct or internal taxes have been long repealed, and none paid but those which are indirect and voluntary, such as are imposed on articles imported from foreign countries, most of which are luxuries, and on the vessels employed in the transportation—*taxes which some of our most enlightened citizens think ought to be imposed on many of the articles, for the encouragement of our manufactures, even if the revenue derived from them could be dispensed with.*"

In Monroe's special message, May 4, 1822, is the following:

"The power to raise money by taxes, duties, imposts, and excises is alike unqualified, nor do I see any check on the exercise of it other than that which applies to the other powers above recited, the responsibility of the representative to his constituents. Congress know the extent of the public engagements, and the sums necessary to meet them; they know how much may be derived from each branch of revenue, without pressing it too far; and paying due regard to the interests of the people, they likewise know which branch ought to be resorted to in the first instance. From the commencement of the Government, two branches of this power, duties and imposts, have been in constant operation, the revenue from which has supported the Government in its various branches, and met its other ordinary engagements. In great emergencies, the other two, taxes and excises, have likewise been resorted to, and neither was the right nor the policy ever called in question. . . . Duties and imposts have always been light, not greater, perhaps, than would have been imposed for the encouragement of our manufactures, had there been no occasion for the revenue arising from them, and taxes and excises have never been laid except in cases of necessity, and repealed as soon as the necessity ceased. . . . It is natural in so great a variety of climate that there should be a corresponding difference in the produce of the soil; that one part should raise what the other might want. It is equally natural that the pursuits of industry should vary in like manner; that labor should be cheaper, and manufactures succeed better in one part than in another. That where the climate was most severe and the soil less productive, navigation, the fisheries, and commerce should be most relied on. Hence the motive for an exchange for mutual accommodation and active intercourse between them. Each part would thus find for the surplus of its labor, in whatever article it consisted, an extensive market at home, which would be the most profitable because free from duty."

In his sixth annual message, President Monroe says:

"From the best information that I have been able to obtain it appears that our manufactures, though depressed immediately after the peace, have considerably increased and are still increasing, under the encouragement given them by the tariff of 1816, and by subsequent laws. Satisfied I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favor of unrestricted commerce, provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not liable to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred and cannot be expected, that there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation and relations with other countries, which impose on us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures."

In his seventh annual message, Dec. 2, 1823, Monroe says:

"Having communicated my views to Congress, at the commencement of the last session, respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principle on which it should be founded, I have only to add that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those countries with which we have the most immediate political

relations and greatest commercial intercourse tends to confirm them. Under this impression I recommend a review of the tariff for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defense and independence of the country."

Henry Clay, in 1824, in the course of one of his great speeches, said:

"It is most desirable that there should be both a home and a foreign market. But with respect to their relative superiority I cannot entertain a doubt. The home market is first in order and paramount in importance. . . . But this home market, desirable as it is, can only be created and cherished by the protection of our own legislation against the inevitable prostration of our industry, which must ensue from the action of foreign policy and legislation. . . . If I am asked why unprotected industry should not succeed in a struggle with protected industry, I answer: The fact has ever been so, and that is sufficient; I reply, the uniform experience evinces that it cannot succeed in such a struggle, and that is sufficient. If we speculate on the causes of this universal truth, we may differ about them. Still the indisputable fact remains. . . . The cause is the cause of the country, and it must and will prevail. It is founded on the interests and affections of the people. It is as native as the granite deeply embosomed in our mountains."

General Andrew Jackson, in 1824, wrote:

"It is time that we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own."

In 1824 and 1828, Andrew Jackson took strong ground in behalf of a protective system, in the following letters. — the first written to Dr. L. H. Coleman, the second to Governor Ray of Indiana.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 26, 1824.

SIR. — I have had the honor this day to receive your letter of the 21st instant, and with candor shall reply to it. . . . You ask me my opinion on the tariff. I answer that I am in favor of a judicious examination and revision of it; and so far as the tariff before us embraces the design of fostering, protecting, and preserving within ourselves the means of national defence and independence, particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it. The experience of the late war ought to teach us a lesson, and one never to be forgotten.

Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. That same Providence has blessed us with the means of national independence and national defence. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which He has extended to us we deserve not the continuation of His blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals, with lead, iron, and copper, and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool.

These being the grand materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our own manufactories and laborers may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our own country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential to war.

Beyond this I look at the tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor and revenue, and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe that a national debt is a national blessing, but rather a curse to a republic, inasmuch as it is calculated to raise around the administration a moneyed aristocracy dangerous to the liberties of the country.

This tariff, I mean a judicious one, possesses more fanciful than real dangers. I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus products? Except for cotton he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture, and that the channels of labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture

the superabundant labor, employ it in mechanism and manufactures, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs and distributing labor to a most profitable account, and benefits to the country will result.

Take from agriculture in the United States 600,000 men, women, and children, and you at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be paupers ourselves.

It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defence within ourselves on which the safety and liberty of our country depend, and last, though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community. . . .

I have presented you my opinions freely, because I am without concealment, and should indeed despise myself if I could believe myself capable of acquiring the confidence of any by means so ignoble.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
ANDREW JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, February 28, 1828.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's letter of the 30th ultimo, inclosing resolutions of the senate of Indiana adopted, as it appears, with a view of ascertaining my opinions on certain political topics. The respect which I entertain for the executive and senate of your State excludes from my mind the idea that an unfriendly disposition dictated the interrogatories which are proposed. But I will confess my regret at being forced by this sentiment to depart in the smallest degree from that determination on which I have always acted. Not, sir, that I would wish to conceal my opinions from the people upon any political or national subject; but as they were in various ways promulgated in 1824, I am apprehensive that my appearance before the public at this time may be attributed, as has already been the case, to improper motives.

With these remarks I pray you, sir, respectfully to state to the senate of Indiana that my opinions at present are precisely what they were in 1823 and 1824, when they were communicated by letter to Dr. Coleman, of Virginia, and when I voted for the present tariff and appropriations for national improvements. As that letter was written at a time when the divisions of sentiments on this subject were as strongly marked as they now are in relation both to the expediency and constitutionality of the system, it is inclosed herein; and I beg the favor of your excellency to consider it a part of this communication. The occasion out of which it arose was embraced with a hope of preventing any doubt, misconception, or necessity for further inquiry respecting my opinions on the subject to which you refer; particularly in those States which you have designated as cherishing a policy at variance with our own. To preserve our invaluable Constitution and be prepared to repel the invasion of a foreign foe by the practice of economy and the cultivation within ourselves of the means of national defence and independence should be, it seems to me, the leading objects of any system which aspires to the name of "American," and of every prudent administration of our Government.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

ANDREW JACKSON.

His Excellency JAMES B. RAY,

Governor of Indiana.

President John Q. Adams, in his Fourth Annual Message (1828), said, —

"The great interests of an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together, that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others. All these interests are alike under the protecting power of the legislative authority, and the duties of the representative bodies are to conciliate them in harmony together. . . . So far as the object of taxation is to raise a revenue for discharging the debts and defraying the expenses of the community,

it should, as much as possible, suit the burden with equal hand upon all, in proportion with their ability of bearing it without oppression. But the legislation of one nation is sometimes intentionally made to bear heavily upon the interests of another. That legislation adapted, as it is meant to be, to the special interests of its own people, will often press most unequally upon the several component interests of its neighbors.

. . . Is the self-protecting energy of this nation so helpless that there exists in the political institutions of our country no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation? that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce; that the shippers must dismantle their ships, the trade of the North stagnate at the wharves, and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry, to be clad in a foreign garb; that the Congress of the Union are impotent to restore the balance in favor of native industry, destroyed by the statutes of another realm?

"More just and more generous sentiments will, I trust, prevail. If the tariff adopted at the last session of Congress shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I cannot doubt will be, so modified as to alleviate its burden. To the voice of just complaint from any portion of their constituents, the representatives of the States and people will never turn away their ears. But so long as the duty of the foreign shall operate only as a bounty upon the domestic article, while the planter, and the merchant, and the shepherd, and the husbandman shall be found thriving in their occupations under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures, they will not repine at the prosperity shared with themselves by their fellow-citizens of other professions, nor denounce as violations of the Constitution the deliberate acts of Congress to shield from the wrongs of foreign laws the native industry of the Union."

James Madison, in 1828, said, —

"A further evidence in support of the constitutional power to protect and foster manufactures by regulations of trade — an evidence that ought in itself to settle the question — is the uniform and practical sanction given in that power, for nearly forty years, with a concurrence or acquiescence of every State government throughout the same period, and, it may be added, through all the vicissitudes of party which marked that period."

President Andrew Jackson, in his First Annual Message (1829) said, —

"Frequent legislation in regard to any branch of industry affecting its value, and by which its capital may be transferred to new channels, must always be productive of hazardous speculation and loss. . . . The agricultural interest of our country is so essentially connected with every other, and so superior in importance to them all, that it is scarcely necessary to invite to it your particular attention. It is principally as manufactures and commerce tend to increase the value of agricultural productions, and to extend their application to the wants and comforts of society, that they deserve the fostering care of government." . . .

In his second annual message, President Jackson said (1830), —

"The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional, and it is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts. The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is so completely identical with that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most



selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people."

John Q. Adams, in 1832, in a report from the Committee on Manufactures, said, —

"And thus the very first act of the organized Congress united with the law of self-preservation, by the support of the Government just instituted, the two objects combined in the first grant of power to Congress; the payment of the public debts, and the provision for the common defence by the protection of manufactures. The next act was precisely of the same character, — an act of protection to manufactures still more than of taxation for revenue."

Abraham Lincoln, in 1832, said, —

"I am in favor of the internal improvement system and a high protective tariff."

Daniel Webster, in 1833, said, —

"The protection of American labor against the injurious competition of foreign labor, so far, at least, as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one end designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution; and this object, and the constitutional power to accomplish it, ought never to be surrendered or compromised in any degree."

Rufus Choate, in the United States Senate, March 14, 1842, said, —

"But this I am ready to avow: that the protection of American labor, on all its fields, and in all its forms, is to be kept constantly and anxiously in view in all our arrangements; that you have the constitutional power to secure that protection, and that you are bound to do so, regardless of every thing and everybody but the Constitution, justice, and a true and large American policy."

President Taylor, in his first annual message (1849) said, —

"I recommend a revision of the existing tariff, and its adjustment on a basis which may augment the revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry, which is the great source of national as well as individual wealth and prosperity. I look to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress for the adoption of a system which may place home labor at last on a sure and permanent footing, and by due encouragement of manufactures, give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and promote the development of our vast resources and the extension of our commerce. Believing that to the attainment of these ends (as well as the necessary augmentation of the revenue and the prevention of frauds) a system of specific duties is best adapted, I strongly recommend to Congress the adoption of that system, fixing the duties at rates high enough to afford substantial and sufficient encouragement to our own industry, and at the same time so adjusted as to insure stability."

President Fillmore, in his first annual message (Dec. 2, 1850), said: —

"A duty laid upon an article which cannot be produced in this country, such as tea or coffee, adds to the cost of the article, and is chiefly or wholly paid by the consumer. But a duty laid upon an article which may be produced here stimulates the skill and industry of our own country to produce the same article, which is brought into the market in competition with the foreign article, and the importer is thus compelled to reduce his price to that at which the domestic article can be sold, thereby throwing a part of the duty upon the producer of the foreign article. The continuance of this process creates the skill, and invites the capital, which finally enables us to produce the article much cheaper than it could have been procured from abroad, thereby benefiting both the producer and the consumer

at home. The consequence of this is that the artisan and the agriculturist are brought together, each affords a ready market for the produce of the other, and the whole country becomes prosperous; and the ability to produce every necessary of life renders us independent in war as well as in peace. . . . I therefore strongly recommend a modification of the present tariff, which has prostrated some of our most important and necessary manufactures, and that specific duties be imposed sufficient to raise the requisite revenue, making such discrimination in favor of the industrial pursuits of our own country as to encourage home production without excluding foreign competition."

In his annual message of Dec. 6, 1852, President Fillmore said: —

"Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties, I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject: —

"The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are thrown out of employment, and the farmer, to that extent, is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the article sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England.

"The prosperity and wealth of every nation must depend upon its productive industry.

"The farmer is stimulated to exertion by finding a ready market for his surplus products, and benefited by being able to exchange them, without loss of time or expense of transportation, for the manufactures which his comfort or convenience requires. This is always done to the best advantage where a portion of the community in which he lives is engaged in other pursuits.

"But most manufactures require an amount of capital and a practical skill which cannot be commanded unless they be protected for a time from ruinous competition from abroad. Hence the necessity of laying those duties upon imported goods which the Constitution authorizes for revenue, in such a manner as to protect and encourage the labor of our own citizens. Duties, however, should not be fixed at a rate so high as to exclude the foreign article, but should be so graduated as to enable the domestic manufacturer fairly to compete with the foreigner in our own markets and by this competition to reduce the price of the manufactured article to the consumer to the lowest rate at which it can be produced.

"This policy would place the mechanic by the side of the farmer, create a mutual interchange of their respective commodities, and thus stimulate the industry of the whole country, and render us independent of foreign nations for the supplies required by the habits or necessities of the people."

General Garfield, in the House of Representatives, June, 1878, declared:

"So important, in my view, is the ability of the Nation to manufacture all those articles necessary to arm, equip, and clothe our people that if it could not be secured in any other way I would vote to pay money out of the Federal Treasury to maintain Government iron and steel, woollen and cotton mills, at whatever cost. Were we to neglect these great interests, and depend upon other nations, in what a condition of helplessness would we find ourselves when we should be again involved in war with the very nations on whom we were depending to furnish us these supplies? The system adopted by our fathers is wiser, for it so encourages the great National industries as to make it possible at all times for our people to equip themselves for war, and at the same time increase their intelligence and skill, so as to make them better fitted for all the duties of citizenship, both in war and in peace. We provide for the common defence by a system which promotes the general welfare."

President Grant, in three compact sen-

tences, in defining the wants of the country, said:

"A duty upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and those of which we use more than we produce.

"All duty removed from tea, coffee, and other articles of universal use not produced by ourselves.

"Encouragement to home products, employment to labor at living wages, and development of home resources."

James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," 1884, writes:

"Protection, in the perfection of its designs, as described by Mr. Hamilton, does not invite competition from abroad, but is based on the controlling principle that competition at home will always prevent monopoly on the part of the capitalist, assure good wages to the laborer, and defend the consumer against the evils of extortion."

General Logan, in his letter accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination, 1884, wrote:

"The true problem of a good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guaranty of general peace and happiness. The obvious policy of our Government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people."

General Harrison, in his speech to the visiting commercial travelers, at Indianapolis, Aug. 18, 1888, said:

"Do not allow any one to persuade you that this great contest as to our tariff policy is one between schedules. It is not a question of seven per cent reduction. (Applause.) It is a question between wide apart principles. (Cries of "That's right.") The principle of protection; the intelligent recognition in the framing of our tariff laws of the duty to protect our American industries and maintain the American scale of wages by adequate discriminating duties (cries of "That's right") on the one hand, and on the other a denial of the constitutional right to make our custom duties protective, on the assertion of the doctrine that free competition with foreign products is the ideal condition to which all our legislation should tend." (Applause.)

Nor need we look to the utterances of the Republican statesmen of our own country alone, nor to the facts themselves alone, as proof that the prosperity of America is incidental to the Republican-American system of Protection. As far back as May 14, 1882, Bismarck, in a speech before the German Reichstag, said:

"The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debts, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States."

## PART II.

### Tariff Legislation from 1789 to 1793.

The primary and principal causes underlying the American Revolution of 1776 sprung

from the conflict between our colonial ancestors, in support of native industry, and the British trader, backed by all the authority and power of the Crown and Parliament, in his efforts to destroy all manufacturing industry in the colonies, and make the colonists dependent upon England for their supplies. Colonial manufactures, by act of Parliament, were even declared a nuisance. Our fathers revolted. They conquered their independence, and in 1783 entered the community of nations as a sovereign power.

**Failure of the original Confederation due to lack of "protection"—The present Government organized with full powers to "protect."**

The Confederation failed in all the essential particulars of government. It utterly failed to secure to the "infant industries" of America, to the domestic manufactures of the new States, that encouragement and protection to secure which, in their recent unequal conflict with the formidable power of Britain, they had staked their "lives and fortunes and sacred honor." Hence it was soon pronounced an injurious abortion, and the people resolved to abolish it—to create and substitute for it a new and more vigorous government, with ample powers to secure those objects and to execute all its delegated trusts.

Thus, in 1789, the government of the old Confederation was supplanted by our present National Government through the adoption of our National Constitution. The union or organization of the States as one nation, under a government with ample powers to protect them in their industrial pursuits, had no more earnest, no more enthusiastic or active supporters, than the mechanics and laboring men. They celebrated its adoption amid the heartiest rejoicing.

### The first Tariff Resolution—The first Tariff Act.

The First Congress under our National Constitution organized April 6, 1789. On April 8, within seventy hours after its organization, James Madison, in the House, introduced a resolution declaring that "duties ought to be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States." The Congress agreed with Mr. Madison. This First Congress, in both Houses of which were many who had been members of the convention that framed the Constitution, adopted "An Act laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States." It was our first tariff act. It was the first measure of our National Government, the second law enacted by Congress under our present Constitution, and was approved by George Washington as President, on July 4, 1789. The imposts which it levied were both specific and *ad valorem*, and its preamble distinctly declared that those imposts were "necessary" among other things "for the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

Domestic enterprises, native interests, exercised all the solicitude and care of this Congress. At its second session it enacted the tariff of Aug. 10, 1790, by which the duties of the previous act were on an average increased  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and at both sessions, following the example of England and other powers, established a system of navigation laws, through which heavy discriminating tonnage duties were exacted for the encouragement and protection of our native shipping and trade.

**Protective Tariffs of 1789 and 1790 passed by Southern Votes.**

The following is an analysis of the vote in the House upon the tariff of 1790, which confirmed, and under the recommendations of Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, increased, some of the rates of the act of 1789:—

**AYES**—Messrs. Ashe, Baldwin, Bloodworth, Brown, Burke, Cadwalader, Carroll, Clymer, Coles, Conter, Fitzsimmons, Floyd, Gilmer, Hartley, Heister, Huntington, Jackson, Livermore, Lawrence, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Muhlenburg, Page, Parker, Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sevier, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinton, Steele, Sturgis, Sumter, Vining, White, Williamson, and Wynkoop—39.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Ames, Benson, Foster, Gale, Gerry, Goodhue, Grout, Sedgwick, Smith of Maryland, Smith of South Carolina, Thatcher, Trumbull, and Wadsworth—13.

In all 52 votes, 21 of which voting "aye" were from Southern or slave-holding States. The following is an analysis by States:—

**New England States:** For—New Hampshire, 2; Massachusetts, 0; Connecticut, 2; total, 5. Against—New Hampshire, 1; Massachusetts, 6; Connecticut, 2; total, 9.

**Middle States:** For—New York, 4; New Jersey, 2; Pennsylvania, 7; total, 13. Against—New York, 1; New Jersey, 0; Pennsylvania, 0; total, 1.

**Slave States:** For—Delaware, 1; Maryland, 3; Virginia, 7; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 2; Georgia, 3; total, 21. Against—Delaware, 0; Maryland, 2; Virginia, 0; North Carolina, 0; South Carolina, 1; Georgia, 0; total, 3.

**Recapitulation:** For—New England States, 5; Middle States, 13; Southern States, 21; total, 39. Against—New England States, 9; Middle States, 1; Southern States, 3; total, 13.

### PART III.

#### 1793 to 1807—The Commercial Craze —Hamilton's Report on Manufactures —Effect of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts—The War of 1815.

From 1793 to 1807, the memorable period of our commercial craze, very little attention was bestowed by our people upon manufactures. But, with the disastrous collapse of our commercial ventures, manufacturing enterprises again occupied our capitalists. In 1809 the House ordered the reprinting of Hamilton's celebrated report on manufactures. It also directed Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, to collect information respecting the various manufactures of the United States, and report the same, "together with a plan best calculated to protect

and promote them." The marshals and their assistants in taking the census of 1810 were also instructed to obtain full and reliable information respecting our manufacturing establishments and manufactures. The information or data thus obtained was meagre and defective. An analysis or digest of the manufacturing returns and an estimate of the value of manufactures were made under the direction of the treasury by Mr. Tench Coxe, a distinguished statistician of Philadelphia. It was ascertained that few woollen manufactories existed in the United States, but that the woollen and cotton manufactures consumed in the country were principally the products of looms in families, and their estimated value was about \$40,000,000. The value of the manufactures of iron was reported at \$14,364,526; of the products of the tannery at \$17,935,477; of those from grain at \$10,528,207; of those of wood at \$5,554,708; of the manufacture of refined sugar at \$1,415,724; of paper, etc., at \$1,939,285; of glass at \$1,047,004; of tobacco at \$1,260,378; of cables and cordage at \$4,242,168, etc. The aggregate value of manufactures of all kinds was returned at \$127,694,602. By a previous estimate of Mr. Gallatin the value was fixed at \$120,000,000.

That was not a very flattering exhibit. But the embargo and non-intercourse acts, the retaliatory measures adopted by our Government in 1807 and 1808 against the tyrannical restrictive decrees of England and France, followed as they were by our war of 1812–15 with Britain, practically excluded from the country all foreign imports, and by throwing our people upon their own resources to supply the domestic demand, particularly for manufactures of wool, cotton, and hemp, greatly increased and encouraged the home manufacture of those materials. Nevertheless, the close of the war in 1815 found them in swaddling-clothes. The high price of labor in the United States, and the long experience and superior skill of the British establishments, rendered it impracticable for the domestic manufacturers to sustain themselves without protection against the foreign article. That the British trader well knew. He accordingly determined to crush out the manufactures of the United States in their infant state, even at a heavy sacrifice to himself in profit. Our markets, therefore, were soon glutted with foreign products of all kinds. Thus the value of our imports, which from Jan. 1, to Sept. 30, 1815, was only \$83,080,973, suddenly increased during the following year, from October, 1815, to October, 1816, to the vast sum of \$155,302,700. In the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham, with manifest satisfaction and in plain language, announced the policy and the purposes of the British trader. He urged:

"It is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first importation, in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things."

Our citizens throughout the country engaged in manufactures, including the sugar-

planters of Louisiana, prayed Congress for protection against the ruin thus menaced, and for encouragement and support to the "growing manufactures" of the nation. Congress responded by promptly affording the protection prayed for.

#### PART IV.

##### Tariff Act of 1816—Calhoun on Protection—That Act, which Established Protection, Passed by Southern Votes.

On March 12, 1816, Hon. William Lowndes, a member of the House from South Carolina, distinguished alike for ability and patriotism, reported from the Committee on Ways and Means the tariff act of 1816—a bill "to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage." Hon. Thomas Newton, of Virginia, on Feb. 13 and March 6, from the Committee on Manufactures, had reported in favor of encouraging and protecting the manufactures of wool and cotton, and in the debate upon Mr. Lowndes's bill, Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun and Lowndes of South Carolina, Ingham of Pennsylvania, and others, ably contended for a "decided protection to home manufactures by ample duties." The celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke, opposed the bill. Mr. Randolph was a strict constructionist. He believed and urged that a "tariff for protection," the levying of imposts for the encouragement and support of manufactures, was as unconstitutional as it was unjust—a "levying of taxes on one portion of the community to put money into the pockets of another."

In this Mr. Randolph was antagonized among others by Mr. Calhoun in an argument in which he in substance reiterates and supports the views of Alexander Hamilton's report of 1791 on Manufactures.

Mr. Calhoun, in that argument, favors the encouragement and protection of our home industries. He regards the subject as one of "vital importance," "touching as it does the security and permanent prosperity of our country." He was no manufacturer. He was not from that portion of our country supposed to be peculiarly interested. He "was from the South"—from South Carolina. "Consequently no motives could be attributed to him but such as were disinterested." "The security of a country mainly depends on its spirit and means." Hence "as every people are subject to the vicissitudes of peace and war, it must ever be considered as the plain dictate of wisdom in peace to prepare for war." He then reviews the resources of the country, discusses the relative importance of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures as a source of national wealth and power, demonstrates the superiority of manufactures, because agriculture and commerce, being dependent on foreign markets, only flourish in times of peace, but manufactures, relying on our home market,

is unaffected by war, and is always a source of wealth and power. He said:—

"What, then, are the effects of a war with a maritime power—with England? Our commerce annihilated, spreading individual misery, and producing national poverty; our agriculture cut off from its accustomed markets, the surplus product of the farmer perishes upon his hands, and he ceases to produce because he cannot sell. His resources are dried up, while his expenses are greatly increased, as all manufactured articles, the necessaries as well as the conveniences of life, rise to an extravagant price. . . . The failure of the wealth and resources of the nation necessarily involves the ruin of its finances and of its currency. It is admitted by the most strenuous advocates on the other side that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defence, that at least our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be of domestic manufacture. But what was more necessary to the defence of a country than its currency and finance? Circumstanced as our country is, can these stand the shock of war? Behold the effect of the late war upon them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will under the fostering care of Government, we will no longer experience these evils. The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community; and instead of that languor of industry and individual distress now incident to a state of war and suspended commerce, the wealth and vigor of the community will not be materially impaired. The arm of Government will be nerved, and taxes in the hour of danger, when essential to the independence of the nation, may be greatly increased; loans, so uncertain and hazardous, may be less relied on. Thus situated, the storm may beat without, but within all will be quiet and safe. To give perfection to this state of things, it will be necessary to add, as soon as possible, a system of internal improvements, and at least such an extension of our navy as will prevent the cutting off of our coasting trade."

Mr. Calhoun next reviews at some length, and rebuts, one by one, the arguments urged against manufactures as a system; maintains with great force the policy of finding profitable investment of our capital, and remunerative employment for our mechanics, by multiplying and protecting manufactures as permanent establishments; and with some indignation refutes and repels the charges which, even in that day, were stale and flat, that manufacturing establishments "destroy the moral and physical power of the people;" that they were "the fruitful cause of pauperism," and produced a slavish dependence of the operative upon the manufacturer. He exclaimed:—

"It [the encouragement of manufactures] produced a system strictly American, as much so as agriculture, in which it had the decided advantage of commerce and navigation. The country will from this derive much advantage. Again, it is calculated to bind together more closely our wide-spread Republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will, as a necessary consequence, excite an increased attention to internal improvements—a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength, and the perfection of our political institutions. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely; that it would form a new and most powerful cement far outweighing any political objections that might be urged against the system. In his opinion, the liberty and the union of the country were inseparably united; that, as the destruction of the latter would most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will with equal certainty preserve it."

Nor did he "speak lightly." Mr. Calhoun assures the House that "he had often and

long revolved it in his mind;" that he "had critically examined into the causes that destroyed the liberties of other countries," and closes with a solemn warning to the Nation of a "new and terrible danger" which threatened it — "disunion."

**Tariff Act of April 27, 1816, passed by Southern votes.**

This powerful and patriotic argument was delivered in the House on April 4, 1816. It had a commanding effect. A few days later, on the 8th, the Tariff Act of April, 1816, largely extending and increasing the specific duties on foreign goods and adopting the minimum principle of valuation in estimating imposts, for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, passed the House by a vote of yeas 88, nays 54. It was passed by Southern votes. Among those voting in the affirmative are such distinguished Southern names as Cuthbert and Lumpkins of Georgia, Desha and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, Philip P. Barbour, Thomas Newton, and Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia, Mayrant, Woodward, Lowndes, and Calhoun of South Carolina.

**Vote on its passage.**

YEAS — Messrs. Adgate, Alexander, Archer, Ather-ton, Baker, Barbour, Bassett, Bateman, Baylies, Bennett, Betts, Birdsall, Boss, Brooks, Brown, Cady, Caldwell, Calhoun, Cannon, Chipman, Clendennin, Comstock, Crawford, Creighton, Crocheron, Cuthbert, Darlington, Davenport, Desha, Glasgow, Gold, Grosvenor, Hahn, Hall, Hammond, Harves, Henderson, Hopkinson, Ingham, Irvin of Pennsylvania, Jewett, Johnson of Kentucky, Kent, Langdon, Lowndes, Lumpkin, Lyle, Macfar, Marsh, Mason, Mayrant, McCoy, McLean of Kentucky, Milnor, Newton, Noyes, Ormsby, Parrie, Piper, Pitkin, Pleasants, Powell, Ruggles, Sergeant, Savage, Schenck, Sharpe, Smith of Pennsylvania, Smith of Maryland, Southard, Strong, Taggart, Taft, Throop, Townsend, Tucker, Wallace, Ward of New York, Ward of New Jersey, Wendover, Wheaton, Whiteside, Wilkin, Willoughby, Thomas Wilson, William Wilson, Woodward, and Yates — 88.

Nays, 54 — total, 142.

Of the 88 yeas, 25 in italics are of men from the South. If those twenty-five had voted nay, the result would have been — yeas 63, nays 79 — thus defeating protection. As it was, these Southern votes decided the House in favor of protection to manufactures.

**Our protective system practically established by the act of 1816.**

Here in the principles and provisions of this Act of April, 1816, we have the practical foundation of the American policy of encouragement of home manufactures, the practical establishment of the great industrial system upon which rests our present national wealth and the power and the prosperity and happiness of our whole people! Here, in this Act, supported by Henry Clay, by Henry St. George Tucker, and by Lowndes and John C. Calhoun! Here, in this Tariff Act passed by Southern votes, by the votes of men at the time national and patriotic in their purposes and views, — by leading spirits of the South against the vigorous protest and the votes of New England!

**PART V.**

**The Tariffs of 1824 and 1828 — The Compromise Tariff of 1833 and the Consequent Disasters — The Tariff of 1842.**

The great Tariff Acts of 1824 and 1828 only increased and extended and strengthened the provisions of the Act of 1816, while preserving its principle in support of its beneficent national purposes — the encouragement of a system of home industries under the protection of the Nation.

The tariff act of March 2, 1833, commonly known as the compromise tariff, provided for a biennial reduction of duties on all foreign imports which shall exceed 20 per cent on the value thereof of one tenth of such excess up to 31st December, 1842, when the residue of such excess should be deducted. This was the principal stipulation of the act. Among other provisions it contained that of a home valuation in assessing duties — a provision peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. Calhoun and his nullifying-adherents.

The passage of the tariff act of 1828 was peculiarly odious to South Carolina and other States South, which kept up an unceasing agitation against it, threatening nullification and even civil war if it was not repealed. This threatening attitude of South Carolina unduly alarmed some of the friends of protection. It led to the passage of the tariff act of March 2, 1833. Henry Clay, the author of the act, believing the principle of protection in peril, introduced the compromise act as a means of preserving that principle. In the Senate, in the debate upon this bill, Mr. Clay urged: "The main object of the bill is not revenue, but protection." In reply to Senators who maintained that the bill abandoned the protective principle, Mr. Clay declared that "the language of the bill authorized no such construction, and that no one would be justified in inferring that there was to be an abandonment of the system of protection." Mr. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, a staunch protectionist and supporter of the bill, said:

"The Government cannot be kept together if the principle of protection were to be discarded in our policy, and declared that he would pause before he surrendered that principle even to save the Union."

And Mr. Clay added:

"The bill assumes, as a basis, adequate protection for nine years and less beyond that term. The friends of protection say to their opponents, we are willing to take a lease of nine years, with the long chapter of accidents beyond that period, including the chance of war, the restoration of concord, and along with it a conviction common to all of the utility of protection, and in consideration of it, if, in 1842, none of these contingencies shall have been realized, we are willing to submit as long as Congress may think proper, with the maximum of 20 per cent.

This was the origin of the avowed purpose of the supporters of the act — to preserve the protective principle, believed at the moment to be in danger.

The effects of the compromise tariff of 1833, combined with those of President Jack-

son's war upon the established financial system of the Government, were very disastrous. In 1840 all prices had ruinously fallen; production had greatly diminished, and in many departments of industry had practically ceased; thousands of workmen were idle, with no hope of employment, and their families suffering from want. Our farmers were without markets. Their products rotted in their barns, and their lands, teeming with rich harvests, were sold by the sheriff for debts and taxes. The tariff which robbed our industries of protection failed to supply Government with its necessary revenues. The national treasury in consequence was bankrupt, and the credit of the nation had sunk very low.

Mr. Calvin Colton, in his "Life of Henry Clay," describes, from the newspapers of the times, the ruinous condition of all our industries in 1840, resulting from the combined influences of the compromise tariff and Jackson's and Van Buren's financial measures. Mr. Colton says:

"Mr. Clay states the average depression in the value of property under that state of things which existed before the tariff of 1824 came to the rescue of the country, at fifty per cent. The revulsion of 1837 produced a far greater havoc than was experienced in the period above mentioned. The ruin came quick and fearful. There were few that could save themselves. Property of every description was parted with at sacrifices that were astounding, and as for the currency, there was scarcely any at all. In some parts of the interior of Pennsylvania the people were obliged to divide bank-notes into halves, quarters, eighths, and so on, and agree from necessity to use them as money."

"In Ohio, with all her abundance, it was hard to get money to pay taxes."

"The Sheriff of Muskingum County, as stated by the *Guernsey Times*, in the summer of 1842, sold at auction one four-horse wagon, at \$5 50; ten hogs at 61 cents each; two horses (said to be worth from \$50 to \$75 each) at \$2 each; two cows at \$1 each; a barrel of sugar for \$1.50; and a 'store of goods' at that rate."

"In Pike County, Mo., as stated by the *Hannibal Journal*, the sheriff sold three horses at \$1.50 each; one large ox at 12½ cents; five cows, two steers, and one calf, the lot at \$3.25; twenty sheep at 13½ cents each; twenty-four hogs, the lot at 25 cents; one eight-day clock at \$2.50; lot of tobacco, seven or eight hog-heads, at \$5; three stacks of hay, each, at 25 cents; and one stack of fodder at 25 cents."—(*Vol. I., pp. 65, 66.*)

The *United States Almanac* estimated the losses, in four years from 1837, on five descriptions of capital alone, at \$782,000,000. In a series of letters to the people of the United States, by "Concivis," published in New York in 1840, it was estimated that the losses from the same causes on wool (\$20,000,000), cotton (\$130,000,000), and grain (\$150,000,000) were \$300,000,000! He shows that manufactures, lands, and every species of property and labor were affected to a like ruinous extent.

In the Presidential campaign of 1840 the Whigs, therefore, made the tariff the principal issue. One of their rallying cries was, "Two dollars a day and roast beef!" The Democracy was badly beaten; and the Whigs, on August 30, 1842, passed a tariff which yielded protection to our nearly ruined industries, and rapidly worked a restoration of the prosperity of the Nation through a revival of its industries and trade.

## PART VI.

### The Democratic Trick by which it became Possible to Repeal the Protective Tariff of 1842, and to Enact the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

In the Presidential campaign of 1844, Henry Clay of Kentucky, the great champion of protection, was the Whig candidate for President; James K. Polk of Tennessee was the Democratic candidate. The electoral vote of the great tariff State of Pennsylvania was necessary to Polk's success, but he was on record against protection. In the public mind he was believed to be a free-trader. The Whigs so charged, and with great force, as Polk was supported by the free-trade South, and by every free-trader in the country. The situation was a difficult one for any but Democratic reform. In Pennsylvania, Mr. Polk, by the Democratic orators and press, was boldly urged as a better tariff man than Mr. Clay. He was a protectionist, and Clay was denounced as having betrayed protection by the compromise act of 1833. The following letter from Mr. Polk was circulated:—

"COLUMBIA, TENN., June 19, 1844.

"DEAR SIR,—I have recently received several letters in reference to my opinions on the subject of the tariff, and, among others, yours of the 30th ultimo. My opinions on this subject have been often given to the public. They are to be found in my public acts, and in the public discussions in which I have participated. I am in favor of a tariff for revenue,—such a one as will yield a sufficient amount to the treasury to defray the expenses of the Government, economically administered. In adjusting the details of a revenue tariff, I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry. I am opposed to a tariff for protection *MERELY*, and not for revenue. Acting upon these general principles, it is well known that I gave my support to the policy of Gen. Jackson's administration on this subject. I voted against the Tariff Act of 1828. I voted for the Act of 1832, which contained modifications of some of the objectionable provisions of the Act of 1828."

"As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, I gave my assent to a bill reported by that committee in December, 1832, making further modifications of the Act of 1828, and making also discriminations in the imposition of the duties which it proposed."

"That bill did not pass, but was superseded by a bill commonly called the Compromise Bill, for which I voted. In my judgment it is the duty of the Government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation. I heartily approve the resolutions upon this subject passed by the Democratic National Convention lately assembled at Baltimore."

"I am, with great respect, dear sir, your obedient servant,  
JAMES K. POLK.

"J. K. KANE, Esq., Philadelphia."

And a little later Polk's letter was enforced by the following from Judge McCandless, an important and influential Democratic leader of the State:—

PITTSBURGH, August 8, 1844.

"GENTLEMEN: Your cordial invitation of the 30th ultimo to be present with you at your mass-meeting on the 3d of September came to hand during my

absence in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania.

"I assure you that I never wrote an apology for my inability to attend any public assemblage in the whole course of my political career with more reluctance than I do this. Clarion has not only been firm and steadfast in her adherence to Democratic principles, but she has been inflexible in her love and support of the tariff—that public measure which (aside from the bank question), like the rod of the Prophet, is destined to swallow up all other topics of political controversy. You have properly appreciated the importance of the *protective principle* to the success of the manufacturing and agricultural interests of Pennsylvania, and in the abandonment of that principle by Mr. Clay, in the compromise bill, you have the best guaranty that, if elected to the Presidency, he will carry out the principles of that bill, and afford you a horizontal duty, to enable you to contend with the pauper labor of Sweden and Russia. In doing so, he would give you and the tariff the same support that the rope does the hanging man—Instant death, and without 'benefit of clergy.' Support him, if you can; for my own part, I shall go for Polk and Dallas, who have at heart the true interests of Pennsylvania.

"My engagements, gentlemen, in the supreme court, will prevent me from attending your mass-meeting. With the brightest prospect of Democratic success—20,000 majority, I have the honor to be, truly yours,

"WILSON McCANDLESS.

"Messrs. ADAM MOONEY, BETH CLOVER, and others, Committee."

This fraud succeeded. James K. Polk was elected. Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Miss., a pronounced Free-Trader, was made Secretary of the Treasury; the tariff of 1842, under which the country had so rapidly advanced to prosperity, was repealed, and the Free-Trade tariff of 1846 enacted.

## PART VII.

### Disastrous Effects of the Tariff of 1846 upon all Industrial Interests.

And now let some of the ablest men of the period through which this Free-Trade tariff extended, Democrats and Whigs, in a few brief extracts, tell the story of disaster and suffering which it worked.

#### Testimony of Henry C. Carey.

Mr. Henry C. Carey, an able writer on Political Economy, in his "*The Prospect, Agricultural, Manufacturing, Commercial, and Financial, at the opening of the year 1851*," and printed in 1851, during the operation of this Free-Trade tariff, thus describes its disastrous effects upon every industrial interest:—

"At the close of this brief period of real 'prosperity' [in 1846], how great was the change. Labor was everywhere in demand. Planters had large crops, and the domestic market was growing with a rapidity that promised better prices. The produce of the farm was in demand, and prices had risen. The consumption of coal, iron, wool, and cotton, and woollen cloth, was immense and rapidly increasing, while prices were falling because of the rapidly improving character of the machinery of production. Production of every kind was immense, and commerce, internal and external, was growing with unexampled rapidity. Shipping was in demand, and its quantity was being augmented at a rate never before known. Roads and canals were productive. Corporations had been resuscitated, and States had recommenced payment, and the credit of the Union was so high that the

same persons who had vilified the people and the Government of the Union in 1842, were now anxious to secure their custom on almost any terms—having become as fawning now as before they had been insolent."—P. 35.

And again in a letter to Hon. Robert F. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, he says:

"The tariff of 1846 has caused the total ruin of thousands and tens of thousands of the most useful men in the country. It tends to the utter destruction of the coal and the iron, the cotton and the woollen interests; and unless its progress be stayed, at that goal we must soon arrive, as must be admitted even by yourself. For all this we should elsewhere find some compensation. If we produce less coal and iron, we should have more wheat to sell. If we make less cotton cloth, we should export more cotton. If we make less woollen cloth, we should raise more wool. If we build fewer factories, we should export more tobacco. If we build fewer furnaces, we should export more corn and pork; and all these things we must do or largely diminish our consumption of cloth and iron, because if we do not make we must buy them, which can be done only by producing commodities which their producers are willing to receive in exchange for them. If these things have happened there may be found therein some compensation for diminished production of cloth and iron; but if they have not happened then there is no compensation for the vast destruction we have witnessed and are daily witnessing.

"Have they happened? Have we more wheat to export? On the contrary, we have less from year to year. Have we more cotton, rice, tobacco, corn, and pork to sell? The answer is found in the fact that the quantity for export diminishes from year to year. The demand for ships diminishes and the demand for labor diminishes, and instead of this country becoming from year to year more and more an asylum for the down-trodden people of Europe, it becomes from year to year less so; and with the diminution of immigration there is a diminution of the number of persons with whom we maintain perfect freedom of trade, untrammelled by the interference of custom-house officers. Under the tariff of 1842 immigration trebled, and with each immigrant we established perfect freedom of trade. Under the tariff of 1846 immigration has become stationary, with a tendency to decline, and the number of arrivals in the last fiscal year is little greater than it was three years before. Perfect free trade has ceased to extend itself. We trade now with a million of Europeans, still resident in Europe, who, but for the enactment of the tariff of 1846, would now be Americans."—P. 5.

#### Testimony of Abram S. Hewitt for protection.

Ex-Representative Abram S. Hewitt, the present Mayor of New-York City, one of the ablest Democrats in the country, is probably at present an advocate of Free Trade. He was also a Democrat in 1848, but under the ruinous operation of the free-trade tariff of 1846, he was compelled to demand protection as the only means of a restoration of prosperity. At a public meeting in Trenton, N.J., in September, 1848, Mr. Hewitt said:

"Labor in Europe was worth twenty-five or thirty cents a day; in this country three or four times that much. The average wages in their mills is a little more than a dollar a day (now \$2). Why was there this difference between English wages and American wages? Because some eight hundred years ago Britain was invaded by a foreign conqueror who seized all the land and wealth of the island, and devoted it to sustain a royal family and a landed aristocracy, and compelled the people, the serfs, whom they made worse than slaves, to toil for them for the merest pittance that would keep them alive. That system continues to this day, the people still toil on for the most niggardly wages, and the great part of their earnings goes to sustain the Queen in her pomp, and the nobles in their spendthrift idleness. In this country it was not so. Our forefathers settled here as men, all of whom were equal to each other, and all of whom were entitled to the products of their labor. Whatever any man earned

was his, all his, and no part of it was to be taken to sustain a monarch's splendor or an idle aristocracy. Under this system the colonies grew and flourished, until they attracted the attention of the government at home, and that government attempted by taxing them to take from them a portion of their earnings, just as they took from the workmen at home the chief part of theirs. That attempt our fathers resisted by arms, and successfully. But in these days the attempt is renewed, and by our own Government; they are endeavoring to break down the difference of English wages and American wages, to reduce the American workman from his dollar a day to an equality with the English workman, who receives as the fruits of his labor only a paltry share, while the remainder is taken to support a king and nobility. . . .

"The value of any manufacture is made up entirely of the wages paid to produce it. Coal and iron in the mines cost nothing. They are the free gift of God. But they are excavated by the pick and shovel of the workman; by him they are wheeled, carted, boated to market; by the workman they are carried to the mill; by the workman the furnace is heated and charged; by him the iron is puddled, rolled, put up for market, carried thither and sold. It is labor, labor, labor that constitutes every addition to the value of the article, and it is the man who bestows that labor who should enjoy all the fruits of it.

"I have lately been in New England for the purpose of securing a contract for rails, in order to keep the mills running after our present contract runs out. I offered to make the rails at the very lowest price at which they could be made at the present rate of wages. An English agent came there and underbid me and got the contract. Thus, for want of a protective system, is the money sent to England to employ English workmen that ought to have come here to employ you."

Mr. Hewitt said he was not a Whig, but a Democrat. Still he went for protection now, as he did, and as his party did, in 1844, and he went for Gen. Taylor because he would sign a bill to protect American labor. He did not ask for any unreasonable duty. He only asked for a duty equal to the difference between American and English labor, etc.

#### Hewitt's Protection Resolutions.

Mr. Hewitt closed by proposing a series of resolutions embodying the general principles he had advanced:

"Resolved, That this meeting, composed of men who depend for their livelihood upon the labor of their own hands, hold the following facts and principles to be undeniably true, viz.:

"That natural wealth is the fruit of individual labor.

"That, therefore, is the best government, and the best policy, which secures to the hand that earns it the largest possible return for its labor.

"That the superiority of free institutions and economical government is proved by the fact that in the United States the average wages of labor are from three to four times as large as under the monarchical governments of Europe.

"That while foreign labor is paid at this price, it would be worse than insanity to adopt any policy by which the wages of our own labor should be reduced to the same level, because it would be throwing away all the advantages secured to us by a free and economical government.

"That if the whole productive industry of the country were employed in producing the articles which we sell abroad, which are mainly breadstuffs and provisions, cotton, rice, and tobacco, we should produce a much larger quantity than we could sell; foreign markets would soon be glutted with these articles; the price of them would fall; the labor that produced them would, as a matter of course, receive less remuneration than it now does; the only stopping point in the decline of wages would be the starving point, and the inevitable result would be that we should be forced to give equal labor for equal labor, instead of one day's labor for four, as we have been doing for many years.

"That, therefore, if we would keep up the price of labor, we cannot employ the whole productive labor of the country in raising such articles as we export; and the farmers, of all men in the community, are

most interested in employing in some other way that amount of labor which, if devoted to agriculture, would produce a glut, and a consequent fall of prices in the foreign markets; and that the only way in which such surplus labor can be employed is in producing certain manufactured articles, which can be bought cheaper in foreign countries, not because it takes less labor there to produce them, but because that labor is paid for at a less price.

"That hence arises the necessity for a tariff, which properly devised, is merely a system whereby the price of labor, which naturally results under a free and economical government, is prevented from being reduced to the pauper level of labor which just as naturally results under governments where the fruits of labor, instead of being secured to the hand that earns them, are flung away in order to maintain the costly splendor of thrones, and the idle extravagance of an enervated aristocracy."

A little later, in December, 1840, Mr. Hewitt repeats the story of ruin:—

"And first, what is the real condition of the domestic iron trade? Is it actually depressed and threatened with ruin, or does all the outcry proceed from men who, having realized ' princely fortunes ' annually, are now clamorous because their profits are reduced to reasonable limits, or from another class who, having erected works in improper locations, desire not so much to make iron cheaply as to build up villages and speculate in real estate? Undoubtedly to some extent there are such cases, . . . but as to the great fact that the great majority of establishments judiciously located, and managed with proper skill and economy, have been compelled to suspend work throughout the land for want of remunerating work, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt.

"Again, of fifteen rail mills only two are in operation, doing partial work, and that only because their inland position secured them against foreign competition, for the limited orders of neighboring railroads, and when these are executed not a single rail mill will be at work in the land."

#### Hon. Joseph Casey of Pennsylvania relates the Ruin of the Iron-trade.

In the House of Representatives, on the 12th of August, 1850, Hon. Joseph Casey, of Pennsylvania, declared:—

"The whole history of the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania shows that in a period of seventy-five years there have been erected 300 furnaces, and out of them 177 failures, or where they have been closed out by the sheriff. Out of this 177 failures 124 of them have occurred since the passage of the tariff of 1846. And out of 300 blast-furnaces in full operation when the tariff of 1846 was enacted into a law, fully one-half had stopped several months ago, and fully 30 more are preparing to go out of blast."

## PART VIII.

### President Fillmore's Message Asking a Restoration of Protection as a Means to Revive Prosperity.

President Fillmore, in his Annual Message, dated Dec. 2, 1851, says:—

"The values of our domestic exports for the last fiscal year, as compared with those of the previous year, exhibit an increase of \$43,646,322. At first view this condition of our trade with foreign nations would seem to present the most flattering hope of its future prosperity. An examination of the details of our exports, however, will show that the increased value of our exports for the last fiscal year is to be found in the high price of cotton which prevailed during the last half of that year, which price has since declined about one-half. The value of our exports of broad-stuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from



\$28,701,921 in 1847 to \$26,051,373 in 1850, and to \$21,848,653 in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. The aggregate values of rice exported during the last fiscal year as compared with the previous year also exhibit a decrease amounting to \$460,917, which, with a decline in the values of the exports of tobacco for the same period, makes an aggregate decrease in these two articles, of \$1,156,751.

"The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country, by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets.

"The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontrovertibly that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

In a subsequent message, President Fillmore urges:—

"In my first annual message to Congress I called your attention to what seemed to me some defects in the present tariff, and recommended such modifications as in my judgment were best adapted to remedy its evils and promote the prosperity of the country. Nothing has since occurred to change my views on this important question.

"Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties, I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject. The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are thrown out of employment; and the farmer, to that extent, is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the article sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England. The prosperity and wealth of every nation must depend upon its productive industry. The farmer is stimulated to exertion by finding a ready market for his surplus products, and benefited by being able to exchange them, without loss of time or expense of transportation, for the manufactures which his comfort or convenience requires. This is always done to the best advantage where a portion of the community in which he lives is engaged in other pursuits. But most manufactures require an amount of capital and a practical skill which cannot be commanded unless they be protected for a time from ruinous competition from abroad."

## PART IX.

### President Buchanan's Message — The Nation Bankrupt and Without Credit.

President Buchanan at the close of this disastrous period, in his annual message, also appealed for protection as a means of rebuilding our dilapidated industries and trade. In his annual message dated Dec. 8, 1857, he says:

"Since the adjournment of the last Congress our constituents have enjoyed an unusual degree of health. The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and, up till within a brief period, our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of

national wealth we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenue of the Government, which is chiefly derived from duties on imports from abroad, has been greatly reduced, while the appropriations made by Congress at its last session for the current fiscal year are very large in amount.

"Under these circumstances a loan may be required before the close of your present session; but this, although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the suffering and distress prevailing among the people. With this the Government cannot fail deeply to sympathize, though it may be without the power to extend relief."

### The National treasury bankrupt — The National credit fallen to its lowest ebb.

As in 1840 under the destructive operation of the compromise tariff of 1833, so in 1860, under the free-trade tariff of 1846, the act which struck down our industries necessarily destroyed our trade, and failed to supply the Government with its necessary revenues. In 1860 the National treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the nation had fallen to its lowest ebb in our financial history. A treasury statement thus gives the figures at which in 1860 our treasury notes were sold:

At 6 per cent .....	\$70,200
At 7 per cent .....	5,000
At 8 per cent .....	24,500
At 8½ per cent .....	33,000
At 8¾ per cent .....	10,000
At 9 per cent .....	65,000
At 9½ per cent .....	10,000
At 9¾ per cent .....	180,000
At 9¾ per cent .....	77,000
At 10 per cent .....	1,027,500
At 10½ per cent .....	268,000
At 10¾ per cent .....	623,000
At 10¾ per cent .....	1,367,000
At 11 per cent .....	1,432,700
At 12 per cent .....	4,840,000
Total .....	\$10,010,900

And this is the inevitable result of free-trade. The destruction of our industries, reducing our laboring classes, manufacturing and agricultural, to want and misery, the ruin of commerce and trade, and that of the people and the nation.

## PART X.

### The Morrill Protective Tariff of 1860 — Subsequent Republican Legislation all Protective.

In 1860 the Republican Party came into power, and passed the Morrill Tariff Act, which was firmly based upon the principle of protection. Since then many changes in the law have been made, under which the tariff duties have been lowered or increased as seemed best for the prosperity of the industrial interests of the United States, while large annual reductions of the total revenue derived from tariff duties have periodically been made, but never has that party in making such changes lost sight of the great American principle of protection — of protection to the manufacturer, of protection to

the artisan and mechanic, of protection to the farmer, of protection to the laborer. It has ever been its habit when making such changes to act with caution and consideration, and to give patient hearing, before taking action, to the representatives of the manufacturing and laboring interests. Information thus gained from the body of the people by the various Republican committees on ways and means has enabled them to prepare and urge to passage protective tariff measures grounded in wisdom as the absolute requirements of American industry. Hence Republican legislation on the subject has always been satisfactory to the American people, and whatever changes were at times demanded by an increasing surplus in the Treasury were slight and of such character as not to disturb the industries or occupations of the American workman. But when the Democratic Party got full possession of the House of Representatives, their restless movements to change the essential principle of tariff legislation from protection to free trade at once affected American industrial interests, and most disastrously, as we shall presently see.

## PART XI.

### The Morrison Free-Trade Tariff of 1876 — The Democratic English Free-Trade Death-Blow aimed at American Industries.

The first attempt since the Rebellion made by the Democrats to tinker the tariff was in 1876, under the lead of Mr. Morrison of Illinois, then, as now, Chairman of the Democratic House Committee on Ways and Means. He introduced to the Democratic House a tariff bill—known as the Morrison Tariff Bill—which had been drawn for him by the Free-Traders and others interested in breaking down protection, ruining home manufacture, and depriving our American home labor of a chance to earn an honest living, which excited great alarm at the time, and had its share in leading up to the succeeding panic and hard times. By Republican efforts, however, this Morrison Tariff Bill was so effectually exposed that it dared not afterward show its head. From Mr. Hubbell's speech a few extracts will suffice to show what was intended by this Democratic English Free-Trade Bill:

"The so-called Morrison tariff, manufactured in New York city, by order of the Free-Trade League, under the inspiration of the American members of the English Cobden Club, strikes directly at the policy of protection, and aims a death-blow at many of our important industries, while none of them are allowed to escape its crippling influences.

#### Rates of reduction of duties.

"On cotton, unbleached, from 5 cents to 2½ cents per square yard.  
On cotton, bleached, from 5½ to 3½ cents per square yard of the ordinary sizes and forms.  
On iron, rolled, one half, bar iron being placed at one half cent per pound.

Pig iron reduced from \$7 to \$5 per ton, or about 30 per cent; or in other words, on iron and steel from 30 to 50 per cent.

On lead and manufactures of lead from 30 to 50 per cent.

On copper in plates, bars, ingots and pigs the duties are reduced from 5 cents per pound to 2 cents. Copper ore transferred to the free list.

On silk and silk goods—

On goods paying 35 per cent reduced to 25.  
" " 40 " " 30.  
" " 50 and 60 " " 40.

Wools, first and second class reduced about 50 per cent.

Marble, in blocks and slabs, reduced from 50 to 30 cents per cubic foot.

Pencils and pens, etc., etc., etc.

#### Analysis of the Morrison bill.

"An analysis of the Morrison tariff, under a comparison with the rates of duty in 1876, gives the following results:

Decrease of duty from the actual receipts of the fiscal year 1875.....	\$18,454,081.72
Add amount of duties not collected during eight months and three days under the provisions "less ten per cent"—	
Cotton goods.....	\$ 700,907.04
Iron and steel.....	3,591,465.89
Copper.....	3,190.16
Lead.....	543,887.23
Wool.....	2,803,551.40
	<hr/> \$7,705,001.52
	<hr/> \$26,159,083.24
Increase of duty.....	20,038,580.85
	<hr/> Decrease of duty..... \$6,120,502.39

#### Taxing the poor man's breakfast table

"It will be observed that the increase of duty is not upon goods *now paying duties*, but mainly upon tea and coffee, which are now admitted free of duty, and ever ought to be, so long as they do not come into competition with home products of the same articles. The amount of duty proposed to be collected from those two items is \$19,218,701.14. So, in future, if the proposed [Morrison] tariff goes into operation, the poor man's family will be taxed heavily for these two important articles of daily consumption."

Outside tea and coffee, increased duties only \$321,879, while decrease for the year over \$26,000,000.

"Aside from the tax proposed to be levied on tea and coffee, the increased duties amount to only \$321,879.71, while the decrease for the year is over \$26,000,000. Practically, however, even if tea and coffee should not be taxed, there will be little or no decrease in the aggregate receipts. The duties from the increase of importations, now unusually large, will overcome the reductions proposed in the tariff, and in a very few years return a larger custom revenue than that now collected. The Morrison tariff is an invitation to foreign manufacturers to surfeit our markets with imported wares, and the opportunity will be promptly embraced. The extent of its evil tendencies can scarcely be measured, and the country now appeals to the wisdom of this Congress to save the people from a practical realization of its fearful consequences."

## PART XII.

### The Wood Free-Trade Tariff Bill of 1878 — How it injured Industrial Interests — Mills' Free-Trade Resolution — Votes on Both.

The Wood Tariff Bill of 1878 undoubtedly did more than any other one thing to unset-

the values, to destroy confidence in our industries, to make capital timid of investment, and to react with cruel effect upon the mechanic and laboring men and women throughout the country. At first the industrial interests of the land proceeded as usual, under the belief that it was merely one of the usual clap-trap devices of Democracy to secure some little political strength in certain localities, and that there was no serious purpose in it. But after a while apprehension was aroused, and petition after petition came in from the bone and sinew of the land, deprecating and protesting against any change in the wise tariff act which had been given to the country by the Republican Party. Deaf to these appeals, and refusing to give audience to the delegations which came to Washington in the interests of the trades and of labor, Mr. Wood and his Democratic friends continued defiantly to press his iniquitous, illy-digested tariff bill in the interests of foreigners and foreign importers, and against the interests of our tradesmen and workmen, and the people generally. Republicans did all they could to refuse the measure any consideration whatever, but at last, on the 26th March, 1878, Mr. Wood succeeded in bringing the bill before the House. Upon his motion, a resolution was adopted making his bill the special order for Thursday, April 4, and to continue from day to day until disposed of. The vote by which this resolution was agreed to was 137 yeas to 114 nays. Of the yeas there were 122 Democrats, and only 15 Republicans; of the nays, 104 Republicans, and only 10 Democrats. Thus, in spite of the almost solid Republican vote against giving this crude bill a hearing, an almost solid Democratic vote brought it before the House, and gave it a chance of being enacted into a law. The Democrats who voted to make the bill a special order are as follows:—

*Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Coritt, S. S. Cox, Cyrens, Crittenden, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellis, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenberg, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartbridge, Harburt, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hutton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kennet, Kinmell, Knott, G. M. Landers, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Muller, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Quinn, Reil, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton, E. W. Turnshend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, and Young.*

**The panic it occasioned — Gallant fight by the Republicans for the laboring man.**

The Republicans, however, continued to fight the monstrous iniquities proposed by this bill, and finally, after a long and doubt-

ful contest — during which many of our most important industries languished, hundreds of business houses were forced to suspend operations, hundreds of others were forced into bankruptcy, and thousands upon thousands of our laboring people were deprived of the chance to earn their daily bread — succeeded in killing this baleful Democratic measure. On the 5th of June 1878, the enacting clause of the bill, to the intense chagrin of Mr. Wood and his Democratic colleagues, was stricken out, and the bill defeated by a vote of 134 yeas to 120 nays. Of the 134 yeas, 115 were Republicans and only 19 Democrats. Of the 120 nays, 113 were Democrats and only 7 Republicans. The Democratic vote in favor of the bill was therefore in the proportion of about six for it to every one against it! The Republican vote against the bill was in the proportion of about sixteen against to every one for it! The names of the Democrats who voted against killing the bill were as follows:

*NAYS — Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Coritt, S. S. Cox, Craeans, Crittenden, Culberson, Davidson, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartbridge, Harburt, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kennet, Kinmell, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Prichmore, Ren, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Seales, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton, E. W. Turnshend, Tucker, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates, Young.*

**Infamous intentions of the Democratic English tariff policy — Proposed reduction of duties by the bill 15 per cent — Further reduction of 35 per cent contemplated.**

In order to see that the object of Fernando Wood's Tariff Bill and of the Democratic Party was ultimately so to reduce the rates of customs duties as to completely destroy the principle of protection, it is only necessary to glance at his speech delivered in the House, April 9, 1878, in support of that monstrous measure. Speaking of the present rates of duties, this Democratic leader airily said:

"I recognize an implied moral right to a little longer continuation of the favor which they afford to the manufacturing interests. The bill reported affords them, so far as the rates of duties are concerned, a little. Its reductions are trifling as compared to what they should be, and, in my opinion, they could well afford to bear. If I had the power to commence now, I should reduce the duties 50 per cent instead of less than 15 per cent upon an average, as now proposed."

Here is an admission that his Tariff Act, in which, as we have seen, the Democrats totally so strongly contemplated an average reduction of about 15 per cent, with a further future reduction of more than twice that amount when, if ever, the administration, as well as to

both branches of Congress, should pass under Democratic control. The "little longer continuation" of the "favor" of the 15 per cent reduction plainly refers to that period, should it ever, unfortunately for our manufacturing industries and the people who get their daily bread by them, arrive.

**Another vote showing the English free-trade views of Democracy.**

Another very instructive vote was that which was cast in the House Dec. 1, 1877, than which nothing could more forcibly prove the real antagonism of the Democratic leaders to the artisan, the mechanic, and the laborer, and their dislike of that system of protection which the Republican party has always afforded to the American workingman, by protecting the manufacturing interests which employ him, against the foreign manufacturer. At that date, upon a resolution offered by Mr. Mills (a Democrat), instructing the Committee on Ways and Means "to so revise the tariff as to make it purely and solely a tariff for revenue" and not for protection, the vote stood: yeas, 67; nays, 76. Of the 67 yeas, 60 were Democratic and only 7 Republican. Of the 76 nays, 54 were Republican and only 12 Democratic.

Following are the names of the Democrats who voted for this anti-protective resolution:

*Messrs. H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Boone, Bragg, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clark, jun., Cobb, Cravens, Culbertson, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Elam, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, Hartsell, Hatchers, House, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Pride-more, Reagan, Riddle, Robertson, Saylor, Scales, Singleton, Simons, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, J. B. Vance, Waddell, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis.*

## PART XIII.

### Hurd's Resolutions (1880) to Restore the Ruinous Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

Dec. 6, 1880, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Hurd, of Ohio, from the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced the following joint resolution:—

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any tariff levied by the Congress should be regulated by the following principles:—*

*"First. A tariff is a tax upon imported goods, which is ultimately paid by the consumer, as the importer always adds to the selling price the amount of duty paid; being a tax paid by the citizen, it ought, therefore, not to be imposed except to provide revenue for the Government, and only that tariff ought to be levied which will with the least burden to the people provide the necessary revenue.*

*"Second. A tariff for protection, so called, does not in most cases protect the interest it pretends to foster; while at first it may bring large profits to those engaged in the manufacturing which is assumed to be protected, it soon, by these very profits, invites many persons into the business, from which result over-production, overstocking of the market, low prices, reduction of the hours of labor, shutting down, at least temporarily, of the workshops, embarrassment to the proprietor, and, in many instances, final bankruptcy, in which the large profits made at first are swallowed up, and the*

*large wages at first paid workmen, if saved up at all, are consumed in waiting for a business revival, which, if it does come, will inevitably be attended by the same consequences.*

*"Third. A protective tariff does not increase the wages of workmen, as demonstrated by the following facts: First, in England since the policy of free trade has been adopted the wages of laborers have been higher than when the system of protection prevailed; second, in Germany, where there is a protective tariff, the wages are lower than in countries without tariff, or with a tariff for revenue only; and, third, the average wages of the American laborer since the adoption of the present tariff have for the ten years last past been less (allowing for the difference in the currency) than under a revenue tariff for the ten years preceding eighteen hundred and sixty.*

*"Fourth. A protective tariff builds up one citizen at the expense of another, for every dollar of additional price the protection enables the manufacturer to charge must be paid by another citizen. Such a discrimination against one and in favor of another a government ought not to make. A protective tariff which protects unequally works injustice. A protective tariff which protects all equally is superfluous, for if all are equally protected they are in precisely the same situation as though they had received no protection at all.*

*"Fifth. A protective tariff disturbs the operation of the primal law of trade which governs all exchanges by the supply and demand of the articles to be exchanged, and openly and shamelessly violates the principle that every man has a right, subject only to governmental necessities, to buy where he can buy the cheapest, and sell where he can get the best price.*

*"Sixth. The present protective tariff has driven the American carrying trade from the high seas, by enhancing the price of the materials which enter into the construction of vessels, so that American ship-builders cannot compete with foreigners engaged in the same business.*

*"Seventh. A protective tariff increases the possibilities of the crime of smuggling, which, with our extensive water frontier and weak Navy, it is impossible to prevent, and by the commission of which dishonest men are made rich by violating the law, and honest men are made poor by obeying it.*

*"Eighth. A protective tariff shuts out the American manufacturer from the markets of the world. Mexico and South America are supplied with their manufactured goods by England. Our best interests demand that the protective barrier our legislation has erected shall be broken down, that American skill and enterprise may have an opportunity to compete with foreign manufactures everywhere. Our manufactures need more an increase of market, by which foreign capital can be brought into this country, than protective legislation, which takes money from one American pocket to put it into another.*

*"Ninth. To the end that the present tariff shall become one for revenue only, the following changes should be made: First, on all dutiable articles producing little or no revenue to the government, the duty should be returned to a revenue basis, or they should be placed upon the free list; second, the duty upon tea and coffee should be restored, and to the extent that this duty produces revenue to the Government the duty should be removed from salt and clothing, and other articles indispensably necessary in domestic life."*

This resolution, in its language and propositions, was manifestly intended as a stump speech in favor of the ruinous free-trade tariff of 1846. But Mr. Hurd misstates the facts. His fundamental proposition is grossly false. The duty upon the imported article is not a tax upon the consumer. As a rule, the duty is not added to the cost of manufacture, but by practically excluding the foreign article, and stimulating home competition, which is one of the effects of protection, the cost to the consumer of the domestic article has been greatly reduced. Again and again has that fact been demonstrated in the House, in Mr. Hurd's presence.

Indeed, Mr. Hurd's series of propositions is simply a revamping of the old and exploded pro-slavery free-trade theories of the notorious Colleton Address. They consequently embrace nothing new. They simply restate a few of the many wretched fallacies in which the pro-slavery free-traders, those old seditious and traitorous enemies of labor and the nation, delighted in discussing the tariff—like the one invented by the famous Hayne, that "a tariff on imports was a tax on exports," etc. They have no foundation upon which they can be maintained, but are opposed by our own experience and that of all nations—by the stern logic of facts which proclaim that their adoption everywhere has been uniformly attended by ruin alike of people and nation.

We will give a few illustrations from the speech of Mr. Duell of New York, in the House, of April 13, 1872. Mr. Duell says, —

"Before the manufacture of window-glass was protected, it cost the consumer \$12 a box. A heavy duty was laid upon it by the tariff of 1842 (which, according to the free-trade theory, ought largely to have increased its price), when, behold, the price fell to \$3. Whose theory did this establish? According to the theory of free-trade here was a result perfectly mysterious and unaccountable. On the principles of protection the thing was perfectly plain. As soon as the duty imposed secured a market to the American manufacturers of glass, they went to work with all their force, each seeking his own profit, and all free to make and sell it as they could, when the astonishing power of competition soon effected the great reduction in price.

"In 1844 the duty on English common bar-iron was \$25 per ton or 68 per cent, and its price was then \$61.83 per ton. The price less the duty would leave \$36.83 as the cost of producing a ton of iron. In 1846 the duty was lowered to 30 per cent, and in 1857 to 24 per cent. According to the free-trade theory the result of this reduction of the tariff should have been to reduce the price of iron just to the extent of the decrease in duty. But the fact is quite different, as the following comparison will prove: In 1844, as we have seen, the duty on English bar-iron was \$25 a ton, and the prime cost was \$36.83. In 1846 the duty was reduced to 30 per cent, or more than one half, which was equal to a duty of \$10.42 per ton, instead of \$25. The price of iron ought therefore to have gone down to \$26.41, or to \$36.83 less the \$10.42 duty, if the free-traders are right in their theories. But instead of this the cost of production actually increased to \$54.80 per ton, an advance of \$17.97 per ton."

And so on in many other illustrations of these facts. (See Mr. Duell's speech in *Cong. Record*, etc.)

Like the Wood Free-Trade Tariff Bill of 1878, this Hurd joint resolution was introduced to strike down the industries of the Nation, and to impoverish all ranks and classes of our loyal people—all to open a market to the British trader. The resolutions however came to naught.

## PART XIV.

### Republican Tariff-Commission Act of 1882—Votes in both Houses—Democratic Attempt to Substitute the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

The following Act, known as the Tariff Commission Act of 1882, was passed in that

year by the Republican House and approved by the President.

"An Act to provide for the appointment of a commission to investigate the question of the tariff.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission is hereby created to be called the 'Tariff Commission,' to consist of nine members.

"SEC. 2. That the President of the United States shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint nine commissioners from civil life, one of whom, the first named, shall be the president of the commission. The commissioners shall receive as compensation for their services each at the rate of ten dollars per day when engaged in active duty, and actual travelling and other necessary expenses. The commission shall have power to employ a stenographer and a messenger; and the foregoing compensation and expenses to be audited and paid by the Secretary of the Treasury out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of said commission to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests; and for the purpose of fully examining the matters which may come before it, said commission, in the prosecution of its inquiries, is empowered to visit such different portions and sections of the country as it may deem advisable.

"SEC. 4. That the commission shall make to Congress final report of the results of its investigation, and the testimony taken in the course of the same, not later than the first Monday of December, eighteen hundred and eighty-two; and it shall cause the testimony taken to be printed from time to time and distributed to members of Congress by the Public Printer, and shall also cause to be printed for the use of Congress two thousand copies of its final report, together with the testimony."

The passage of this bill was resisted at every step by the Democracy, by multiplying amendments, by debate in which they denounced the principle and practice of protection, and by their votes at every stage of its progress.

The House passes the bill May 6, 1882—yeas 151, nays 83.

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Anderson, Atherton, Barbour, Barr, Bayne, Bingham, Bliss, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Brumm, Buck, J. C. Burrows, Jos. H. Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Chace, Chapman, Clardy, Crapo, Cullen, Curtin, Darrall, Dawes, Deering, De Motte, Dezenendorf, Dingley, Dwight, Ellis, Emmentrout, Errett, C. B. Farwell, Ford, George, Gibson, Godshalk, Grout, Guenther, Hall, Harner, H. S. Harris, Haseltine, Haskell, Hawk, Hazleton, Helman, Henderson, Hepburn, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hiseock, Hobbsell, Hoge, Horr, Hubbard, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, P. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Kasson, Kelly, Kennat, Ketcham, Klotz, Lacey, Lewis, Lord, Lynch, Marsh, McClure, McKinley, McLane, S. K. Miller, Moore, Morse, Morey, Mosgrove, Murch, Mulholland, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Pacheco, Page, Payson, Peck, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Randall, Ranney, Ray, Reed, T. M. Rice, W. W. Rice, Rich, Ritchie, G. D. Robinson, J. S. Robinson, Ross, Ryan, Russell, Scoville, Seranton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Shewlin, Shultz, Skinner, A. Herr Smith, J. H. Smith, Spear, Spooner, Steele, E. F. Stone, Strick, Talbot, Taylor, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, Upson, Valentine, Van Horn, Van Vorhe, Wadsworth, Walt, Walker, Ward, Watson, Webster, J. D. White, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise, W. Wood, T. L. Young—151.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkin, Armfield, Beach, Belford, Belmont, Belthoover, Berry, Bland, Bloom, Bragg, Buchanan, Buckner, Caldwell, Carlisle,

Clark, J. C. Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, S. R. Cox, W. H. Cox, Cravens, Culbertson, Cutts, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Doed, Dunn, Donnell, Erins, S. B. Farwell, Finley, Forney, Garrison, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hardenbergh, Hatch, Herbert, Herndon, Abram S. Hewitt, House, J. K. Jones, King, Knott, Latham, Leedom, LeFevre, Manning, Matson, McCoid, McKensie, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Moulton, Muldrow, Oates, Orth, Phister, Reagan, Seales, Shackelford, Singleton, R. Otho, Springer, Stocklager, P. B. Thompson, jr., Tiltman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Oscar Turner, T. Updegraff, Vance, R. Warner, Washburn, Wellborn, Whitthorne, T. Williams, Willis—83.

The Senate passes the bill May 9, 1882—yeas 35, nays 19.

YEAS.—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Frye, Gorman, Groome, Hale, Hampton, Hawley, Hill of Colorado, Hoar, Johnston, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Lapham, McMill, McMillan, McPherson, MAHONEY, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Platt, Rollins, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Windom—35.

NAYS.—Messrs. Cull, Cockrell, Coke, DAVIS of Illinois, Farley, George, Grover, Harris, Ingalls, Jackson, Jones, Marey, Morgan, Pugh, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Walker—19.

The attempt to substitute the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846 for the Commission Bill.

On May 6, 1882, prior to the passage of the Tariff Commission Bill aforesaid, Mr. Mills, Democrat, from Texas, moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report within thirty days a bill framed upon the following instructions, which embraced practically the provisions of the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846:

"1. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered.

"2. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate that will yield the largest amount of revenue.

"3. That below such rate discrimination may be made descending in the scale of duties, or, for imperative reasons, the article may be placed on the list of those free from all duty.

"4. That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries.

"5. That all specific duties should be abolished, and *ad valorem* duties substituted in their place, care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and undervaluation, and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

"6. That the duty should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the Union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section."

The Democrats vote for free trade and ruin.

The motion was defeated by the following vote:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Aiken, Armfield, Atkins, Beach, Belmont, Berry, Bland, Blount, Bragg, Buchanan, Buckner, Caldwell, Carlisle, Chapman, J. B. Clark, J. C. Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Covington, Cravens, Culbertson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Doed, Dunn, Erins, Finley, Forney, Garrison, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hatch, Herbert, Herndon, Hoblitzell, House, J. K. Jones, Knott, Latham, Leedom, LeFevre, Manning, Matson, McKensie, McKane, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Moulton, Muldrow, MURPHY, Oates, Phister, Reagan, Seales, Shackelford, O. R. Singleton, Stocklager, Tallott, Tiltman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, O. Turner, Vance, R. Warner, Wellborn, Whitthorne, J. Williams, Willis—75.

NAYS.—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Barbour, Barr, Bayne, Bluff, Bingham, Bliss, Bowman, J. H. Brewer, Bruce, Browne, BRUNN, Buck, J. H. Burrows, J. C. Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Camp, Campbell,

Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Clardy, Crapo, Cullen, Curtin, Cutts, Darrall, Dawes, Deering, DeMott, Dezendorf, Dingley, Dunnell, Dwight, Ellis, Ernstrout, Errett, C. B. Farwell, S. B. Farwell, Ford, George, Gibson, Godshalk, Grout, Guenther, Hall, Hardenbergh, Harmer, H. S. Harris, I. S. HASELTINE, Haskell, Hawk, G. C. Hazelton, Heilman, Henderson, Hepburn, J. Hill, Hiscok, Hoge, Horst, Hubbell, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, P. Jones, Jorgenson, Joyce, Kisson, Kelley, Kenna, Ketcham, Klotz, Lacey, Lewis, Lindsey, Lord, Lynch, Marsh, McClure, McCoid, McKinley, S. H. Miller, Moore, Morey, Morse, Mosgrove, Mutchler, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Pacheco, Page, Payson, Peele, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Randall, Kannev, Ray, Reed, T. M. Rice, W. W. Rice, Rich, Ritchie, G. D. Robinson, J. S. Robinson, Ross, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Scoville, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Sherwin, Shultz, Skinner, A. H. Smith, J. H. Smith, Speer, Spooner, G. W. Steele, E. F. Stone, Stralt, Taylor, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Upson, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Van Horn, Van Voorhis, Wadsworth, Wait, Walker, Ward, Washburn, Watson, Webber, C. G. Williams, Willis, Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise, W. A. Wood, T. L. Young—152.

## PART XV.

Knit Goods—Duty on Woollen Goods—Bill of 1882 "to Correct an Error" Opposed by the Democrats in both Houses.

On June 5, 1882, Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, moved to suspend the rules and pass the following bill:

"A bill to correct an error in section 2504 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

"Be it enacted, etc., That the paragraph beginning with the words 'clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel,' under Schedule M of Section 25 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, amended by the insertion of the word 'wool' before the word 'silk' in two places where it was omitted in the revision of the said statutes; so that the same shall read as follows:

"Clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel of every description, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, not otherwise provided for, caps, gloves, leg-gings, mitts, socks, stockings, woven shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, worn by men, women, or children, and not otherwise provided for, articles worn by men, women, or children, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up, or made wholly or in part by hand, not otherwise provided for, 35 per cent *ad valorem*."

The Committee of Ways and Means, through its chairman, Mr. Kelley, in reporting this bill to the House, used the following language:

"The purpose of the first section of this bill is to correct an error made in revising the statutes, which error is found in a paragraph near the bottom of page 474 of the Revised Statutes, edition of 1878. This paragraph is found in Schedule M, called sundries, of the tariff law. Schedule L provides for all duties on wool and woollen goods, and is a re-enactment and embodiment of the statute of March 2, 1867, which repealed all former duties on wools and woollen goods, and imposed pound duties on wools, and corresponding pound duties on woollen goods; the object being to set off one pound duty against the other, and, in addition, 35 per cent on the manufactured article. The revision on page 471 is the act of March 2, 1867, word for word, with imposed duties in lieu of all former duties on wools and woollen goods. This statute provides as follows:

"Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods, balmores, woollen and worsted yarns, and all manufac-

tures of every description composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals, except such as are composed in part of wool, not otherwise provided for, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 20 cents per pound; valued at above 40 cents per pound, and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 30 cents per pound; valued at above 60 cents per pound, and not exceeding 80 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound; and, in addition thereto, upon all the above-named articles, 35 per cent *ad valorem*."

"The duties above described were made to correspond with the value of the goods, and the higher-priced woollen goods were made to pay a duty of 60 cents per pound. These rates were collected prior to and since the revision of the statutes down to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Viotor* and others against C. A. Arthur, collector of the port of New York, rendered about fifteen months ago."

"The paragraph in which the error occurs is found in Schedule L of the tariff laws, and reads as follows:

"Clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel of every description, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, not otherwise provided for, caps, gloves, leggins, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, except silk and linen, worn by men, women, or children, and not otherwise provided for, articles worn by men, women, or children, of whatever material composed, except silk and linen, made up or made wholly or in part by hand, not otherwise provided for, 35 per cent *ad valorem*."

"It will be noticed that the word 'wool' is found in the first exception of the above paragraph, but is omitted from the other two exceptions included in the same paragraph, and it is plain that the three exceptions were intended to exclude all articles of wearing apparel made of wool, silk, or linen from the rate of duty levied by the paragraph. The clause which causes the hardship on American manufactures of knit goods is found in the paragraph of Schedule M, above quoted, and reads as follows:—

"Caps, gloves, leggins, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, etc."

"There was no exception of wool, silk, or linen in the original paragraph, because the law had not yet been passed that excepted them; but by the act of June 30, 1864, a special provision was made for these articles on pages 208, 209, 210, volume 13, Statutes at Large. By the act of June 30, 1864, wool, silk, and linen goods were excepted, and this paragraph applied to cotton goods alone, and should have been placed in the revision in the cotton Schedule A. The revisers recognized the fact as to silk and linen, and began right with wool in the first exception, but neglected it in the second and third exceptions. The Act of March 2, 1867, page 561, volume 14, Statutes at Large, provides for all manufactures of woollen goods."

#### Democratic Resistance—The Votes.

The motion failed by 135 yeas to 70 nays—two-thirds being required in the affirmative. Only 11 of the 135 yeas were Democratic votes. Every one of the 70 nays was Democratic.

On July 3, 1882, in a thinner House, the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill was successful in spite of the long-protracted resistance of the Democrats, by 134 yeas to 48 nays, as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Anderson, Atherton, Barr, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Bisbee, Bliss, Bowman, J. H. Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Brunn, Buck, Burrows, Julius C.; Butterworth, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chase, Converse, Crapo, Curtis, Dawes, Deering, DeMotte, Dezenendorf, Dingley, Dwight, Ermentrout, Errott, Farwell, Sewall S.; Fisher, Ford, Frost, Fulkerson, Geddes, George, Gibson, Hall, Hammond J.; Harner, Harris, Benjamin W. Harris, Henry S.; Haskell, Hazelton, Henderson, Hepburn, Hill, Hisecock, Hobbs, Horner, Hubbell, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, Jorgensen, Kasson, Kelley, Ketcham, Alots, Lacey, Ladd,

Lewis, Lord, Lynch, Mason, McCook, McKinley, McLane, Miles, Moore, Morey, Mongrore, Mutchler, Neal, O'Neill, Orth, Page, Parker, Paul, Pecklo, Peirce, Pettibone, Phelps, Prescott, Ranney, Ray, Rice, John B.; Ritchie, Robeson, Robinson, George D.; Robinson, James B.; Robinson, Wm. E.; Ross, Russell, Ryan, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Shultz, Smith, A. Herr; Smith, D. C.; Smith, J. H.; Spaulding, Spooner, Steele, Stone, Talbot, Taylor, Thompson, Tillman, Townsend, Amos, Tyler, Updegraff, J. T.; Updegraff, T.; Urner, Valentine, Van Horn, Wadsworth, Walt, Walker, West, White, Williams, Willis, Wilson, Wise, M. R.; Young—134.

NAYS—Messrs. Atkins, Berry, Blackburn, Blount, Buchanan, Buchner, Carlisle, Cassidy, Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, Coz, Samuel S.; Craigs, Culbertson, Davidson, Davis, Louder, H.; Dibrell, Dunnell, Forney, Gault, Hewitt, G. W.; Holman, House, Jones, George W.; Jones, James K.; Knoll, LeFrere, Manning, Martin, Matson, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Oates, Phislar, Reagan, Rosecrans, Springer, Stockliger, Strait, Thompson, P. B., Jr.; Townshend, R. W.; Tucker, Turner, Henry G.; Turner, Oscar; Warner, Wellborn, Willis—48.

In the Senate also the bill had to run the gauntlet of Democratic opposition by attempted Democratic amendments and votes. But on the 5th of August it also passed that body by 36 yeas to 15 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blair, Brown, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chittcott, Conger, Davis of Illinois, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Ferry, Gorman, Hale, Harrison, Hawley, Hoar, Ingalls, Jones, Jones of Nevada, Logan, McMill, McMillan, Mahone, Miller of California, Morrill, Pendleton, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Windom—36.

NAYS—Messrs. Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Farley, George, Hampton, Harris, Marcy, Morgan, Pugh, Saulsbury, Vest, Walker, Williams—15.

## PART XVI.

### The Tariff Act of 1883—Votes Exhibiting Continued Democratic Hostility to Protection.

In 1883 the Republican House, and the barely Republican Senate, passed a tariff act founded mainly upon the recommendations of the Tariff Commission, but modified by the needs of industry as developed since the report of said commission. It is too lengthy to print herewith, but can be found in the statutes.

The Democrats fought the bill in every possible way, because it embodied the Republican American Protective feature. It aimed at a reduction of some \$40,000,000 in the annual revenue derived from the customs duties and internal revenue taxes. This Tariff bill was made up in the Senate, in the shape of amendments to a House Internal Revenue bill, and upon reaching the House, the House disagreed to all the Senate amendments in bulk, leaving it for a committee of conference between the disagreeing votes of the two houses to settle the disagreement, and report an agreement to both houses.

The conference committee on the part of the House comprised Messrs. Kelley of Pennsylvania, McKinley of Ohio, Haskell of Kansas, Carlisle of Kentucky, and Spear of Georgia—in place of *Rundall* of Pennsylvania, who had declined. The conference

The report of the Committee on Conference, being the passage of the bill as it now stands in the Statutes, was finally concurred in by the Senate March 3, 1883, by the following vote:

**NAYS**—Messrs. *Burrow, Bayard, Brown, Butler, Call, Cameron* of Pennsylvania, *Cockerell, Coke, Fair, Garland, George, Gorman, Groome, Harris, Jackson, Jones, Jones* of Florida, *Lamar, Macey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Voorhes, Walker, Williams*—31.

The report of the Committee on Conference, as above, was concurred in by the House March 3, 1883, by the following vote:

NAYS.—Messrs. Aiken, Arnsfeldt, Atholton, Atkins,  
 Barbour, Bayne, Beach, Belmont, Berry, Blackman,  
 Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Bonham, Butt, Calkins,  
 Buchanan, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Calhoun, J. M. Calhoun,  
 Campbell, Canfield, Casady, Chapman, Clark, Cle-  
 ments, Cobb, Colverick, Converse, J. C. Cook, P. Cook,  
 Corning, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cawood, D. D. Deader,  
 Davidson, L. H. Davis, E. Dawson, Deader, Dibble,  
 Ford, Lamm, Jones, Ellis, Errett, J. H. Evans,  
 Frazier, Ford, Fournier, Garrison, Giddis, R. C. Gil-  
 bert, Gilchrist, J. Hammond, I. S. HASELTINE, W.  
 H. Hatch, Haybert, J. S. Hewitt, Hubbard, Hughes,  
 Holman, Horner, Hubbell, Hutchins, G. W. JONES,  
 J. E. Jones, Kennet, King, Knott, Lathrop, Leaton,  
 Le Fèvre, Manning, Martin, Mathson, McKencie,  
 McKinley, R. M. McLane, McMillin, S. H. Miller,  
 Mills, Monah, Morrison, Moulton, MURCH, Reese, J.  
 B. Rice, T. M. RICE, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robert-  
 son, J. S. Robinson, W. E. Robinson, Rowcrans,  
 Seale, Simonton, O. R. Singleton, Sparks, Springer,  
 Stokessager, Tallant, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor,  
 P. B. Thompson, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, H. G.

PAIRS—Messrs. McClure, Rice of Massachusetts, and Thompson of Iowa, in the affirmative, were paired with Messrs. Hewitt of Alabama, Reagan, and Clardy—6—in the negative.

Messrs. *Black, Cornell, Curtin, Crarens, Chester B. Darrall, Thomas H. Herndon, Charles E. Hooker, Mosgrove, Nolan, Oates, Paul, J. Phelps, Phinter, Prescott, Russell, J. W. Singleton, and Benj. Wood,*—17—unpaired, did not vote.

**Democratic Defeat of the Bill of 1884  
to restore the Tariff on Wool — How  
it came to need Restoration — Demo-  
cratic Responsibility — Votes — Statis-  
tics.**

By way of preliminary explanation, it may be well to state that on Feb. 20, 1883, Mr. Sherman, in the Senate, during the consideration of the Tariff bill of 1883, had moved to amend the following paragraphs on wool by changing the rates from "10" to "12" in the first, from "12" to "14" in the second, from "10" to "12" in the third, and from "12" to "14" in the fourth, making them read thus:—

"Wools of the first class, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall be 30 cents or less per pound, 12 cents per pound.

per pound, 12 cents per pound.

“Wools of the same class, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall exceed 30 cents per pound, 14 cents per pound.

"Wools of the second class, and all hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall be 30 cents or less per pound, 12 cents per pound.

"Wools of the same class, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall exceed 30 cents per pound, 14 cents per pound."

Mr. Sherman's amendment was, however, rejected by the very decisive Senate vote of 20 yeas to 40 nays. Only 3 of the 20 yeas were Democratic votes, while 26 of the 40 nays were Democratic votes. In other words, of the Republicans voting, 17 voted yea to 14 voting nay, while of the Democrats voting, only 3 voted yea, and 26 nay. A majority of the Republicans voting voted yea; an overwhelming majority of the Democrats voting voted nay. Following is the detailed vote:—

YEAS—Messrs. Brown, Camden, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Davis of Illinois, Harrison, Hill, Jones of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Pendleton, Plumb, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Tabor, Windom—20.

WATLEY, SEWELL, SUTHERLAND, TADDER, WINDHAM—20.  
 NAYS—MERRITT, Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Bar-  
 none, Bayard, Beck, Blair, Call, Cockrell, Coke,  
 Dawes, Frye, George, Gorman, Groome, Grozer,  
 Hale, Hampton, Harris, Hawley, Hoar, Inghalls, Jack-  
 son, Johnson, Jones, Jones of Florida, McPherson,  
 Murray, Morrill, Platt, Pugh, Ransom, Rollins, Sauls-  
 bury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Voorhees,  
 Williams—40.

The wool clause of the Tariff Act of 1883



never came up for separate action in the House, and therefore there was no distinctive House record on the wool item. But we shall hear directly from a member of that committee of conference how it was that in view of that adverse Democratic vote in the Senate, the committee of conference dared not risk the defeat of the entire bill on the last day of the Congress by correcting the wrong done to the wool interest by that Democratic vote.

**Text of the bill of 1884 to restore the duty on wool.**

On April 7, 1884, a motion was made in the House by Mr. Converse of Ohio to suspend the rules, and pass the House bill (H. R. 1218) to restore the duty on wool, which is in these words:—

"A bill (H. R. 1218) to restore the rates of duty on imported wool.

*"Be it enacted,* That the rates of duty to be levied, collected, and paid upon the three several classes of wool and hair from the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, as now classified by law, which may be imported from foreign countries, shall be restored and fixed at what they were on each of the three classes, respectively, of said articles at the time of the passage of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled 'An act to reduce internal revenue taxation, and for other purposes,' any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

There was a brief debate (half-an-hour only) allowed on this motion, in which Mr. McKinley (Republican, who was a member of the committee of conference aforesaid) took part. He said:—

**What the Tariff Bill of 1883 did as to wool.**

"The general revision of the tariff made by the last Congress reduced the duties on wool to 10 cents and 12 cents per pound on first and second class wools. That is, it abolished the 10 and 11 per cent *ad valorem* which under the act of 1867 were assessed on these two classes of wool in addition to the specific duty of 10 and 12 cents per pound.

**The proposed restoration—Why the wrong was not corrected in the bill of 1883.**

"The bill now before us proposes to restore the *ad valorem* rates, so that hereafter the duties to be levied and collected upon these two grades of wool shall be 10 cents per pound and 11 per cent *ad valorem* upon one class, and 12 cents per pound and 10 per cent *ad valorem* upon the other. In a word, it restores the duties upon wool as fixed by the act of 1867. It is only proper that I should state that the last House never had an opportunity to vote upon the wool duty as a separate proposition, but was compelled to vote upon the Senate bill as agreed to in the conference committee as a whole. The alternative was then presented to the House of passing the bill as an entirety, which involved reductions in custom rates and large reductions of internal revenue taxes amounting to \$40,000,000 annually, or defeat it, and thus lose everything of good which the bill contained. Had the question of disturbing the wool duty been presented distinct and separate, the reduction would never have taken place. This was shown when the Ways and Means Committee authorized one of its members to offer as a committee amendment the wool duties of 1867, which would have been presented and passed had the consideration of this schedule ever been reached in the House. Nor would the conference committee have failed to correct the wrong if it had not been made manifest by repeated votes in the Senate that the increase proposed upon wool would certainly have defeated the bill in the Senate.

**The injustice recognized by both parties.**

"The reduction was made under the circumstances I have named, and the injustice of it has come to be recognized by the Republican Party and by many Democrats in Ohio and other States. We now have an opportunity to do justice to this important article of American production, and the proposition of my colleague, plain and simple, is to correct the injustice, and place the wool industry of the country where the legislation of last winter found it.

"The act of 1867, which this bill proposes to restore, was in every sense a just one, equitable in its provisions, and time has demonstrated its practical benefits in the growth and development of wool production. In 1850 there were 21,723,220 sheep in the United States, producing 52,516,959 pounds of wool; in 1860 there were 22,471,225 sheep, producing 60,264,913 pounds; in 1870 there were 25,477,951 sheep, producing 100,102,387 pounds; in 1880 there were 43,576,899 sheep, producing 235,648,834 pounds; in 1883, 50,500,000 sheep producing 320,000,000 pounds of wool.

"From 1860 to 1870, during the decade when the protective-tariff act of 1867 went into operation, the number of sheep increased 23 per cent, while in the decade between 1850 and 1860 it was less than 4 per cent, while the price of wool has decreased to the consumer, amply demonstrating that adequate protection does not increase the cost of the protected article.

**More than a million of our people directly interested—Every State appealing for the restoration.**

"There are more than a million of our fellow citizens directly interested in this form of production. They constitute the farmers of the country, great and small. They feel that a great wrong has been done them; that the value of their product has been most seriously diminished, and that unless Congress gives them the needed relief their business will be further seriously crippled and eventually destroyed; that sheep-husbandry in the older States will be a thing of the past, and the production of the finer grades of wool which enter so largely into domestic manufacture will be exclusively the product of Australia and other foreign countries, which can result only to the injury of our own people; for when Australia once gets control of this market she will increase the price to the manufacturer and consumer. In every aspect, therefore, and for every interest in the United States this bill ought to pass.

"The farmers, busy with their own employments, do not often come to this legislative body asking for legislative relief, and when they do come their requests should receive the highest consideration, and when just and reasonable, as in this case, they should command prompt and favorable action.

"Petitions from all of the wool-growing States, extending from Vermont to California, have poured in upon this House almost daily from the opening of the session, urging the prompt restoration of the wool duty of 1867. It is not Ohio alone, but every State in the Union is concerned in your favorable action upon this bill. Their appeals should not go unheeded. I do not doubt that every member on this side, as a simple act of justice, will vote this measure. It is in harmony with the principle of protection which we advocate as a party and the policy which we have always pursued. There should be no halting in response to their request. I earnestly appeal to you to vote for this bill, and with the aid of gentlemen on the other side we may to-day, so far as this branch of the legislative will can do it, right this wrong.

**Appeal to the Democrats in Congress to stand by their express promises.**

"This motion requires a two-thirds vote; so with the entire vote of this side of the House we must have a large vote from the other side to succeed. May I appeal to the Democrats of this House to aid generously by their votes in this much-needed legislation? I venture to do it the more boldly because your brethren last fall in Ohio, by platform, public speech, and campaign literature, assured the people in the most

authoritative manner that the wool duty of 1867 should be restored at the beginning of this Congress. It was not the campaign clatter of irresponsible politicians, it was the voice and the utterances of the leaders of the party in the State supported by the leaders of the party in other States.

"MR. DUNN. Who are they?

"MR. MCKINLEY. Why, the whole Democratic party. I hold in my hand a pamphlet issued by the authority of the Ohio State Central Democratic Committee, in which they said that if Mr. Hoadly was elected Governor of Ohio that this Congress, which fortunately was Democratic (as they declared), on the very first days of its session should wipe out the iniquity inflicted on the wool-growers by the Republicans of the last Congress. The people heard and believed these party assurances, and thousands of wool-growers who had always theretofore voted otherwise voted the Democratic ticket, transferred the entire political power of the State from the control of the Republican to that of the Democratic Party, captured the executive and both branches of the Legislature, and elected a United States Senator. And now that you have gathered the fruit of their faith and your promises, the farmers and wool-growers of the State demand and have a right to demand that you make good your pledges and keep faith with those who acted upon your assurances. You have secured the prize of victory—party success—now step up and keep your promises. [Applause on the Republican side of the House.] Do I make this too strong? Let me read you what your party said last September, and you will say that if they were dealing fair and honorably with the people then, they have a right to expect the prompt passage of the bill:

#### The Democratic pledge to restore the duties.

"I read from a pamphlet issued by the Democratic executive committee of Ohio and sent broad-cast over the State in the campaign of last fall:

"The Democrats propose to work industriously for power, with full confidence in the intelligence of the people, and when they obtain power to at once repeal the iniquitous measure (the wool tariff).

"Is it possible to obtain a restoration of the duty entire?

"This is the question which every sheep-owner in Ohio is asking himself. We say to every farmer, and with all possible emphasis, that the question must be answered now.

"Next year will not do. The reason is clear: the issue has been raised in the present Ohio campaign, and the wool interest elsewhere, as well as the enemies of the wool interest, are unanimous in recognizing that the result of the Ohio campaign will decide whether the duty shall be restored immediately or whether its restoration shall be left to the chances of the future.

"The election of Hoadly, on the other hand, means the triumph of the Democrats and the success of their objects, of which the unconditional restoration of the duty on wool entire is one of the most important. This triumph will create a most irresistible sentiment throughout the nation in favor of the wool-growers, and when Congress meets next winter (it is, fortunately, Democratic in the House) the strength of public opinion will be so great that the President will not dare resist it, and he will readily sign any measure brought forward for relief. The consequence will be that farmers will be able to retain their flocks and go on with the profitable production of wool. The election of a Democratic Legislature insures the election of a Democratic United States Senator from Ohio and largely increases the chances of having a Democratic majority in the United States Senate, and in that event the Democratic party will be in a situation to redeem its promise made to the wool-growers of Ohio in its State platform. Farmers of Ohio, can you trust the party that has in our national Legislature outraged and robbed you at the bidding of the capitalists of New England? Is there any hope for you from such a party, who have thus deliberately sacrificed your dearest and best interest? The party that created this great wrong cannot be trusted to give you relief. The Democrats in Congress were your friends. They

sought by every means in their power to prevent this wrong from being inflicted on you. Trust the Democratic party in this matter; it has promised to and will give you relief."

"Will you ignore these promises, so authoritatively made, and deny the great farming class this much-needed legislation?

"I am earnestly and heartily for this bill, and sincerely hope the House will give it the requisite number of votes to insure its adoption, and thus demonstrate its purpose to carefully guard and protect the American wool raised by the American farmer against the foreign competitor whose product is prepared for the market by a cheap labor—so cheap and ill-paid that no farmer in the United States can or will enter with it the field of competition. Our farmers who have contributed so largely to the wealth and progress of this nation are justly entitled to the relief they ask."

#### How the Democrats in Congress contemptuously broke those pledges to the wool-growers—The vote.

At the conclusion of the brief discussion, the motion to take up and pass this righteous measure of protection and relief was lost by 119 yeas to 126 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anderson, Atkinson, Bayne, Bedford, Biebe, Boyle, Brainerd, Breitung, F. B. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Chace, Connolly, Converse, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, Dibratt, Duncan, Eldredge, Ellwood, Emmentrout, Everhart, Fiedler, Findlay, Funston, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Hanback, Harner, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, T. J. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hitt, Holmes, Holton, Hooper, Hopkins, Horr, Houk, Howe, C. Hunt, Jeffords, Jordan, Kasson, Keifer, Kelley, Ketchum, Lacey, Laird, Lawrence, Le Ferre, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, Millard, Morey, Morrill, Murray, Mutchler, Nichols, Nutting, C. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Payson, S. J. Peelle, Perkins, Peters, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Price, Randall, G. W. Ray, J. S. Robinson, Rosecrans, Rowell, Russell, Ryan, Shelley, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, Snyder, Spriggs, Stephenson, Stevens, J. W. Stewart, Storm, D. H. Sumner, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Tillman, Tully, Valentine, Wakefield, A. J. Warner, Weaver, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, Wilkins, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, J. Winans, YORK—119.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Bagley, Ballentine, Barbours, Barkdale, Beach, Bennett, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Buchanan, Buckner, Burnes, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, F. Campbell, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Cobb, Cosgrove, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Dargun, L. H. Davis, R. T. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dockery, Dorsheimer, Dowd, Dunn, Eaton, J. H. Erins, Forney, Fyan, Graves, Greenleaf, Halsey, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, D. B. Henderson, Herbert, Hoblitzell, Holman, Houseman, Hurd, Hutchins, James, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, Long, Lore, Locering, Lowry, LYMAN, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Moulton, Muldrow, Murphy, Neece, Nelson, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, Pryor, Pusey, Rankin, Reagan, Rees, Riggs, T. A. Robertson, Rockwell, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Scales, Seymour, Shaw, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Springer, C. Stewart, Stocklager, Strait, Struble, Talbot, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, T. J. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, M. White, Whiting, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, E. B. Winans, Wolford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Yable, C. Young—126.

Analysis of the above vote shows that while 79 Republicans voted to restore the duties, to 10 Republicans who voted against it, only 39 Democrats voted to restore the duties, to 109 Democrats who disregarded all their pledges and voted against such restoration.

## PART XVIII.

## Statistics of the American Wool-growing Interest.

[Compiled, 1884, by Statistician J. R. Dodge, Department of Agriculture.]

## Number of Sheep Flocks in the States and Territories.\*

Alabama.....	23,875	Indiana.....	54,069	Montana.....	137	South Carolina.....	10,049
Arizona.....	39	Iowa.....	17,220	Nebraska.....	2,119	Tennessee.....	62,924
Arkansas.....	20,595	Kansas.....	5,804	Nevada.....	97	Texas.....	8,390
California.....	4,320	Kentucky.....	60,598	New Hampshire.....	11,206	Utah.....	2,001
Colorado.....	406	Louisiana.....	5,449	New Jersey.....	5,822	Vermont.....	16,573
Connecticut.....	3,194	Maine.....	34,132	New Mexico.....	814	Virginia.....	32,494
Dakota.....	1,819	Maryland.....	10,498	New York.....	75,523	Washington.....	1,067
Delaware.....	1,086	Massachusetts.....	3,488	North Carolina.....	52,541	West Virginia.....	30,909
Florida.....	1,001	Michigan.....	62,119	Ohio.....	93,984	Wisconsin.....	58,487
Georgia.....	25,514	Minnesota.....	24,208	Oregon.....	4,665	Wyoming.....	44
Idaho.....	123	Mississippi.....	15,466	Pennsylvania.....	72,425		
Illinois.....	39,803	Missouri.....	63,990	Rhode Island.....	790	Total, U. S.....	1,020,728

## Number of Sheep and Quantity of Wool.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Sheep.	Sheep on Farms. <i>a</i>	Ranch and Range Sheep. <i>b</i>	Wool. <i>c</i>
	Number.	Number.	Number.	Pounds. <i>d</i>
Alabama.....	347,538	347,538		762,207
Arizona.....	406,324	76,524	380,000	313,698
Arkansas.....	246,757	246,757		557,368
California.....	5,727,349	4,152,349	1,575,000	16,798,936
Colorado.....	1,091,443	746,443	345,000	3,197,391
Connecticut.....	59,431	59,431		230,133
Dakota.....	85,244	30,244	55,000	157,025
Delaware.....	21,967	21,967		97,946
Florida.....	105,681	66,681	49,000	162,810
Georgia.....	527,589	527,589		1,289,500
Idaho.....	117,326	27,326	90,000	127,149
Illinois.....	1,037,073	1,037,073		6,093,060
Indiana.....	1,100,511	1,100,511		6,107,498
Iowa.....	455,359	455,359		2,971,975
Kansas.....	629,671	499,671	120,000	2,853,833
Kentucky.....	1,000,269	1,000,269		4,502,577
Louisiana.....	135,631	135,631		406,67
Maine.....	565,918	565,918		2,776,4
Maryland.....	171,184	171,184		850,744
Massachusetts.....	67,970	67,970		299,089
Michigan.....	2,189,389	2,189,389		11,858,497
Minnesota.....	267,598	267,598		1,352,124
Mississippi.....	287,694	287,694		734,645
Missouri.....	1,411,298	1,411,298		7,313,334
Montana.....	279,277	184,277	95,000	995,482
Nebraska.....	247,453	199,453	48,000	1,282,656
Nevada.....	230,695	123,695	97,000	655,012
New Hampshire.....	211,825	211,825		1,080,589
New Jersey.....	117,020	117,020		441,110
New Mexico.....	3,038,831	2,088,831	1,850,000	4,019,188
New York.....	1,715,180	1,715,180		8,827,195
North Carolina.....	461,638	461,638		917,756
Ohio.....	4,002,486	4,002,486		25,003,756
Oregon.....	1,083,162	1,083,162	285,000	6,718,524
Pennsylvania.....	1,776,598	1,776,598		8,470,273
Rhode Island.....	17,211	17,211		65,680
South Carolina.....	118,889	118,889		272,758
Tennessee.....	672,780	672,780		1,918,245
Texas.....	3,651,635	2,411,635	1,240,000	6,928,019
Utah.....	233,121	233,121	290,000	973,246
Vermont.....	439,870	439,870		2,551,113
Virginia.....	497,289	497,289		1,836,073
Washington.....	388,883	292,883	96,000	1,789,123
West Virginia.....	674,769	674,769		2,681,444
Wisconsin.....	1,336,807	1,336,807		7,916,491
Wyoming.....	450,225	140,225	310,000	691,650
Indian Territory.....	55,000		55,000	
Total.....	42,192,074	35,192,074	7,000,000	155,681,751

\* Exclusive of those on public-land ranches.

*a* Exclusive of spring lambs. *b* Estimated. *c* Spring clip of 1880. *d* Not including the following items, the result of special investigation: Texas and California fall clip of sheep reported on farms, 13,000,000 pounds; wool of other (ranch) sheep, 34,000,000 pounds; pulled wool and fleece of slaughtered sheep, 38,000,000 pounds; making an aggregate of 240,681,751 pounds.

## PART XIX.

## Text of the Morrison Tariff Bill of 1884, and votes thereon.

The notorious horizontal reduction "Morrison Bill" of 1884, which was reported by Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, to the Democratic House of Representatives, March 11, 1884, was in these words:

"A bill to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in lieu of the duties and rates of duty imposed by law on the importation of the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the several schedules of 'An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes,' approved March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, and hereinafter enumerated, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, the following rates of duty upon said articles severally, that is to say:

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule I, cotton and cotton goods, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally, and none of the above cotton goods shall pay a higher rate of duty than forty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule J, hemp, jute, and flax goods, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule K, wool and woollens, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally; and none of the above wool and woollens shall pay a higher rate of duty than sixty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule C, metals, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally, and none of the articles mentioned in said Schedule C, metals, shall pay a higher rate of duty than fifty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule M, books, papers, etc., eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule E, sugar, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule F, tobacco, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule D, wood and wooden ware, except as hereinafter provided, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On cast, polished plate glass, unsilvered, exceeding twenty-four by sixty inches square; on green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns, and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, molded or pressed green and colored bottle-glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; and on all the articles subject to ad valorem duty in Schedule B, earthenware and glassware, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule G, provisions, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule N, sundries, other than precious stones, salt, coal, and linseed or flaxseed, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule A, chemical products, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally. *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall operate to reduce the duty above imposed on any article below the rate at which said article was dutiable under 'An act to provide for the payment of out-

standing Treasury notes, to authorize a loan, to regulate and fix the duties on imports, and for other purposes,' approved March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, commonly called the 'Morrill tariff.' And when under existing law any of said articles are grouped together and made dutiable at one rate, then nothing in this act shall operate to reduce the duty below the highest rate at which any article in such group was dutiable under said act of March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

"Sec. 2. That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the importation of the goods, wares, and merchandise hereinafter in this section specified, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty upon said articles severally, that is to say: On all unpollished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, on iron or steel sheets or plates, or taggers iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates,terne plates, and taggers tin, and on linseed or flaxseed eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"Sec. 3. That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in addition to the articles now exempt from duty, the articles enumerated and described in this section, when imported, shall be exempt from duty, that is to say:

"Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk.

"Coal, slack or culm.

"Coal, bituminous or shale.

"*Provided*, That this shall not apply to coal imported from the Dominion of Canada until that Government shall have exempted from the payment from duty all coal imported into that country from the United States.

"Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.

"Timber, squared or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

"Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, and all other articles of sawed lumber.

"Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, oar-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only.

"Staves of wood of all kinds.

"Pickets and palings.

"Laths.

"Shingles.

"Pine clapboards.

"Spruce clapboards.

"Wood, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act."

**Vote on the motion to proceed to its consideration—Only 39 Democrats vote "No," while 136 Democrats vote "Aye."**

On the 15th of April, 1884, the House being in Committee of the Whole, the Morrison bill being reached, and objection made to its consideration, upon the objection being reported to the House the House directed the committee to proceed with the consideration of said bill, by a vote of 140 yeas to 138 nays (44 Representatives not voting), as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Anderson, Bagley, Bullentine, Barkdale, Beach, Belmont, Bennett, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Buchanan, Buckner, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Chandler, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Cobb, Collins, Congrove, S. S. Coz, W. R. Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dorshelmer, Doncd, Dunn, Eldredge, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Farney, Garrison, Geddes, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Russell, N. J. Hammond, Huncock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hoblitzell, Hoffman, Houkeman, Hurst, James, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, Jordan, King, Kleiner, Lanham, Le Fevre, Lore, Lovering,

*McMillin, Watson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Murphy, Murray, Neece, Nelson, Oates, J. J. O'Neill, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Prentiss, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Reese, Riggs, T. A. Robertson, J. H. Rogers, Rosecrans, Scates, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, Snyder, Springer, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, D. H. Sumner, Talbot, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, Weller, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Wolford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yapple, Young—140.*

**YAYS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, *Arnold, Atkinson, Barbours, Barr, Belford, Bingham, Bisbee, Boutelle, Boyle, Brainard, Bretlung, J. H. Brewer, W. W. Brown, Budd, Burleigh, Cannon, Chase, Converse, Curtin, Cutcherson, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Duncan, Dunham, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Fiedler, Findlay, Finerty, Foran, Funston, George, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Hanback, Hardy, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, G. W. Hewitt, Hiseock, Hitt, Holmes, Hopkins, Horr, Howey, C. Hunt, Jeffords, Johnson, Kasson, Kean, Keifer, Kelley, Kellogg, Ketcham, Lacey, Lamb, Lawrence, Libbey, Long, LYMAN, McAdoo, McCoid, McComas, McKinley, Millard, S. H. Miller, Milliken, Morey, Morrill, *Mutcher, Nutting, OCHILTREE, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Payson, S. J. Peelle, Perkins, Peters, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Price, Randall, Ranney, G. W. Itay, O. Ray, Reed, Russell, Ryan, C. R. Skinner, A. H. Smith, Spooner, Spriggs, Steele, Stevens, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Storm, Struble, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Tully, Valentine, Van Alstyne, Wadsworth, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Wemple, J. D. White, Whiting, Wilkins, J. Wilson, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, YORK—138.**

**Vote on striking out enacting clause—Only 41 Democrats vote "aye," while 151 Democrats vote "no"—The Republicans kill the bill.**

On the 6th of May, general debate being closed, and the first paragraph of the bill read in committee of the whole, a motion to strike out the enacting clause of the bill was made and agreed to, on a count by tellers of 156 yeas to 151 nays, whereupon the committee rose and reported the same to the House, when on the question of concurring in the said action of the committee of the whole in striking out the enacting clause of the bill, the vote was 150 yeas to 155 nays—10 Representatives not voting, as follows:—

**YEAS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Anderson, *Arnold, Atkinson, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Bisbee, Boutelle, Bowen, Boyle, Brainard, Bretlung, F. B. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, BROWN, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Chase, Connolly, Converse, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Curtin, Cutcherson, G. R. Davis, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Duncan, Dunham, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Fiedler, Findlay, Finerty, Foran, Funston, Geddes, George, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Hanback, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Hiseock, Hitt, Holmes, Holton, Hooper, Hopkins, Horr, Houk, Howey, C. Hunt, Hutchins, James, Jeffords, Johnson, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Keifer, Kelley, Kellogg, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Libbey, Long, LYMAN, McAdoo, McCoid, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, Millard, S. H. Miller, Milliken, Morey, Morrill, *Mutcher, Murray, Nutting, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Payson, S. J. Peelle, Perkins,**

*Peters, Pettibone, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Price, Randall, Ranney, G. W. Itay, O. Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, J. S. Robinson, Rockwell, Howell, Russell, Ryan, Seney, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Snyder, Spooner, Spriggs, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Storm, Struble, C. A. Sumner, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, Tully, Van Alstyne, Wadsworth, Walt, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Wemple, Whiting, Wilkins, J. Wilson, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, YORK—150.*

**NAYS**—Messrs. J. J. Adams, *Aiken, Alexander, Bagley, Ballentine, Barbours, Barksdale, Beach, Belmont, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Broadhead, Buchanan, Buckner, Burnes, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, F. Campbell, A. D. Candler, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Clements, Cobb, Collins, J. C. Cook, Cosgrove, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Dargan, Davidson, I. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dorasheimer, Dowd, Dunn, Eldredge, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Follett, Forney, Fynn, Garrison, E. Gibson, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, Hardy, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Henley, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hobbittell, Holman, Houseman, Iard, E. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. A. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Lamb, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, Lore, Lovering, Lowry, McMillin, Malton, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Moulton, Murphy, Neece, Nelson, Oates, O'Farrell, J. J. O'Neill, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Prentiss, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Rankin, Reagan, Reese, T. A. Robertson, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Rosecrans, Scates, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, Springer, Stevens, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, D. H. Sumner, Talbot, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, Weller, M. White, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Wolford, Woodward, Worthington, Yapple, Young, Carlisle (Speaker)—155.*

**NOT VOTING**—Messrs. Barr, Bennett, Muldrow, Nichols, OCHILTREE, Riggs, W. E. Robinson, Valentine, J. D. White, T. B. Wood—10.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the enacting clause was thus stricken out was laid on the table, and the bill was "dead as a door-nail."

It will be observed that while 41 Democrats voted to kill the bill, 151 Democrats were friendly to it. On the other hand, while 4 Republicans voted against striking out the enacting clause, 115 Republicans voted to kill the obnoxious Free-Trade bill.

## PART XX.

### Secretary Folger's report and recommendations of 1883, touching Treasury-Surplus Reduction.

One of the interesting problems of the day, for the consideration of American statesmen, is that of effecting a proper reduction of the surplus annual revenue. For this there are various plans,—Republican and Democratic, wise or unwise, as the case may be. As representing the views of the last Republican administration, it may prove interesting, if not instructive, at this time, to insert here that part of the report of Secretary Folger of the Treasury (Dec. 3, 1883) bearing upon this question\* as follows:

\* For later data touching receipts, expenditures, etc., see chapter of "Statistical Tables" near the end of this Text Book.

**3 per cent bonds now payable—The 3½ and 4 per cents and refunding certificates.**

The only United States bonds which are now payable at the pleasure of the Government are the three per cents, being \$305,529,000; those which next become redeemable are the \$250,000,000 of four-and-a-half per cents, on Sept. 1, 1891. The \$737,620,700 of four per cents and the \$325,850 of refunding certificates are redeemable July 1, 1907.

**The estimated surplus for 1884—Such a surplus continuing would pay the whole interest-bearing debt in 15 years.**

The estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, show a surplus revenue of \$85,000,000 per annum. This is enough to pay all the three per cents in about three and one half years, and before the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887. This surplus kept up for the four succeeding years, to Sept. 1, 1891, would be more than \$50,000,000, or \$100,000,000 more than enough to pay all the bonds then falling due. The same annual surplus until July 1, 1907, would amount, with the \$100,000,000 left after paying the four-and-a-half per cents, to about \$1,450,000,000, while the whole amount of the debt then redeemable is less than \$740,000,000. The estimated surplus of \$85,000,000 a year would pay the whole amount of the interest-bearing debt in about fifteen years.

**The authority of the Treasury to use the surplus—Difficulties in exercising it—The surplus likely to swell.**

The only authority possessed by the Treasury whereby it can restore to business the surplus moneys thus accumulated, is that given to the Secretary by the act of March 3, 1881, by which he may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds. This can now be done to other than the three per cents only by the payment of a large and increasing premium thereupon. And when it is considered that nearly one half of the interest-bearing debt of the United States is held by national banks, State banks, savings banks, and trust companies, and much of other of it by private trustees and other persons acting in fiduciary capacity, who have no wish to surrender these securities, the difficulty of acting under the provision cited is manifest. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the estimated surplus for the current and next years under existing laws will remain at the same rate in succeeding years. The increasing population and swelling business of the country will add to, rather than take from, the amount of the surplus as now estimated, while the decrease of interest on the public debt, and probably of the amount disbursed by the pension bureau, as arrears of pensions are paid off, should diminish expenditures.

**How to avoid a "heaped-up surplus."**

As a general principle, the good of the people requires that a public debt should be paid as soon as it may be without greatly onerous taxation, or disturbance of business interests which have been fostered, perhaps stimulated, by provisions of law once expedient. Though of the public debt resting upon us, it is to be considered that the object for which it was in the main incurred, was the good of coming generations, as well as of that which incurred it, and that it is not unjust to them that, reaping a measure of the benefits it purchased, they should bear their share of the burden of payment. But as our interest-bearing public debt is over one billion and a quarter of dollars (\$1,312,446,050 in exact figures), and about \$250,000,000 and about \$740,000,000 of it beyond our reach for payment, for about eight years and twenty-four years, respectively, and may not be brought in by purchase, save at heavy rates of premium, even if it can be by paying those rates, there is forced upon our attention the question, how shall a heaped-up surplus of public money be avoided? The discussion of this question in former reports of this department admits of but one consistent answer from it now; the views therein expressed have not been given up. There ought to be a reduction of taxation.

**The sinking-fund—The sacred obligation of the Government.**

By the statutes re-enacted in sections 3694 and 3696 of United States Revised Statutes, it is provided that the coin paid for duties on imported goods shall be set apart as a special fund to be applied, first, to payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States; second, to the purchase or payment of one per cent of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year, and, in addition thereto, an application to the payment of the public debt of an amount equal to the interest on all bonds belonging to the sinking-fund, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct. This obligation to regard the coin received for duties on imported goods as a pledge for the gradual extinction of the national debt has been observed by this Department. . . .

It is assumed that this obligation entered into by the Government with its creditors, at a time when its bonds were regarded as of far less value in the market of the world than at the present time, will be held sacred until the debt is extinguished. It is true that the debt has been paid much more rapidly than it would have been, had only the amount of the sinking-fund been applied to its payment, but the obligation still remains, to set apart annually the amount required by law, to be applied to the extinguishment of the public debt. The payments from time to time of the amount thus required have varied somewhat, as the amount of the debt has unequally varied by a more or less rapid payment of it.

The estimate of the sinking-fund for the current fiscal year is fixed at \$45,816,741.47, and the amount required will increase from year to year at the rate of about \$1,000,000 until 1891. It is estimated that an average of about \$50,000,000 each year until then, will be required for the sinking-fund. This will vary according to the amount actually applied in payment beyond the need of the sinking-fund.

**Future reduction of the revenues—The necessary legislation.**

I consider, therefore, that in legislating for the future, the revenues should not be so far reduced as to prevent the application each year of about \$50,000,000 to the sinking-fund. Upon the estimate of \$85,000,000 as the surplus for the current year, we find a surplus for that period of nearly \$40,000,000, not wanted for the regular expenditures of the Government, or for the payment of the national debt through the sinking-fund.

So the question still presses, what legislation is necessary to relieve the people of unnecessary taxes? . . .

In the recommendations of the President and those of this Department, and the action of Congress, and in the expression of public opinion, there has been substantial concord as to how the needed reduction of the revenue should be brought about. It has been generally conceded that the internal-revenue taxes, except those upon spirits, fermented liquors, and upon the circulation of banks, might well be abolished. There has been difference whether the tax upon tobacco should be abolished or modified. There were but few advocates of the immediate total abolition of taxes upon spirits or fermented liquors. My last report said that taxes upon spirits and tobacco, being upon things not needful, should be retained rather than those upon the common necessities of life; which, as a proposition, is not to be controverted. But it was conceded by all that a substantial reduction should be made upon nearly all imported articles subjected to duties.

**The Tariff Commission created with a view to such reduction—Its conclusions.**

To make a start in the proposed reduction of revenue from imports, the Tariff Commission had been created. In good faith it undertook the work. In its report to Congress it said: "Early in its deliberations the Commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for

the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the Commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction." Again: "Entertaining these views, the commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent, and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent." And again: "It has been the effort of the Commission to make the reduction apply to commodities of necessary general consumption, and to diminish or withhold the reduction on commodities of high cost, requiring more labor, and which, being consumed principally by the more wealthy classes, could bear higher duties, at the same time supplying revenue and encouraging the higher arts without being oppressive in their operation."

**The estimated revenue reduction of \$45,000,000 under the Tariff Act of 1883 not verified.**

The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, in explanation of the bill before the Senate last year, which after various amendments became a law, estimated at \$45,000,000 the reduction of the revenue which would follow the changes in the tariff proposed thereby.

These intentions and calculations have not been verified.

The estimated receipts for the current year from customs are \$195,000,000, a reduction of less than \$20,000,000. Considering that there has been some depression of business during the past year and current year, it is probable, should business revive, that the revenues from customs under the present laws will in succeeding years increase rather than diminish.

It was estimated by the Senate Committee that the repeal of internal-revenue taxes proposed by their bill would effect a reduction of \$34,790,334. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue estimates that the aggregate amount of reduction made by the act will not be less than \$43,000,000 per annum, including the six millions of taxes on deposits of national banks; but he further estimates that the increase of receipts from distilled spirits will so augment the revenues from that source as to make the aggregate receipts from internal revenue for this year \$120,000,000, or about \$24,500,000 less than those for the preceding year. The reduction, therefore, from all sources of internal revenue for the current year appears to be about \$10,000,000 less than the reduction expected by the Senate Committee. We have, then, a reduction of \$30,000,000 less than was sought for and expected.

#### **The principles that should govern reduction of revenue.**

The question recurs: Shall we now seek again for that reduction which was not attained, and is it now advisable to attempt a reduction of the revenues for future years to arise from duties on imports? There was general agreement that a substantial reduction of the tariff should be made. The estimates of the Tariff Commission and of the Senate committee show what was the contemplated reduction. The actual results so far obtained indicate that the reduction labored for has not been effected by the new tariff act. It is to be considered, too, that the failure is not to be charged to the increase of importations keeping up the amount of customs revenue. The statistics of our foreign commerce show that there has not been an increase chargeable therewith. As to the principles of reduction, if a revision be practicable, there seems to be little disagreement. The reduction should be made on articles entering into general consumption as necessities—as sugar, molasses, and the like—rather than upon luxuries; upon raw materials, rather than manufactured, with due regard to the fostering of

domestic industries and occupations, especially those not fully established. In the report of this Department last year, the reduction as applied to the principal classes of dutiable articles was considered somewhat in detail, and, adhering to the views there expressed, a repetition of them is unnecessary.

#### **The inexpediency of immediate tariff reduction.**

It may not be deemed expedient so soon to make again a revision of the tariff to effect a reduction.

And there are considerations which are apt upon this head. The new tariff act went into operation, in all its parts, on the 1st day of July, 1882. There has gone by since then but little over one third of a fiscal year. It is a short time in which to learn with accuracy how so important and wide-reaching a law as that, touching all the business and industrial interests of the country, will permanently affect the revenues. It is known that in some respects the first effects of it may not be relied upon as stable. Wherein the provisions of it lessened the duties upon foreign articles, it stimulated importations thereof, immediately before the 1st day of July. The goods were put in bonded warehouse, to be withdrawn at once after that day, on payment of duties at the new rates. Wherein it increased the duties (as it did in some instances, by new provisions to meet the adjudication of courts or the rulings of this Department), it stimulated importations prior to the 1st day of July, 1883, with the purpose of taking the benefit of the lower rate prevalent up to that date. These accelerated importations were, as a natural result, followed by decreased importations of the same articles after the law took effect; so that the lasting effects of the application of it to the business of the country may not be known with reliable certainty, either in the general result upon the volume of revenue to be yielded by duties upon imports, or in its particular results upon special classes of goods and special branches of domestic industry.

Again, it may be deemed needful to so legislate as to certain industries and businesses as to effect reduction or suspension of the revenue from the taxation upon them. Those making or trading in distilled spirits, or who have made loans or advances of money thereon, will be earnest in endeavor for an extension of the bonded period. It is not unlikely that Congress will listen to their appeal. An extension of the bonded period will effect a reduction of revenue for the length of time thereof. In another part of this report are data on which may be calculated how much that will be. On the whole, then, this Department does not recommend an immediate revision of the tariff act.

#### **A "moderate modification" rather than a "total repeal" of internal revenue taxes, suggested.**

In the same report the then Secretary of the Treasury said:—

In my report of last year it was suggested that should it be deemed expedient to reduce the rate of taxes on spirits, tobacco, or fermented liquors to lessen the inducement to frauds, or to make them more equal, the objection is not so strong against moderate modification as against a total repeal of all taxes thereon. As has been seen, a reduction of the tax upon tobacco and its manufactured products has resulted in a decrease of revenue therefrom, fully as large as was expected by the committee which submitted the bill, and there is left but about \$21,400,000 of revenue from that source. The estimated receipts from spirits, however, as has been seen, for the current year exceed the receipts for former years. The reason of the opposition to the reduction of the tax on distilled spirits is that they are not necessities of life. That principle may still be upheld, and yet the tax, in whole or in part, be taken from alcohol or spirits used in the manufactures and the arts.

Propositions are made to repeal the whole system of internal revenue. As to this, I repeat my remark of last year: "I see no public sentiment or political action indicating a desire on the part of tax-paying citizens to strike out this class of taxes."

**The taxes on fermented liquors and on bank circulation.**

All other internal revenue taxes have been repealed, except that on fermented liquors, amounting, as estimated, to \$17,000,000, and on the circulation of national banks. The repeal of the tax on bank circulation in whole or in part I have recommended.\*

**Data bearing upon proposed abolition of all internal revenue taxes.**

As the abolition of all internal revenue taxes is a proposition which may be made and pressed, some data are here given. The spirits in bonded warehouse on June 30, 1883, are estimated at more than 80,000,000 gallons. The quantity of distilled spirits in the United States, besides that in customs bonded warehouses, on Oct. 1, 1883, is estimated by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue as follows:—

	Gallons.
In distillery and special bonded warehouses . . . . .	73,847,103
In hands of wholesale liquor dealers . . . . .	13,921,482
In hands of retail liquor dealers . . . . .	28,180,650
Total . . . . .	115,949,235

The quantity in bond upon which the tax is payable between Nov. 14, 1883, and June 30, 1884, is 21,997,770 gallons, the tax on which is \$19,797,963.

The quantity upon which the tax is payable during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, is 37,228,317 gallons, the tax on which is \$33,505,475.

The quantity upon which the tax is payable during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, is 15,356,030 gallons, the tax on which is \$13,820,427.

It may be assumed that neither the distiller, nor the owner of spirits in bond, nor the dealer owning it, wishes complete abolition of the tax upon it.† The community, in its present temper, will not submissively receive a law encouraging the manufacture of whiskey unrestricted in quantity.

A reduction of the tax on whiskey in bond to 50 cents a gallon would reduce the revenue about \$7,600,000 for the current year, were the reduction to take effect from Nov. 14, 1883, and about \$13,500,000 in the year ending June 30, 1885.

In connection with this subject, it is deemed proper to call attention to the fact that the total number of gallons of distilled spirits produced in the year ending June 30, 1883, is estimated at 74,013,308, about 5,500,000 less than all in bonded warehouse June 30, 1883.

Owners of spirits in bond declare themselves unable to meet the payment of taxes thereon as they fall due. They have to some extent exported them rather than to pay tax. It is likely that they will again ask an extension of the time of payment of such taxes.‡ They may ask for a repeal or modification of them.

The statistics given above are fit for attention, as well upon the question of the probable surplus in the Treasury as upon the need and propriety of legislative relief to the owners of spirits.

**PART XXI.****Text of the Morrison Tariff Bill of 1886 and votes thereon. The Randall Bill reported against, and thus defeated.**

On the 15th February, 1886, Mr. Morrison, chairman of the Committee on Ways and

Means, introduced in the House of Representatives another "Bill to reduce tariff taxes" [H. R. 5576], which was referred to said committee; and on the 12th of April, 1886, he reported from that committee a bill, of which the following is a copy—sections 3 to 22 being omitted, because affecting only administration, and not rates:

A Bill to reduce tariff taxes and to modify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the following articles mentioned in this section, when imported, shall be exempt from duty on and after January first, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven:

Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.

Timber, squared or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, and all other varieties of sawed lumber.

Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, car-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only.

Staves of wood of all kinds. Pickets and palings. Laths. Shingles. Pine clapboards. Spruce clapboards.

Wood, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

*Logs.*

*Provided,* That if any export duty is laid upon the above-mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country from whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

Salt in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages. Salt in bulk.

Fish: Mackerel, herring, salmon, and all other fish, fresh, smoked, dried, salted, pickled, or preserved, except anchovies and sardines, or other fish preserved in oil.

*Provided,* That Canadian fishing vessels engaged in the fishing trade shall be permitted to clear from any port for the purpose of fishing in the waters of the United States contiguous to the Dominion of Canada, and Canadian fishermen shall be accorded like privileges in said waters as are accorded to citizens of the United States and the vessels thereof, engaged in the fishing trade.

This provision shall not take effect until, by proclamation of the President, it shall be made to appear that the privileges of fishing in the waters of the Dominion of Canada contiguous to the United States have been granted to vessels and citizens of the United States, under like regulations and restrictions as relate to citizens of the Dominion of Canada engaged in the fishing trade.

All wools, hair of the alpaca goat, and other like animals, unwashed, washed, or scoured.

Wools on the skin.

Woolen rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks.

Flax straw. Flax, not hackled or dressed. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line." Tow, of flax or hemp.

Hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

Hemp-seed for agricultural purposes.

Jute-butts. Jute. Sunn.

Rial grass and other vegetable substances, not specially enumerated or provided for.

*Provided,* That as to hemp and flax this act shall take effect July 1, 1887.

SECT. 2. That on and after January 1, 1887, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles here

\* Such a bill was passed by the Senate, Feb. 20, 1864, by a non-partisan vote of 43 yeas to 12 nays, but was not considered in the House.—[COMPILER.]

† April 7, 1884, a resolution was adopted under a suspension of the rules, by a non-partisan vote of 179 yeas to 33 nays, declaring "That it is unwise and inexpedient for the present Congress to abolish or reduce the tax upon spirits distilled from grain."—[COMPILER.]

‡ March 19, 1884, a bill (H. R. 5265) providing that "the time within which distilled spirits heretofore entered for deposit, and now remaining in distillery warehouses, upon which the tax has or shall become due after Dec. 1, 1883, are required to be withdrawn therefrom" shall be "extended for a period not exceeding two years" from the date such tax would have fallen due under existing laws, came up in the House for consideration, and after several days' debate, on March 27, the enacting clause was stricken out, and the bill killed by a vote of 196 yeas to 83 nays. Of the 83 nays there were but 11 Republicans.—[COMPILER.]



inafter mentioned, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:—

Cotton thread, yarn, warps, or warp-yarn, whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form, valued at not exceeding twenty-five cents per pound, 8 c. per pound; valued at over twenty-five cents per pound, and not exceeding forty cents per pound, 13 c. per pound; valued at over forty cents per pound, and not exceeding fifty cents per pound, 16 c. per pound; valued at over fifty cents per pound, and not exceeding sixty cents per pound, 20 c. per pound; valued at over sixty cents per pound, and not exceeding seventy cents per pound, 25 c. per pound; valued at over seventy cents per pound, and not exceeding eighty cents per pound, 30 c. per pound; valued at over eighty cents per pound, and not exceeding one dollar per pound, 35 c. per pound; valued at over one dollar per pound, forty per centum *ad valorem*.

On all cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, and not exceeding one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, and exceeding in weight five ounces per square yard, 20 c. per square yard; if bleached, 2½ c. per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 8 c. per square yard.

On all cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding one hundred and not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 2½ c. per square yard; if bleached, 3 c. per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 4 c. per square yard: *Provided*, That on all cotton cloth not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over eight cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over ten cents per square yard; dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over thirteen cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 35 per cent *ad valorem*.

On all cotton cloth, exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 3 c. per square yard; if bleached, 4 c. per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 6 c. square yard: *Provided*, That on all such cotton cloths not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over ten cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over twelve cents per square yard; and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over fifteen cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 35 per cent *ad valorem*.

On stockings, hose, half-hose, shirts, and drawers, and all goods made on knitting machines or frames, composed wholly of cotton, and not herein otherwise provided for, 35 per cent *ad valorem*.

On stockings, hose, half-hose, shirts, and drawers, fashioned, narrowed, or shaped wholly or in part by knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, and composed wholly of cotton, 40 per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton cords, braids, gimps, galloons, webbing, goring, suspenders, braces, and all manufactures of cotton, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and corsets, of whatever material composed, 35 per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton laces, embroideries, insertings, trimmings, lace, window-curtains, cotton damask, hemmed handkerchiefs, and cotton velvet, 40 per cent *ad valorem*.

Spool-thread of cotton, six cents per dozen spools, containing on each spool not exceeding one hundred yards of thread; exceeding one hundred yards, on each spool, for every additional one hundred yards of thread, or fractional part thereof in excess of one hundred yards, 6 c. per dozen.

Flax, hemp, and jute-yarns, flax or linen thread, twine, and pack-thread; brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot-bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, lawns; flax or linen laces and insertings, embroideries, or manufactures of linen; burlaps; oil-cloth foundations, or floor-cloth canvas, oil-cloth for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, and on all other oil-cloth (except silk oil-cloth), and on water-proof cloth; gunny-cloth, not bagging; bags and bagging, and like manufactures; bagging for cotton or other manufactures; sail-duck, or canvas for sails;

Russia and other sheetings, of flax or hemp, brown or white; and all other manufactures of hemp, flax, or jute, or of which hemp, flax, jute, jute-butts, manilla, ramie, china, sunn, or sisal grass, or other vegetable substance, shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per centum *ad valorem*.

Tarred cables or cordage, 2c. per pound.

Untarred manilla cordage, 1½c. per pound.

All other untarred cordage, 2½c. per pound.

Seines, and seine, salmon-net, and gilling twine, 25 per cent *ad valorem*.

Woolen cloths, woolen shawls; flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods made on knitting-frames, balmorals, woolen and worsted yarns; bunting; women's and children's dress-goods, coat-linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description; clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description, and balmoral skirts and skirting; cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes; webbing, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, blindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress-trimmings, head-sets, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms of tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand or braided by machinery; Aubusson, Axminster, and chenille carpets, and carpets woven whole for rooms; Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets; Brussels carpets; patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets; tapestry Brussels carpets; carpets and carpetings of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not otherwise herein specified; and mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bed-sides, and other portions of carpets or carpetings; and all manufactures of wool of every description made wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animal, or a mixture of them, not specially enumerated or provided for in this Act, 35 per cent *ad valorem*.

Treble Ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets; yarn Venetian, and two-ply Ingrain carpets; druggets and bookings, printed, colored, or otherwise; endless belts or felts for paper or printing machines, 30 per cent *ad valorem*.

Hemp or jute carpeting, 6c. per square yard.

On all sugars, 90 per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said sugars: *Provided*, That imported sugars which have been subjected to an export duty by the country where produced or whence imported shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

**Vote on motion to consider the bill—Only 35 Democrats vote "no," while 135 Democrats vote "aye." The Republicans prevent its consideration.**

On the 17th of June, 1886, Mr. Morrison offered a motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, to consider the above bill. The motion was rejected by a vote of 140 yeas to 157 nays, — 155 Democrats, 1 Greenback-Democrat, and 4 Republicans voting "yea," while 121 Republicans, 1 Greenback-Republican, and 35 Democrats voted "nay," as follows:—

**YEAS**—Messrs. J. J. Adams, J. M. Allen, C. M. Anderson, Ballentine, Barbour, Barksdale, Barns, Barry, Beach, Belmont, Bennett, Blanchard, Blair, Blount, C. R. Breckinridge, W. C. P. Breckinridge, Burnes, Bynum, Cabell, Caldwell, F. Campbell, Chandler, Carleton, Catchings, Clardy, Clements, Cobb, Cole, Compton, Comstock, Conley, Crain, Crisp, Croston, D. B. Culbertson, Daniel, Dargan, A. C. Davidson, R. H. M. Davidson, Dawson, Dibble, Dougherty, Dunn, Fisher, Ford, Forney, C. H. Gibson, E. Gibson, Glass, Glorier, W. J. Green, Hale, Halseell, Hammond, Harris, J. T. Heard, Hemphill, J. S. Henderson, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Howard, Hudd, Hutton, James, T. D. Johnston, J. H. Jones, King, Kleiner, Laffoon, Landes, Lanham, Lore, Lovering, Lowry, Mahoney, Matson, Maybury, McCreary, McMillin, McRae, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, J. B. Morgan, Morrison, Neal, Neece, Nelson, Norwood, Oates, O'Ferrall, J. J. O'Neill, Outchell,

*Peel, Perry, Reagan, Reese, Richardson, Riggs, Robertson, J. H. Rogers, Sadler, Sayers, Scott, Seymour, F. T. Shute, Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Snyder, Springer, C. Stewart, W. J. Stone of Kentucky, W. J. Stone of Missouri, Storm, Strait, Siscope, Turney, Taulbee, J. M. Taylor, Throckmorton, Tillman, Townsend, Trigg, Tucker, H. G. Turner, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, J. B. Weaver, Wellborn, Wheeler, Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, G. D. Wise, Wolford, Worthington, Carlisle, Speaker*—130.

**WAYS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, C. H. Allen, J. A. Anderson, Arnot, Atkinson, Baker, Bayne, Bingham, Bliss, Bound, Boutelle, Boyle, Brady, T. M. Browne, C. E. Brown, W. W. Brown, Brumm, J. Buchanan, Buck, Burrows, Butterworth, J. M. Campbell, J. E. Campbell, T. J. Campbell, Cannon, Conger, Cooper, Curtis, Cutcheon, Davenport, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Dorsey, Doucney, Dunham, Ellsberry, Ely, Emmettrout, Evans, Everhart, Farquhar, Felton, Findlay, Fleeger, Foran, Fuller, Funston, Gallinger, Gay, Geddes, Gillilan, Goff, E. S. Green, Grosvenor, Grout, Guenther, Harmer, Hayden, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, Hermann, Hires, Hiscock, Holmes, A. J. Hopkins, Irion, Jackson, F. A. Johnson, J. T. Johnston, Kelley, Ketcham, La Follette, Laird, Laclair, Le Ferre, Lehlbach, Libbey, Lindsley, Little, Long, Loutitt, J. Lyman, Markham, Martin, McAdoo, McComas, McKenna, McKinley, Merriman, Millard, Milliken, Moffatt, Morrill, Morrow, Muller, Negley, O'Donnell, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, Osborne, Owen, Parker, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Phelps, Pileck, Pindar, Plumb, Price, Randall, Runney, T. B. Reed, Rice, Rockwell, Romels, Rowell, Ryan, Sawyer, Scranton, Seney, Sessions, Smalls, Souden, Spooner, Spriggs, Stuhnecker, Steele, J. W. Stewart, St. Martin, E. F. Stone, Struble, Swinburne, Symes, E. B. Taylor, I. H. Taylor, T. Taylor, J. R. Thomas, O. B. Thomas, A. C. Thompson, Vele, Wade, W. H. Wadsworth, Wait, N. D. Wallace, J. H. Ward, A. J. Warner, W. Warner, A. J. Weaver, Weber, West, Whiting, Wilkins, Woodburn—157.

**The Randall Bill of 1886, reported adversely by the Democratic Committee on Ways and Means.**

On the 28th of June, 1886, Mr. Randall introduced a tariff reduction bill in the House, which it was estimated would make an annual reduction in the revenues of nearly thirty-five millions of dollars (to wit, \$26,407,088 in internal revenue, \$7,044,452 in customs duties on articles remaining subject to duties, and \$1,526,124 by augmenting the free list). This bill was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and subsequently [July 10] reported back to the House, adversely—which was the end of it.

## PART XXII.

**Joint Resolution directing Payment of Public Debt out of Treasury Surplus—Secretary Manning's Letter—Action in both Houses—President Cleveland's non-approval kills it.**

Early in the session of 1885-86, Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, sent to Secretary Manning of the Treasury a copy of a joint resolution [H. Res. 126] touching the Treasury-surplus, then before said committee, in order to elicit his opinion thereon, and received the following reply:—

—TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Feb. 13, 1886.

**SIR,**—I have received a copy of the following proposed joint resolutions respecting surplus revenue,

now under consideration in your committee, and upon which you do me the honor to request my opinion:—

"Resolved, etc., That whenever the surplus or balance in the Treasury, including amount held for redemption of United States notes, shall exceed the sum of \$100,000,000, it shall be, and is hereby made, the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to apply such excess, in sums not less than ten millions per month, during the existence of any such surplus or excess, to the payment of the interest-bearing indebtedness of the United States, payable at the option of the Government. The surplus or balance herein referred to shall be the available surplus ascertained, according to the form of statement of the United States Treasurer, of the assets and liabilities of the Treasury of the United States, employed on June 30, 1886."

The language of this resolution is such as to include in the "surplus or balance in the Treasury" the amount held for redemption of United States notes. This is in no sense a surplus, but is set apart and appropriated as a minimum security and reserve for the redemption and payment of \$346,681,016 of United States notes which have been issued, both of which are specifically promised in the Act of March 12, 1890 (R. S. 3693). This reserve, amounting to \$100,000,000, should, of course, be held above all possibility of an encroachment, like that which my distinguished predecessor, Mr. McCulloch, in his last annual report (page 33) was constrained to exhibit and deplore.

The resolution now before me requires that there should be at no time a surplus in the Treasury available for the general needs of the Government to exceed \$10,000,000, and that when this sum is reached it should be immediately paid upon the public debt.

After nearly twelve months' experience in the conduct of this Department, and forecasting, as well as I am able, future requirements of the Treasury, as now defined by existing laws, and as they may be affected by legislation yet to come, and considering the course of future receipts, which are liable to influence from many causes, such as the fluctuation of imports, the prolonged depression of trade, and the marketing of more or less of our agricultural products abroad, I cannot now foresee a state of things which will make it prudent to limit the surplus reserve in the Treasury to a sum ranging from nothing to a maximum of \$10,000,000.

The legislation now before Congress relating to pensions will, if perfected, increase the demands upon the Treasury to an amount which it is impossible to exactly estimate; and a late decision of the Supreme Court subjects the Government to the repayment of duties collected, the aggregate of which is large but altogether indefinite. These things are mentioned to remind the committee that neither the calls upon the Treasury nor the exact time that such demands must be met can be precisely foreseen.

It would seem to follow, as a business proposition, that if the Government is to maintain its credit, in the sense of being prepared to meet all just demands, which are impossible of ascertainment in advance, there should be a reasonable sum laid by or kept on hand for that purpose.

Respectfully yours,

DANIEL MANNING, *Secretary.*

Hon. WILLIAM R. MORRISON,

*Chairman Committee on Ways and Means.*

**Primary Action in the House.—McKinley's Proviso.**

Subsequently Mr. Morrison reported the joint resolution from the Committee on Ways and Means, and being up for consideration in committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, July 14, 1886, Mr. McKinley moved the addition to it of the following words:

"Provided, That said sum of \$100,000,000 herein excepted and reserved, which amount was purchased by the sale of bonds, to the extent of ninety-five and a half millions, and the balance by reservation from the revenue under authority of the act of January 14, 1875, entitled 'An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' shall be maintained, as provided by said act, and set apart for the purpose of redeeming the

legal-tender notes of the United States when presented for payment, and said fund shall not be used for any other purpose."

The motion, however, was lost by 119 yeas to 154 nays, as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, C. H. Allen, Atkinson, Baker, Belmont, Bingham, Bliss, Bound, Boutelle, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Buck, Bunnell, Burling, Burrows, Butterworth, P. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, T. J. Campbell, Cannon, Conger, Cooper, Cutcheon, R. T. Davis, Dibble, Dingley, Dorsey, Dowdney, Dunham, Ely, Evans, Everhart, Farquhar, Felton, Findlay, Fieger, Funston, Gilfillan, Goff, Grosvenor, Grout, Guenther, Hayden, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, A. S. Hewitt, Hiestand, Hires, Hiscok, Hitt, Holmes, A. J. Hopkins, Jackson, James, F. A. Johnson, Kelley, Ketcham, La Follette, Laird, Lehigh, Libbey, Lindale, Little, Long, J. Lyman, Mahoney, Markham, McComas, McKenna, McKinley, Merriman, Millard, Milliken, Mitchell, Moffatt, Morrill, Morrow, Muller, Negley, Nelson, C. O'Neill, Osborne, Parker, Payne, Perkins, Peters, Pettibone, W. A. Pierce, Price, T. B. Reed, Rice, Rockwell, Romeis, Rowell, Ryan, Sawyer, Sessions, Seymour, Smalls, Spooner, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, E. F. Stone, Strait, Struble, Swinburne, I. H. Taylor, O. B. Thomas, A. C. Thompson, W. H. Wadsworth, Wait, Wakefield, Weber, West, M. White, Whiting—119.

**NAYS**—Messrs. J. M. Allen, C. M. Anderson, Balentine, Barksdale, Barnes, Barry, Bennett, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Boyle, Bragg, C. R. Breckinridge, W. C. P. Breckinridge, Brumm, Burnes, Bynum, Cabell, Caldwell, J. E. Campbell, Candler, Carleton, Catchings, Clardy, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Compton, Comstock, Conley, W. R. Cox, Crain, Crisp, Croston, D. B. Culbertson, Curtin, Daniel, Dargan, A. C. Davidson, R. H. M. Davidson, Dockery, Dougherty, Dunn, Eden, Eldredge, Ellsberry, Ermentrout, Fisher, Foran, Ford, Forney, Frederick, Fuller, Gay, Geddes, C. H. Gibson, Glass, R. S. Green, W. J. Green, Hale, Hall, Halsell, Harris, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, J. S. Henderson, Herbert, Hill, Hohman, Howard, Hudd, Hutton, Irion, J. T. Johnston, T. D. Johnston, J. H. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Luffoon, Lanham, Lawler, Le Fevre, Lore, Lovering, Lowry, Martin, Matson, Maybury, McAdoo, McCrary, McMillin, McRae, J. F. Miller, Mills, J. B. Morgan, Morrison, Murphy, Neal, Nece, J. J. O'Neill, Outhwaite, Payson, Peel, Perry, Pidcock, Pindar, Plumb, Randall, Reagan, J. W. Reid, Richardson, Riggs, Sadler, Sayers, Seney, F. T. Shaw, Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Snyder, Snowden, Springer, Stahlnecker, C. Stewart, St. Martin, W. J. Stone of Kentucky, W. J. Stone of Missouri, Storm, Swope, Tarnsey, Taulber, J. M. Taylor, Z. Taylor, Throckmorton, Tiltman, Townshend, Trigg, H. G. Turner, Van Eaton, Wade, Wakefield, A. J. Warner, W. Warner, A. J. Weaver, J. B. Weaver, Wheeler, Wilkins, Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, G. D. Wiser, Wolford, Woodburn, Worthington—148.

The joint resolution was then agreed to by 207 yeas to 67 nays, as follows:—

**YEAS**—Messrs. J. M. Allen, C. M. Anderson, Atkinson, Balentine, Barksdale, Barnes, Barry, Bennett, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Boyle, Bragg, C. R. Breckinridge, W. C. P. Breckinridge, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Brumm, Burnes, Burrows, Bynum, Cabell, Caldwell, J. E. Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carleton, Catchings, Clardy, Clements, Cobb, Compton, Conger, Cooper, Cowles, W. R. Cox, Crain, Crisp, Croston, D. B. Culbertson, Curtin, Cutcheon, Daniel, Dargan, A. C. Davidson, R. H. M. Davidson, Dockery, Dorsey, Dougherty, Dunn, Eden, Eldredge, Ellsberry, Ermentrout, Felton, Fisher, Foran, Ford, Forney, Frederick, Fuller, Funston, Gay, Geddes, C. H. Gibson, Gilfillan, Glass, Goff, R. S. Green, W. J. Green, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, D. B. Henderson, J. S. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Herbert, Hermann, Hill, Hires, Hitt, Holman, Holmes, A. J. Hopkins, Howard, Hudd, Hutton, Irion, Jackson, J. T. Johnston, T. D. Johnston, J. H. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kelley, King, Kleiner, Luffoon, La Follette, Laird, Lanham, Lawler, Le Fevre, Lore, Lovering, Lowry, J. Lyman, Markham, Martin, Matson, Maybury, Mc-

Adoo, McComas, McCrary, McKenna, McMillin, McRae, J. F. Miller, Mills, Moffatt, J. B. Morgan, Morrill, Morrison, Morrow, Murphy, Neal, Nece, Negley, Nelson, Oates, J. J. O'Neill, Outhwaite, Payson, Peel, Perkins, Perry, Peters, Pettibone, Pidcock, Pindar, Plumb, Price, Randall, Reagan, J. W. Reid, Richardson, Riggs, Romeis, Rowell, Ryan, Sadler, Sayers, Seney, Sessions, F. T. Shaw, Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Snyder, Snowden, Springer, Stahlnecker, Steele, Stephenson, C. Stewart, St. Martin, W. J. Stone of Kentucky, W. J. Stone of Missouri, Storm, Strait, Struble, Swope, Tarnsey, Taulber, J. M. Taylor, Z. Taylor, O. B. Thomas, A. C. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tiltman, Townshend, Trigg, H. G. Turner, Van Eaton, Wade, Wakefield, N. D. Wallace, A. J. Warner, W. Warner, A. J. Weaver, J. B. Weaver, Wheeler, Wilkins, Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, G. D. Wiser, Wolford, Woodburn, Worthington—207.

**NAYS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, C. H. Allen, Baker, Belmont, Bingham, Bliss, Bound, Boutelle, Buck, Bunnell, Burling, Butterworth, P. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, T. J. Campbell, Collins, R. T. Davis, Dibble, Dingley, Dowdney, Dunham, Ely, Evans, Everhart, Farquhar, Findlay, Fieger, Grout, Hayden, Haynes, A. S. Hewitt, Hiestand, Hiscok, James, F. A. Johnson, Ketcham, Lehigh, Lindale, Little, Long, Mahoney, McKinley, Merriman, Millard, Milliken, Mitchell, Muller, C. O'Neill, Osborne, Parker, Payne, W. A. Pierce, T. B. Reed, Rice, Rockwell, Sawyer, Seymour, Smalls, Spooner, J. W. Stewart, E. F. Stone, Swinburne, I. H. Taylor, Wait, Weber, West, Whiting—67.

#### Amendments in the Senate.

In the Senate July 27, Mr. Allison reported the above joint resolution from the Committee on Finance with an amendment to add to it the following words:

"Provided, That no call shall be made under the provisions of this resolution until a sum equal to the call is in the Treasury over and above the reserve herein mentioned: And provided further, That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may have in the Treasury over and above the foregoing sums a working balance not exceeding \$20,000,000. And in the case of any extraordinary emergency, and when, because thereof, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, the public interests shall require it, he may, by written order, suspend the further call for the payment of such indebtedness for such period of time as shall be necessary to maintain the public credit unimpaired."

On the 30th of July, the joint resolution—irrespective of certain added sections touching the reception of undrained trade dollars for all dues to the United States and prohibiting their reissue—was amended and passed the Senate in the following shape:

"Resolved, etc., That whenever the surplus or balance in the Treasury, including amount held for redemption of United States notes, shall exceed the sum of one hundred millions of dollars, it shall be, and is hereby made, the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to apply such excess, in sums not less than ten millions per month, during the existence of any such surplus or excess, to the payment of the interest-bearing indebtedness of the United States payable at the option of the government. The surplus or balance herein referred to, shall be the available surplus, ascertained according to the form of statement of the United States Treasurer, of the assets and liabilities of the Treasury of the United States employed on June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six. Provided, That no call shall be made under the provisions of this resolution until a sum equal to the call is in the Treasury over and above the reserve herein mentioned: And provided further, That the Secretary of the Treasury in his discretion, may have in the Treasury over and above the foregoing sums, a working balance not exceeding twenty million dollars; and whenever in the case of any extraordinary emergency, not now existing, and when, because thereof, in the opinion of the President, the public interest shall require it, he may, by written order,

direct the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the further call for the payment of such indebtedness for such period of time as shall be necessary to maintain the public credit unimpaired; and that such suspension, and the reasons therefor, shall be reported to Congress within ten days after its next meeting, or immediately if Congress shall be in session."

The vote upon its passage was 42 yeas to 20 nays, entirely non-partisan, as follows;

**YEAS**—Messrs. Allison, Aldrich, Blair, Brown, Call, Camden, Cameron, Chace, Conger, Cullom, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Evarts, Frye, Gibson, Gorham, Gray, Hale, Hampton, Harrison, Hawley, Hoar, Jones of Nevada, Kenna, McMillan, McPherson, Mahone, Miller of New York, Palmer, Payne, Platt, Pugh, Riddleberger, Sabin, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Spooner, Van Wyck, Wallcut, Wilson of Maryland—42.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Beck, Berry, Blackburn, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Eustis, Harris, Ingalls, Jones of Arkansas, Moxey, Mitchell of Oregon, Plumb, Stanford, Teller, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Whitthorne, Wilson of Iowa—20.

**Disagreement of the two Houses—Modifications by a Committee of Conference concurred in by both Houses—Non-approval by President Cleveland.**

The two Houses being unable otherwise to agree, a Committee of Conference was appointed, which on the 3d of August, reported the joint resolution in the following modified form:

Joint resolution directing payment of the surplus in the Treasury on the public debt.

*Resolved, etc., That whenever the surplus or balance in the Treasury, including amount held for redemption of United States notes, shall exceed the sum of \$100,000,000, it shall be, and is hereby made, the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to apply such excess, in sums not less than ten millions per month, during the existing of any such surplus or excess, to the payment of the interest-bearing indebtedness of the United States payable at the option of the Government. The surplus or balance herein referred to shall be the available surplus, ascertained according to the form of statement of the United States Treasurer, of the assets and liabilities of the Treasury of the United States, employed on June 30, 1886: *Provided*, That no call shall be made under the provisions of this resolution until a sum equal to the call is in the Treasury over and above the reserve herein mentioned: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may have in the Treasury, over and above the foregoing sums, a working balance not exceeding \$20,000,000; and whenever, in the case of any extraordinary emergency not now existing, and when, because thereof, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, the public interest shall require it, he may, by written order, postpone the further call for the payment of such indebtedness for such period of time as shall be necessary to maintain the public credit unimpaired, and that such postponement, and the reasons therefor, shall be reported to Congress within ten days after its next meeting, or immediately if Congress shall be in session.*

In the House, Aug. 4, this report was concurred in by a non-partisan vote of 120 yeas to 63 nays, as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Baker, Ballentine, Barnes, Barry, Blanchard, Blount, Boyle, C. R. Breckinridge, W. C. P. Breckinridge, T. M. Browne, Butterworth, Caldwell, Cannon, Carleton, Clements, Conger, Cooper, Coules, Crain, Cripe, Dargatz, Dorsey, Dougherty, Dunn, Eden, Eldridge, Ely, Farquhar, Felton, Fiegeer, Ford, Forney, Funston, Gay, C. H. Gibson, E. Gibson, Gillilan, Glass, Glorer, Goff, W. J. Green, Hout, Guenther, Hall, Hulsell, J. T. Heard, Hemphill, D. B. Henderson, J. S. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Herbert, Hermann, Hisecock, Hitt, A. J. Hopkins, Hudd, Hutton, Jaconks, T. D. Johnston, J. H. Jones, King, Kleiner, Laird, Landes, Le Ferre,

Libbey, Lindale, Little, Lovering, J. Lyman, Maybury, McAdoo, McComas, McKenna, McMillin, McRae, J. B. Morgan, Morrison, Neal, Negley, Nelson, Norwood, Oates, J. J. O'Neill, Parker, Perkins, Perry, Pidcock, Randall, J. W. Reid, Richardson, Riggs, Rockwell, Romels, Rowell, Ryan, Seymour, T. G. Skinner, Sowden, Springer, St. Martin, W. J. Stone of Kentucky, Stratt, Struble, Swope, Z. Taylor, J. R. Thomas, O. B. Thomas, Trigg, Tucker, Van Eaton, N. D. Wallace, J. H. Ward, Weber, West, Wheeler, Wilkins, Willis, G. D. Wise—120.

**NAYS**—Messrs. J. M. Allen, Atkinson, Bennett, Bingham, Bland, Bound, Brady, W. W. Brown, J. Buchanan, Bunnell, Burnes, Bynum, F. Campbell, T. J. Campbell, Cobb, Collins, D. E. Culbertson, Daniel, Dibble, Dockery, Dowdner, Evans, Everhart, Findlay, Frederick, Fuller, Harner, W. H. Hatch, A. S. Hewitt, Hiestand, Hill, Hires, Holman, Kelley, Latham, Lehlbach, Lore, Locory, Mahoney, Markham, Merriman, Muller, Nece, C. O'Neill, Osborne, Payson, Price, Sayers, Scranton, Seney, Spooner, Stephenson, Symes, Tarney, Taubee, Townshend, Vile, Wade, T. B. Ward, W. Warner, A. J. Weaver, J. B. Weaver, A. C. White—63.

On the same day, the Senate concurred without even a division; but President Cleveland did not give it his approval, and the joint resolution died with the adjournment of Congress.

## PART XXIII.

### President Cleveland's Free-Trade Message.

Following is the extraordinary annual message of President Cleveland, at the opening of the Congressional session of 1887-88, which, instead of the customary information of the condition of the Union and its foreign relations, is devoted entirely to a discussion of how to get rid of the surplus in the Treasury—from a Free-trade standpoint:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

You are confronted at the threshold of your Legislative duties, with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and wide-spread disaster.

It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was \$17,469,735.34; during the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

The annual contributions to the sinking-fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,068,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent bonds of the Government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people, would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$70,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of \$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department representations of distress in business circles not only continued but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking-fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of Government bonds not yet due, bearing four and four and a-half per cent interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent for the former and eight per cent for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury, served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the first day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to \$140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our National Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent bonds, which were payable at the option of the Government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

In the present state of legislation the only pretense of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the Government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago; and it is subject to the suspicion that it

was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its necessity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the Treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell, may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the Government.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction and should have a tendency to divorce, as much as and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, besides the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger, which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that

none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers, to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws, should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workmen employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country

less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,362,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries 7,670,463 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service, (2,934,816 of whom are domestic servants and laborers,) while 1,813,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dress-makers, and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,053 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,069 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with alight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working man nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They of course are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households, must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the trade-man.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield, is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by

reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the mean time the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woollen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff, becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production, below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point, furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exist, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing

interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and

far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operations of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time, and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these Departments during the last fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present condition of our treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

The reports of the heads of Departments, which will be submitted, contain full and explicit information touching the transaction of the business intrusted to them, and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interest as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the Legislative branch of the Government.

There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration and which I should be glad to submit. Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them, I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important Department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON,  
December 6, 1887.

## PART XXIV.

**The Mills Anti-Protective Bill reported to the House in response to Cleveland's Free-Trade Message—Free-Trade Extracts from the Democratic majority report—Text of the Republican minority report against the Mills Bill.**

On April 2, 1888, Mr. Mills, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported to the House of Representatives a "Bill [H. R. 9051] to reduce taxation and to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue." Accompanying it was the report of the Democratic majority, and the adverse views of the Republican minority of that Committee. In the opening paragraph of their report, the Democratic majority of the committee, referring to the Free-Trade message of President Cleveland, acknowledge that the anti-Protection Bill reported by them is "in response to his recommendations."

Outrageous and ruinous to the interests of the country as the bill was, the only regret experienced by its Democratic Free-Trade authors seemed to be that "the existing system" of Republican Protection to American labor offered some check to the present full accomplishment of their wholesale Free-Trade designs. In their report they say, —

"The bill herewith reported to the House is not offered as a perfect bill. Many articles are left subject to duty which might well be transferred to the free list. Many articles are left subject to rates of duty which might well be lessened. In both respects the bill could be improved; but in its preparation the committee have not undertaken or felt authorized to construct a new and consistent system of tariff taxation. They have dealt with the existing system." . . .

By gradual approaches, in three successive steps as it were, the Democratic Free-Trade committee declares the "end in view," which is "no duty on *any* materials entering into manufactures;" for they say, —

"If we could obtain *free of duty such raw materials as we do not produce* and can only be procured in foreign countries, and mix with our home product in the various branches of manufacture, we could soon increase our exports several hundred millions. With *untaxed raw materials* we could keep our mills running on full time, our operatives in constant employment, and have an active demand for our raw materials in our own factories. If there should be *no duty on any materials* entering into manufactures many articles now made abroad would be made at home, which, while it would give more employment to our own labor, would give a better market to many articles which we produce, and which enter into manufactures, such as cotton, wool, hemp, flax, and others.

"With this end in view, we have gone as far as we could, and done what we could in the present condition of things. . . . In starting on this policy we have transferred many articles from the dutiable to the free list. The revenues now received on these articles amount to \$22,189,595.48. Three-fourths of this amount is collected on articles that enter into manufactures, of which wool and tin-plates are the most important. The revenues derived from wool during the last fiscal year amounted to \$5,899,416.33; and the revenues from tin-plates to \$5,706,433.89.

"The repeal of all duties on wool enables us to reduce the duties on the manufactures of wool \$12,332,211.65. The largest reduction we have made is in the woolen schedule, and this reduction was only made possible by placing wool on the free list. There is no greater reason for a duty on wool than there is for a duty on any other raw material." . . .

But the critical review of the Mills Bill by the Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee completely covers the whole matter. Its text is as follows: —

### Views of the Minority.

Mr. McKinley presents the views of the minority as follows:

The extraordinary manner in which this bill came to the committee and the total lack of consideration given to so grave a measure by those charged with its investigation demand notice and comment. It was fashioned outside of the committee and reached it not by the reference of the House, which is the usual channel through which committees obtain jurisdiction of a subject. It was presented ready-made by the chairman of the committee, was framed, completed, and printed without the knowledge of the minority and without consideration or discussion in the full committee.

If any consultations were held the minority were excluded. Thus originating, after three months of the session had gone it was submitted to the committee. Since there has been no consideration of it. Every effort upon the part of the minority to obtain from the majority the facts and information upon which they constructed the bill proved unavailing; a resolu-



tion to refer the bill to the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement of its probable effects upon the revenue, together with a statistical abstract, which would facilitate its consideration by the committee and the House, was voted down by a strict party vote.

The industries of the country, located in every section of the Union, representing vast interests closely related to the prosperity of the country, touching practically every home and fireside in the land, and which were to be affected by the bill, were denied a hearing, and the majority shut the doors of the committee against all examinations of producers, consumers, and experts, whose testimony might have enlightened the committee. The farmers, whose investments and products were to be disastrously dealt with, were denied an opportunity to address the committee.

The workmen of the country, whose wages were at stake, were denied audience. The Representatives on the floor of the House were not permitted to voice the wants of their constituents. Proposing a grave measure which would affect all of the people in their employments, their labor, and their incomes, the majority persistently refused the people the right of hearing and discussion; denied them the simple privilege of presenting reasons and arguments against their proposed action.

But as the bill is avowedly a political one, believed to represent, so far as it goes, the views of the President and his party associates, a bill which, with the President's free trade message, is to constitute the issue and be the platform of the party, these may account for, but will not justify, this extraordinary course of procedure. The minority protested without avail in the committee, and now announcing it to the House as they feel constrained to do, accept the issue tendered by the bill, accompanied with some of their reasons for opposing it, and make their appeal from the people's servants to the people themselves.

The bill is a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country which for the most part has prevailed since the foundation of the Government, and under which we have made industrial and agricultural progress without a parallel in the world's history. If enacted into law it will disturb every branch of business, retard manufacturing and agricultural prosperity, and seriously impair our industrial independence. It undertakes to revise our entire revenue system; substantially all of the tariff schedules are affected; both classification and rates are changed. Specific duties are in many cases changed to ad valorem, which all experience has shown is productive of frauds and undervaluations. It does not correct the irregularities of the present tariff, it only aggravates them. It introduces uncertainties in interpretation, which will embarrass its administration, promote contention and litigation, and give to the customs officers a latitude of construction, which will produce endless controversy and confusion. It is marked with a sectionalism which every patriotic citizen must deplore.

Its construction takes no account of the element of labor which enters into production, and, in a number of instances, makes the finished or advanced product free, or dutiable at a less rate than the materials from which it is made. "The poor man's blanket," which the majority has made a burning issue for so many years, is made to bear the same rate of duty as the rich man's.

More than one-third of the free list is made up from the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine; from products which are now dutiable at the minimum rates, ranging from 7 to 25 per cent.; and even this slight protection, so essential, is to be taken from the farmers, the lumbermen, and the quarrymen.

True, there are some exceptions; cleaned rice, now paying a duty of 112 per cent. ad valorem, is carefully kept from the free list, and uncleaned rice is given increased duty and protection. This is done by introducing a new definition of uncleaned rice. It changes the long accepted commercial definition, and excludes any rice which has the outer skin or cuticle loosened, and makes all such dutiable as cleaned rice. By this simple definition clause all this class of rice, which heretofore has been admitted at a less rate of duty, is carried to the cleaned rice, which bears a higher rate. The duty on cleaned rice proposed by the bill is 2 cents a pound, and uncleaned 1 1/2 cents. The bill increases the duty upon what has heretofore been admitted as uncleaned rice

75 cents per hundred pounds. This is a case of an agricultural product upon which duties have not been diminished, but advanced. There were 4,000,000 pounds of it imported in the year ending June 30, 1887, and from June 30, 1887, to Dec. 31, 1887, 6,323,475 pounds, all of which becomes dutiable at the advanced rate of 2 cents per pound, and if the importations are maintained revenue from this source will be materially increased.

The following are among the agricultural products put on the free list by the bill:—

All wools,	Plums and prunes,
Linseed,	Dates,
Garden-seed,	Currants, Zante,
Rape and other oil seed,	Vegetables (fresh),
Hempseed,	Barks, beans, etc.,
Bulbs and roots,	Hemp,
Split pease,	Beeswax,
Beans and pease,	Flax,
Milk (fresh);	Manilla,
Meats, game, and poultry,	Other vegetable sub-
Figs,	stances.

The American farmer will appreciate the vicious character of the bill as applied to him, when he is apprised of the fact that, while the products of his land and labor are shut out from Canada by a protective tariff imposed by the Canadian government, the Canadian farmer can send many of his products here without the payment of duty under the proposed bill.

Canada now collects duties upon a number of American products, which by our tariff laws admit Canadian products of like kind free of duty. This she has been doing for many years, although by her tariff of 1878, chap. 33, sect. 9, it is provided:

"That any or all of the following things, that is to say, animals of all kinds, green fruit, hay, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables, including potatoes or other roots, plants, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, pease and beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buck-wheat and all other grain, flour of wheat and flour of rye, Indian meal and oatmeal and flour, or meal of any other kind, butter, cheese, fish, salt or smoked; lard, tallow, meats either salted or smoked, and lumber, may be imported into Canada free of duty, or at a less rate of duty than is provided by this Act by proclamation of the governor-general in council, which may issue whenever it appears to his satisfaction that similar articles from Canada may be imported into the United States free of duty, or at a rate of duty not exceeding that payable on the same under such proclamation when imported into Canada."

Some of the articles above named are already on our free list, and yet they are dutiable under Canadian laws, and no proclamation of reciprocity has yet been made by the governor-general; and it is proposed under this bill to increase the free list with farm products, upon which a high tariff is now levied by the Canadian law.

How long will the rate of agricultural wages be continued in the United States under such legislation? What sort of reciprocity is this? This will be a direct benefit to the Canadian farmer and a most serious blow to the American. The whole bill has that tendency, and seems to be subject to the criticism that it was framed to benefit other countries rather than our own.

#### Wool.

Nowhere in the bill is the ultimate purpose of its authors more manifest than its treatment of wool. It places this product upon the free list, and exposes our flocks and fleeces to merciless competition from abroad. In this respect the bill is but the echo of the President's message, and gives emphasis to the settled purpose of the majority to break down one of the most valuable industries of the country. It is public proclamation that the American policy of protection, so long adhered to, and under which has been secured unprecedented prosperity in every department of human effort, is to be abandoned.

Why have the majority put wool on the free list? Let them make their own answer. We quote from the report:—

"We say to the manufacturer we have put wool on the free list to enable him to obtain foreign wools cheaper, make his goods cheaper, and send them into foreign markets, and successfully compete with the foreign manufacturer."

First, the purpose is to bring down the price of

wool. If this should be the result, we inquire at whose expense and loss? It must be at the expense of the American grower, and to his loss, who, at present prices and with the present duty, is being forced out of the business by ruinous foreign competition? The injury, by the confession of the majority, will fall upon the American wool-grower. He is to be the first victim. He can find no profitable foreign market, if he is unable to hold his own, and it is absurd to talk about enlarging the market for his product at home with the wool of the world crowding our shores unchecked by custom-house duties.

There were 114,000,000 pounds of wool imported into this country the last fiscal year, and our domestic product, as a result, even with a duty of 10 cents a pound on the higher grades, was diminished to 285,000,000 pounds. The bill will greatly increase importations of the foreign product, and diminish, if not wholly destroy, our own production. Every nation ought, if possible, to produce its clothing as well as its food. This nation can do both, if the majority will let it alone. It should be borne in mind that our wool producers can not compete with countries where no winter feeding and but little summer attention is required, and where labor is so cheap, unless their industry has just and adequate protection. Is labor in manufacturing more deserving of the considerate concern of Congress than labor engaged in the field of agriculture? Both are useful and equally honorable, and alike merit the thoughtful consideration of those charged with making laws.

The majority report asserts that we must produce our woolen goods at lower cost, and be able to undersell the foreign product. And after this how is the lower cost to be secured? First, by fleeing the wool-grower, and next by reducing the labor cost in the manufacture. How are we to undersell the foreign product? By making the manufacturing cost of our goods less than theirs. In other words, by cutting down the wages of our skilled and unskilled labor, not to the foreign standard simply, but below it, for the product must cost us less if we undersell our competitors. The American farmer will not quietly submit to this injustice. The American workman will indignantly repel this effort to degrade his labor.

The majority gravely inquire in their report: "If Congress grants the request of the wool-growers, what are the people to do for woolen clothing?" We beg to suggest that the people of this country were woolen clothing during the existence of the tariff of 1867, and the tariff proposed by the wool conference is substantially that tariff, and the people were never better clothed, and never better able to buy them. It would be instructive to the majority to compare the prices of woolen clothing in this country during the period from 1847 to 1880, under the low tariff then prevailing, with the prices now prevailing, and they would be profited also by a comparison of the price of wages then prevailing with those now maintained. Their investigations would disclose the wretched condition of labor in the former period, the starving prices then received, and the inability of thousands of worthy workmen to get work at any price. Clothes at any price were then the dearest. If the laboring men could have been heard by the committee, they would have told a story of misery during the free-trade era which might have deterred the majority even from inaugurating the policy now proposed.

Again: the majority inquire, Are the people to be compelled by Congress to wear cotton goods in the winter, or go without, to give bounties to wool-growers and wool manufacturers? While this question is too trifling for serious reply, we assure the majority that the only danger of such a happening is from the bill they now report, — a bill which is to deprive our people of employment, and the opportunity to earn money with which to feed and clothe themselves and their families and educate their children.

The foreign market to which the American producer is invited by the majority report is delusory. Our own market is the best. There is no market anywhere comparable with it. Let us first of all possess it: it is ours, and we should enjoy it. Practically all the nations of the world, except England and the countries she has subjugated, have protective tariffs which they are maintaining, while the majority in the House is seeking to overthrow ours, under the delusion of a foreign market. They gravely invite us to leave our natural markets, — the best in the world, —

and go in search of others less inviting. The "Commercial Bulletin" of Boston, Jan. 14, 1888, stated the true situation:—

"In brief, with the removal of all duties on wool, . . . we should not gain a cent's worth of foreign trade, for the other woolen using countries — France, England, and Germany — could still undersell us in foreign markets with the help of their cheap labor. We should lose the fine wool industry, which would be transferred to South America and Australia, and we should also lose cheap mutton."

It is more than idle to talk about a foreign market for wool and woolen products while we are buying of other countries and importing annually forty million dollars' worth of worsted and woolen goods. We should make these goods here, and, if we did, there would be a steady demand for our domestic wool at remunerative prices, our labor would be profitably employed, and the woolen factories would be running at their highest capacity with reasonable rewards for their investments.

Mr. James Phillips, Jr., of Massachusetts, a large woolen manufacturer, who is strongly opposed to free wool, speaking of the foreign market, says, and we commend his words:—

"The world's market is a great free-trade shadow-dance. The more people think and know of this question the less attractive the world's markets become, and the more substantial our home market grows. My advice would be that the United States look carefully after the home pasture by tightening the fence, if necessary, before we go wandering around to find a spot where we can sell our goods in competition with the labor of Europe."

Wool on the "free list" is a deadly assault upon a great agricultural interest, and will fall with terrible severity upon a million people, their households, and dependencies. It will destroy invested capital, unsettle established values, wrest from the flockmasters their lifetime earnings, bankrupt thousands of our best and most industrious farmers, and drive them into other branches of agriculture already overcrowded. It is a vicious and indefensible blow at the entire agricultural interests of the country.

#### Woolen Goods and Manufactures of Wool.

Under the bill wool being free and a duty of 40 per cent placed on woolen cloth and "all manufactures of wool," we beg to inquire how combed and carded wool are to be classified? If they are held to be "manufactures of wool," then the duty of 40 per cent would be assessed and collected, and they would pay the same duty as if manufactured into cloth. If they are to be classified as wool, the effect would be to stop the sorting, scouring, and combing of wool almost entirely in the United States, unless the domestic wools could be bought at a price low enough to cover the cost of the labor required for placing wool in the advanced form.

Admitting combed and carded wool as wool free of duty would render the combing, scouring, and carding machinery in this country to a great extent idle and worthless. There will be no use for it if this work could be done more cheaply on the other side. Surely the duty ought to be sufficiently high to cover the cost of the labor, and unless it is foreigners will be given control of the wool market, not only in its raw state, but when carded, combed, and washed.

Again, ready-made clothing and cloakings are made subject to a duty of 45 per cent ad valorem. Clothing and cloakings are composed, first, of cloth, and second, of the lining, braid, buttons, and sewing silk, which are called trimmings. In the better grades of these manufactures silk is used entirely as a lining and is growing in general use. We are informed that where silk is used these trimmings in a man's coat and vest nearly equal one-half of the cost of the material used in such garments. Now, then, if the cloth pays a duty of 40 per cent and the trimmings a duty of 50 per cent, as provided by the bill, then the average would be 45 per cent. Now, 45 per cent is the duty placed by the bill on ready-made clothing, so that the cloth and the trimmings when made into a coat and vest pay the same duty as the materials. The clothier, the tailor, the sewing woman have no protection for their labor. If the bill was enacted into law, the whole ready-made clothing business of the country would be transferred to our European rivals. Then what market would we have for our cloth?

### Flax and Hemp.

The raising of flax and hemp for fiber in the United States is on the increase. To place these fibers on the free list would retard the progress now being made and seriously injure the grower, injuring as well the manufacturers of these fibers, who do not wish to be dependent on foreign nations for their supply of raw material.

The manufacture of linen threads, linen and hemp yarns, and twines is an important industry; and although the imports are still large, the home manufacturing is increasing slowly. The weaving of linens is on the increase, although not now sufficiently protected; to reduce the duty would be to destroy the industry.

The manufacturers of flax and hemp employ over 6,000 workers and have over \$8,000,000 invested. This in addition to the army of laborers engaged in the agricultural districts where the fiber is raised.

The manufacturing of jute requires substantial protection, unless we are to transfer this branch of our business to Calcutta and Dundee. The entire schedule of "Flax, hemp, jute, and manufacturers of," has not now the average protection afforded other textiles or other important industries. It is of national importance that we have our own supply of fiber, not depending on foreign nations for either the fiber or its products.

The placing of flax hackled, known as "dressed line," on the free list would class a partially manufactured article in the list of raw materials.

Protests against the proposed reduction in this schedule have been received from Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kentucky, Kansas, Illinois, New York and Dakota, but they have been unheeded by the majority of the committee.

The grave injustice which a majority of the committee have done the laborers employed in industries producing crude articles by placing them on the free list, on the claim that they are "raw materials," is apparent. Take lime, for example, which the majority propose to admit from Canada free of duty. Lime, as is well known, is manufactured in many parts of the United States to the extent of all the wants of our citizens, and the industry gives employment to many thousands of our workmen. Its value is made up mainly of labor, and this labor receives about \$2 per day in this country, and less than \$1.25 in Canada. With this difference in the wages paid the labor employed in this industry in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, it ought to be obvious to any one that if Congress should allow Canadian lime manufacturers to send their lime into our markets free of duty, it would inevitably result either in destroying the valuable lime manufacturing industry in the United States, or in compelling the laborers employed in it to accept Canadian wages.

### Borax.

Placing borax on the free list will destroy an important industry on the Pacific coast. It was greatly stimulated by the increased tariff given it by the law of 1883, since which the production has increased from 5,600,000 pounds in 1883 to 10,182,000 pounds in 1887, and during that period the prices have ruled lower in the United States than at any other period of production. In 1873 the price was 33 cents. It is now 6½ cents; all due to American production under the encouragement of a protective tariff. This is to be withdrawn, and our markets again placed in the control of the foreigner.

The bill will be disastrous in its effects upon the chemical industry, an industry which employs from 35,000 to 40,000 people, and with an invested capital of not less than \$140,000,000. The president of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association of the United States informs us, under date of March 31, 1888, that the free list and the reduced rates of duty fixed, applicable to the chemical schedule, will greatly injure if not be fatal to the continuance of their manufacture in the United States.

### Earthenware.

Earthenware will be seriously injured by the provisions of this bill. The duty was increased on this ware by the tariff law of 1883, and was justified by the condition of the industry and the pressing interests of American labor—notwithstanding which, the foreign manufacturers supply fully one-half of the American demand. The prediction was made at the time of the increase that, as a result, the American ware would be

improved in quality and reduced in price, which prediction has been fully verified. This industry has sprung up since 1860, and no more striking illustration of the benefit of protection can be found. It has grown to be one of the most valuable of our manufacturing interests; the capital invested has increased to \$8,000,000, and the hands employed number upwards of \$10,000; the price of good ware has been brought within the reach of the humblest household; our home competition has reduced the price of ware fully 50 per cent, and a taste for ceramic art has been cultivated, developing a new field of employment for both men and women. The wages paid in our potteries are 125 per cent. in advance of those paid for like labor abroad. There is no public sentiment calling for the proposed action of the committee. There is not a consumer complaining, and every workman engaged in these industries has protested against the reduction because of its inevitable effect upon his wages. The only effect of the bill will be to displace American by the foreign ware, increase the profits of our English and German rivals, impoverish the manufacturers, and bring distress to the labor which they employ.

### Glass.

The duty on cylinder window glass unpolished was subjected to a very considerable reduction by the tariff law of 1883. The bill proposes a still further reduction, which must result in great hardship to the workmen employed, and great loss to the men whose capital is invested. Since the reduction of the tariff of 1883 the imports have steadily increased. The quantity of this kind of foreign glass imported in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, is greater than during any like period of our history. In the four years since the act of 1883 went into operation the increased quantity of imports is over 33 per cent., while the revenue thereunder is greater than in the four years prior to the act of 1883 by \$1,250,000. These excessive importations have forced American furnaces to remain idle for one-fourth of the original length of the blast, and many men thereby deprived of their means of livelihood.

The capacity of the American furnace is sufficient for the American consumption, and with proper protection would be able to supply it fully at prices reasonable and just to the consumers and furnish steady employment to labor, keeping at home vast sums of money now sent abroad for foreign glass. The proposed reduction will cripple, if not sacrifice, our home factories, will increase importation, diminish home production, and lessen the demand for home labor. If our factories are to survive under the proposed bill, labor will have to be reduced, we are informed, not less than 50 per cent. Already one-fourth of the window glass now used in this country is of foreign make.

The wages in the glass factories of Europe are exceedingly low. Mr. James Campbell, president of the Window Glass Workers' Association of America, says,—

"Two years ago, while passing through Belgium on a tour of observation in the interest of the Window Glass Workers' Association, I saw women wheeling in coal and carrying in glass in the street. Their wages ranged from \$2 to \$3 per week, while here in America this class of work is performed by men whose wages range from \$9 to \$12 per week; and about the same ratio of difference prevails in all skilled branches of industry between the prices paid in Europe and America. I feel, in view of this fact, that with a reduction of 35 per cent, as proposed by the Mills bill, the difference will have to be met by a large reduction in the matter of wages by the workmen in the window-glass industry of this country. If the Mills bill should become a law, with the low wages in Europe and the cheapness of ocean freights between Europe and America, there will be no other alternative for the American workman but to accept a reduction in wages or surrender this market to the goods imported from abroad."

Mr. F. S. Tomlin, president of the glass-workers' league of the United States, speaking of the proposed reduction of duty upon glass bottles, says,—

"If the Mills bill becomes a law, we might as well give up the struggle, and go to Germany. In Germany, where the bulk of the imported ware comes from, the workmen work eleven hours a day and seven days a week, and earn from \$8 to \$7 per week. So far from the tariff being lowered, it should be raised to 1½ cents per pound, in order to enable us to maintain present wages, and prevent increased importation."

**Plate Glass.**

A large reduction of duty is proposed upon plate glass. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, there was imported into the United States a total of 4,074,178 pounds of plate glass, being the largest importation of such glass ever made in a single year. The reduction of 20 per cent proposed, we are assured by both manufacturers and workmen, will completely paralyze the industry here, and open up this market to the foreign factories.

Prior to the establishment of plate-glass factories in this country, the trade was controlled entirely by the foreign producers, in combination with a number of importers here, who maintained a monopoly in plate glass, enriching themselves from the profits received from American buyers. This monopoly or combination forced the American consumer to pay from \$2 to \$2.50 per foot for such glass. Since our factories have been in successful operation, under the fostering care of a protective tariff, the price has been forced down to \$1 per foot, on an average, a clear saving to Americans of more than one-half. It must not be forgotten that the principal element of cost in this product is labor.

"It is labor that mines, loads, transports, unloads, and uses the coal, the sand, the limestone, and fire-clay used in making plate glass. It is labor that manufactures the felt, the arsenic, the emery, the coppers, and the soda which enter into the composition of plate glass. And it is labor that fires the furnaces, that tends the machinery, and finally prepares and forwards the product, and not until such labor in its various stages is paid for on the basis of European labor can the American manufacturer expect to make glass at a corresponding cost."

It is inevitable that the proposed reduction means either the closing of our factories or a relative and corresponding reduction in wages. A statement is herein given showing the amount paid per month to workmen in plate-glass manufactories in France, Germany, Belgium, England, and the United States, and will indicate the character of competition to which American labor will be exposed by the passage of this bill.

**Statement showing the amount paid per month to workmen in plate-glass manufactories.**

Department.	France, Germany, and Belgium.	England.	United States.
<b>Casting department:—</b>			
Founders .....	\$45 00	\$50 60	\$100 00
Skimmers and teamers,	30 00	39 20	80 00
Castors .....	15 00	37 00	40 00
Klin fitters .....	18 00	27 00	45 00
Producer fitters .....	22 00	28 00	50 00
<b>Grinding department:—</b>			
No. 1 grade .....	27 00	33 80	75 00
No. 2 grade .....	20 00	29 20	65 00
No. 3 grade .....	16 00	23 60	50 00
Boys .....	4 00	5 10	25 00
<b>Smoothering department:—</b>			
No. 1 grade .....	27 00	33 80	70 00
No. 2 grade .....	20 00	29 20	60 00
No. 3 grade .....	10 00	23 60	50 00
Boys .....	4 00	6 80	18 00
<b>Polishing department</b>			
No. 1 grade .....	32 00	39 20	80 00
No. 2 grade .....	25 00	31 40	60 00
Boys .....	4 00	10 80	25 00
<b>Cutting room</b>			
Chief .....	26 00	39 20	100 00
Assistants .....	24 00	33 80	75 00
Blockers .....	14 00	23 60	32 00
Packers .....	13 00	27 00	50 00
Emery washer .....	24 00	45 00	80 00
Crocus burner .....	24 00	33 80	75 00
Laborers .....	11 00	19 60	30 00
Bricklayers .....	39 00	39 60	100 00
Carpenters .....	37 00	39 60	65 00

**Metal Schedule.**

Tin-plates are placed on the free list, although this country can make this essential article as easily as Great Britain, from which our supply is almost entirely obtained. Tin-plates are composed of 95 to 97½ per cent of iron or steel, and 2½ to 5 per cent of tin. This country has every facility for producing the sheets of iron or steel for tin-plates, and it can buy from other countries the tin with which these sheets are coated. It is a mistaken belief that Great Britain obtains her supply of tin principally from Cornwall in England. That country imports from other countries the larger part of her supply of tin, and this country now buys tin from the same countries, but not for use in the manufacture of tin-plates, the present duty of 1 cent per pound being too low to enable us to compete with the tin-plate manufacturers of Great Britain. The world's supplies of tin are derived principally from Banca and Billiton, two Dutch islands in the Straits of Malacca, from Australia, and from Cornwall in England.

In the five years ended May 31, 1885, the Straits and Australia supplied 156,832 tons of tin, and in the five years ended Dec. 31, 1883, Cornwall supplied 45,672 tons. Since 1883, the imports of tin from the Straits into Great Britain have greatly increased, while the supply from Cornwall has only slightly increased, if at all. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, this country imported tin-plates valued abroad at \$16,883,813. The bill of the majority not only proposes to continue this large importation annually, but makes public proclamation that this country does not want a tin-plate industry. If the majority had considered the interests of our own country, and not those of Great Britain, they would have recommended an increase in the existing duty on tin-plates, so that our people would have been encouraged to engage in their manufacture, and to develop the recently discovered tin mines of Dakota.

Free tin-plates (or iron or steel sheets, or plates, or taggers' iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, etc.) means no less than the annihilation of the manufacturing of the finer grades of sheet-iron in this country, and upon which is expended the greatest amount of skilled and best paid labor. The galvanized sheet-iron industry is especially threatened, and this is a great and growing manufacture, involving heavily invested capital in many States East and West. Free tin-plates do not necessarily insure cheaper prices to the farmer or general consumer, but the duty taken off will be gladly absorbed by the foreign manufacturer, and this condition can be fully appreciated when the public will note that "free pig-tin" has not insured against a most unheard of heavy advance in price of this article in the hands of a foreign "combine," say from about 20 cents per pound to as much as 38 cents per pound, within the last several months, and is now quoted on different futures as varying from 34 to 37 cents per pound, or being 75 or 80 per cent advance, and this article so completely controlled by the French syndicate that the boast of the trust (as it may be called) is that this great advance can be maintained at its will.

This condition fixes also the advanced prices on all the good solder which so largely enters into the working of tin-plate in the farmers' cans, etc., and for which the "tariff taxation" (so called) is not chargeable.

And here let attention be called to the fact that good (well coated with tin) tin-plates have of late advanced very considerably to consumers, and for which advance the control by the foreign trust is wholly responsible; and it is further and well understood, in well-informed and reasoning mercantile and manufacturing circles, that tin-plates would lately have advanced more largely without regard for the American manufacturers, or consumers, or packers, or farmers' interests, except that the foreign syndicate has supplied the tin-plate manufacturers of England at much less price than to the outside world for the time being, so that "tin-plates" need not just now be advanced to a point which might threaten and retard the effort to place such plates upon the free list, proposed by this bill.

The sheet-iron and sheet-steel industry is placed in great peril by this bill.

Cotton ties fare as badly as tin-plates; they also are transferred to the free list. We now make cotton ties in this country in small quantities, and would make them in larger quantities if the duty on foreign cotton

ties were higher than it now is. In the expansion of the cotton-tie industry in our own country the South ought to largely share, for it possesses all the raw materials of their manufacture, and the market for their sale and use is at its own door. But the bill of the majority announces that the manufacture of cotton ties is not to be tolerated in the North or established in the South, and that such machinery as we now possess for the manufacture of cotton ties is to be thrown upon the scrap pile. British manufacturers are invited to make all our cotton ties, and of course they will then charge us what they please for them.

Why this article, used for baling cotton, should be admitted free of duty, and when used for any other purpose dutiable at 1½ cents a pound, is not manifest upon any principle of fair play or economic science. There may be some reason known to the majority which they have failed to disclose to the minority; we know of no reason why cotton should enjoy this extraordinary and exceptional legislative favor.

Iron and steel beams and other structural iron and steel are forms of these metals, which are largely used in the erection of public and private buildings, and in the construction of bridges, ships, etc. These forms are more expensive, because requiring more labor, than ordinary bar-iron. Yet the bill of the majority recklessly subjects these more costly forms to lower duties than it imposes on ordinary bars of iron. The very low rates provided in the bill for beams and other structural forms of iron and steel will give great encouragement to the beam manufacturers of Belgium, which country now ships these products to the United States in considerable quantities.

#### Steel Rails.

If the majority desire to insure the handing over of our steel-rail market to our English rivals, the proposed duty of \$11 will accomplish this purpose, unless the workmen who are employed in producing the raw materials and finished products of our steel-rail works are willing to accept still lower wages than they are now receiving, and the railroad companies which transport the raw materials are willing to greatly reduce their freight rates. Have the majority any assurance that the workmen and the railroad companies are willing to accept these conditions? Neither were heard before the committee.

The supply of steel rails to the Pacific coast is now in the hands of foreigners, because of the cheap transportation by water from foreign ports, the existing duty of \$17 not being sufficient to enable our manufacturers to compete for that trade. In the New York Iron Age for March 8, 1888, it is stated that the Atchafson, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Company had lately purchased 10,000 tons of foreign rails to be delivered at San Diego, Cal., and it is also mentioned that another lot of 2,500 tons of foreign rails had recently been sold by foreign makers for a Pacific coast railroad.

In proposing to seriously cripple, if not to destroy, the manufacture of steel rails in this country the majority probably do not realize the full significance of the results which they invite. It should be remembered that our manufacturers of steel rails consume almost one-half of all the iron ore, and almost one-half of all the pig-iron that the country produces. If this great market for American iron ores and pig-iron is to be destroyed the country need not be told of the distress which will come to labor, and the bankruptcy which will come to producers.

A flagrant defect of the bill of the majority is its preference for ad valorem over specific duties, although the testimony of almost every Secretary of the Treasury since the foundation of the Government has been recorded against the frauds upon the Treasury which ad valorem duties invite and foster. Hon. Daniel Manning, the first Secretary of the Treasury under the present Executive, stated, in a circular letter issued July 17, 1885, that "Investigations of the methods of entry and appraisement of imported merchandise have shown that the tariff laws are largely evaded by under-valuation wherever the duties are levied ad valorem." In a subsequent special report on the revision of the tariff, dated Feb. 16, 1896, the same official elaborately presented the objections of many of his distinguished predecessors against ad valorem duties, upon the ground that they encouraged fraudulent entries of imported goods. In closing his report the Secretary said:

"One hears it often said that if our ad valorem rates did not exceed 25 or 30 per cent undervaluation and temptation to undervaluation would disappear, but the records of this Department for the years 1817, 1840, and 1857 do not uphold that conclusion. Of course I am very far from advocating the universal application of specific rates, but I do believe it to be possible for the more experienced and conscientious of our appraising or examining officers in different parts of the country, and for the experts in this Department, to prepare a plan for the prudent enlargement of specific rates which will greatly promote the welfare of the Government of the country."

Notwithstanding this deliberately expressed opinion by one of the most painstaking of our Secretaries of the Treasury, the bill of the majority continues many of the objectionable ad valorem rates of the present tariff and introduces others. Here, again, we detect a manifest purpose to favor foreign manufacturers at the expense of our own people, for if ad valorem duties have so operated in the past as to encourage fraudulent importations of foreign goods they may be expected to do so again. The majority must have known, for instance, that on steel-wire rods entered at ad valorem rates the invoices have been systematically undervalued during the past two years, so much so that the importations of steel in this form have in the period mentioned been enormous and entirely unprecedented. In the fiscal years 1886 and 1887 the imports of steel-wire rods under ad valorem rates amounted to 200,728 tons.

As this country possesses ample facilities for the manufacture of steel-wire rods, there must have been some special cause for the larger part of the heavy importations of the two years mentioned, and this cause is found in undervaluations. Instead of proposing to prevent the evil of undervaluations in the future by substituting specific duties, the majority recognize and condone it by recommending a continuance of the ad valorem system which has made it possible. In this matter the majority not only favor foreigners at the expense of our own people, but they strike a serious blow at an honest administration of our customs laws.

Other features of the metal schedule of the bill of the majority are just as objectionable as those we have mentioned. Many of them would increase importations, and thus increase the surplus. The importations of iron and steel have been so large in the last two years, amounting to nearly 1,800,000 tons in the calendar year 1887, the foreign value of which was nearly \$50,000,000, that further encouragement to foreign iron and steel manufacturers to ship their products into our markets, as provided in the bill of the majority, is a matter of such serious moment that the attention of the country needs to be specially directed to it, and to the sweeping destruction which would be sure to follow in its path.

We have not felt called upon to present all the questions involved in this bill. If we did, volumes would be required, not pages. It would be an account of the whole business of the country. Lumber is put upon the free list, although the duty is only 18 per cent., or rather, to be more exact, sawed lumber is so placed. Planed lumber is still dutiable. What great principle relegates labor used in sawing to the limbo of free trade and places the panoply of protection over labor used in planing is known only to the majority, and they have made no disclosures. The lumber belt extends across the whole continent, exposed to Chinese labor competition in British Columbia and to Canadian labor competition all along the line. The addition of salt to the free list is but another blow at the lumber interest, for the manufacture of salt in many places is but an adjunct to the lumber manufacture, utilizing waste products and cheapening both.

#### The Surplus.

If it be the purpose of the majority to reduce the income of the Government from customs sources, we beg to remind them that that purpose will not be accomplished by the scaling down of duties, as proposed in the bill. It is well known and supported by almost universal experience that a mere diminution of duties tends to stimulate foreign importations and thereby increase the revenue. This is shown by the reports of importations since 1883 of those articles upon which reductions were made by the law of that year. For example: The duty on window-glass by the tariff of 1883 was reduced 25 per cent., and the importations in

creased from 60,947,890 pounds under the old law to 61,627,948 pounds in 1887 under the new law, and produced to the Treasury an increased revenue in the latter year over the former of upwards of \$200,000.

The duty on braid, plaits, laces, and trimmings were reduced by the act of 1883 from 30 to 20 per cent. ad valorem, and the sum paid in duties in 1887 was \$114,482.76 more than in 1883. The reduction on tin-plate under the act of 1883 was one-tenth of a cent per pound, while the duty collected in 1887 was \$715,468.57 greater than in 1883. Bronze in powder was reduced by the law of 1883 from 20 to 15 per cent., yet the sum received by the Government for duty in 1887 was \$14,000 more than was received from the same source in 1883. The duty on writing paper was reduced from 85 per cent. to 25 per cent. ad valorem. The receipts in 1883 under the higher duty were \$19,406.87; under the reduced duty in 1887 the receipts were \$242,216.27, showing an excess of duties of \$222,000 in 1887 over 1883. The duty on wool was reduced by the act of 1883, and the increase of importations and revenue is probably the most striking of any in the schedule. The importations in 1882 were 63,016,789 pounds; in 1887, 114,404,174. The duty collected in 1882 was \$3,854,653.18; that in 1887, \$5,869,816.63.

These illustrations clearly demonstrate that a simple scaling down of duties from 20 to 30 or 40 per cent., more or less, will only increase revenues and therefore augment the surplus.

If "the absolute peril" to the business of the country described by the President in his message last December as resulting from an existing and increasing surplus was imminent and well founded, how easily he could have averted it by the purchase of outstanding bonds with the surplus money in the Treasury, a power which he possessed clear and undoubted under the act of March 3, 1881, that is as follows:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury may, at any time, apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as may be considered proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds."

To have thus used the surplus would have been direct and business-like; just what a prudent business man would have done with his idle money—called in his creditors and applied it to his debts. The President failed to do this, and when Congress assembled "the condition" confronted it. If the House had even then appreciated the situation, how promptly and easily it could have, in part, at least, relieved it. It could have been done in the first week of December by abolishing the entire tobacco tax, amounting to \$30,000,000 annually, and thereby removed a great burden from the agricultural producers of the country, by releasing also from taxation alcohol used in the arts and manufactures, which it is estimated would amount to six millions more.

This simple proposition would have received a practically unanimous vote in the House and the approval of the country, and have stopped the collection of \$3,000,000 a month, and if it had been promptly done there would now be \$12,000,000 less of surplus in the Treasury, and we venture to predict that the reduction that could have been thus secured was greater than the reduction which will be accomplished by this bill. The majority failed to seize the opportunity. It seems impossible for the party of the majority in the House to pass a revenue bill and reduce taxation; this has been its almost unvarying experience while in control of the House.

#### What reductions have taken place.

It is a striking fact that all of the reductions of taxation which have occurred since the conclusion of the war, with the exception of the trifling ones made by the acts of March 1, 1879, and of May 28, 1880, aggregating a little over \$6,000,000, were accomplished while the party now in the minority was in the majority and in control of legislation.

A brief summary of what has been done in this regard will be both suggestive and instructive.

By the act of July 14, 1870, the reduction of the revenue from customs duties was:

Free list.....	\$2,403,000
Estimated reduction from dutiable list.....	23,651,748
Total.....	26,054,748
By the act of May 1, 1872, tea and coffee were placed upon the free list, making a reduction of.....	15,898,847

By the act of June 6, 1872, tariff duties were further reduced, and the reduction by the—

Free list.....	\$3,345,724
Estimated reduction from dutiable list.....	11,933,191
Total.....	15,278,915

By the act of March 3, 1883, from tariff,

Free list.....	\$1,365,999
Estimated reduction from dutiable list.....	19,489,800
Total.....	\$20,855,799

The foregoing estimates were made when the several bills were passed.

Of internal taxes the following have been the reductions made by the party, now in the minority, since the conclusion of the war:

By the acts of July 13, 1868, and March 2, 1867.....	\$103,381,199
By the acts of March 31, 1868, and Feb. 3, 1868.....	54,802,578
By the act of July 14, 1870.....	55,315,321
By the act of Dec. 21, 1871.....	14,428,982
By the act of June 6, 1872.....	15,897,618
By the act of March 3, 1883.....	40,677,682
Total.....	\$284,421,260

This we present as the result of Republican legislation from July 13, 1868, down to and including March 3, 1883.

The Republican party was in control of the House of Representatives from the first-named date to March 4, 1875. During that period it will be observed that taxation was reduced and revenue diminished in the aggregate sum of \$284,421,260. On the 4th of March, 1875, the control of the House passed to the Democratic party, and remained with it until the 4th day of March, 1881, a period of six years. During these years the internal revenue was reduced \$6,368,935. On the 4th day of March, 1881, the Republican party was re-invested with control of the House of Representatives, holding it for two years, during which time it reduced taxation and the revenues from customs sources in the estimated sum, \$20,855,799, and upon internal revenue, \$40,677,682, a grand total of \$61,432,481.

Since the 4th day of March, 1883, the House of Representatives has been dominated by the present majority party, a period of five years, and no taxes have been reduced, and no curtailment of the revenues has taken place, although warned of a threatened surplus, not only by the present administration, but by the preceding one of President Arthur. It will be observed that from 1868 to 1888, a period of twenty-two years, the control of the House of Representatives has been equally divided between the two political parties, each having eleven years.

During the eleven years of Republican control the revenues were reduced (estimated).....	\$362,504,569
During the eleven years of Democratic control the revenues were reduced.....	6,368,935

Difference in favor of the present minority party in the House of..... \$356,135,634

If it be claimed that for the most part during the Democratic control of the House, the Senate was dominated by the Republican Party, and therefore, the responsibility of failure to reduce the revenues should be alike shared by them, we answer, that under the Constitution of the United States the House alone can originate bills to reduce taxation, the Senate having no jurisdiction of the subject, until it is given to it by a bill which passes the House, and that during all these years no such bill has gone from the House to the Senate, and, therefore, the sole responsibility for failure rests with the present majority in the House of Representatives.

If disaster results from the failure of the President to use the surplus now in the Treasury, as the law authorizes him to use it, in payment of our existing debts, and if the majority in the House, which alone can originate a bill to reduce the revenue, fails to send to the Senate a bill of that character, the responsibility will rest with them. The minority are powerless; they are neither in control of the House nor the committees; they are in no parliamentary position to re-

port a bill or give direction to legislation which shall surely accomplish results so much desired. They sought by amendments in Committee on Ways and Means to make this bill reasonable, just, and practical; failing there, they will seek to amend and modify it in the Committee of the Whole House, and if their efforts there are unavailing, they will seek as a last resort an opportunity to offer a substitute, which will assuredly diminish the revenues without any impairment of the American system of protection.

It is therefore manifest that the responsibility for the present monetary condition which so alarms the country does not rest with the minority party in the House, but with the President and the majority in Congress. They cannot escape it. The President has for three years failed, while having the power, to avoid the financial condition he now complains of. The majority in the House for six years has signally failed to provide for a reduction of the revenue. They can not avoid responsibility for the evils which are now upon us, and while these are beyond their power to retrieve, they can, by courage and wisdom, and governed by business principles, provide against like evils in the future. They must now act or make public confession of failure.

The minority regard this bill not as a revenue-reduction measure, but as a direct attempt to fasten upon this country the British policy of free foreign trade. So viewing it, their sense of obligation to the people, and especially the working people, employed in manufacturing and agriculture in all sections of our common country, impel them to resist it with all their power. They will assist the majority in every effort to reduce the redundant income of the Government in a direct and practicable way, but every effort at fiscal legislation which will destroy or enfeeble our industries, retard material development, or tend to reduce our labor to the standard of other countries, will be met with the persistent and determined opposition of the minority represented in the House.

WM. D. KELLEY.  
THOS. M. BROWNE.  
T. B. REED.  
WM. MCKINLEY, Jr.  
J. C. BURROWS.

## PART XXV.

### Text of the Mills Anti-Protective Tariff Bill as it passed the House of Representatives—Vote on its passage in the House.

After a very protracted and memorably able debate, the Mills Anti-Protective Tariff Bill was somewhat amended, and on the 21st of July, 1888, passed the House by a vote of 102 yeas to 149 nays,—14 Representatives not voting,—in the following shape:\*

A Bill to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, the following articles mentioned in this section, when imported, shall be exempt from duty:—

Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.

Timber, squared or sided.

Wood unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for.

Sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other articles of sawed lumber.

Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, oar-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough, hewn, or sawed only.

Staves of wood.

Pickets and palings.

Laths.

Shingles.

Clapboards, pine or spruce.

Logs.

*Provided*, That if any export duty is laid upon the above-mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk, when imported from any country which does not charge an import duty upon salt exported from the United States.

Flax straw.

Flax, not hackled or dressed.

Tow of flax, or hemp.

Hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp.

Jute butts.

Jute.

Sunn, sisal-grass, and other vegetable fibres.

Burlaps, not exceeding sixty inches in width, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value.

Bags of jute for grain.

Machinery designed for the conversion of jute or jute butts into cotton bagging, to wit, cards, roving frames, winding frames, and softeners.

Iron or steel sheets, or plates, or taggers iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates,terne plates, and taggers tin.

Beeswax.

Glycerine, crude, brown, or yellow, of the specific gravity of 1.25 or less at a temperature of sixty degrees Fahrenheit, not purified by refining or distilling.

Phosphorus.

Soap-sticks, fit only for use as such.

Soap, hard and soft, all which are not otherwise specially enumerated or provided for.

Sheep-dip.

Extract of hemlock, and other bark used for tanning.

Indigo, extracts of, and carmined.

Iodine, resublimed.

Oil, croton.

Hemp-seed and rape-seed oil.

Petroleum.

Alumina—alum, patent alum, alum substitute, sulphate of alumina, and aluminous cake, and alum in crystals or ground.

All imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters.

Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, unmanufactured.

Boracic acid, borate of lime and borax.

Copper, sulphate of, or blue vitriol.

Iron, sulphate of, or copperas.

Potash, crude, carbonate of, or fused and caustic potash.

Chlorate of potash and nitrate of potash, or saltpetre crude.

Sulphate of potash.

Sulphate of soda, known as salt cake, crude or refined, or nitre cake, crude or refined, and Glauber's salt.

Nitrite of soda.

Sulphur, refined, in rolls.

Wood-tar.

Coal-tar, crude.

Aniline oil and its homologues.

Coal-tar, products of, such as naphtha, benzine, benzole, dead oil, and pitch.

All preparations of coal-tar not colors or dyes, and not acids of colors and dyes.

Logwood and other dyewoods, extracts and decoctions of.

Alizarine, natural or artificial.

Spirits of turpentine.

Ocher and ochery earths, umber and umber earths.

Olive-oil, salad oil, cotton seed oil, whale oil, seal oil, and neat's-foot oil.

All barks, benna, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, bulbous roots, and excrescences, such as nut-galls,

\* It is deemed best to give the entire Bill to avoid any charge of garbling, and because in the administrative clauses are included internal revenue changes, and changes from specific to *ad valorem* rates of duties, some of the worst features of the Bill.—[COMPILER.]

fruits, flowers, dried fibres, grains, gums, and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots, and stems, vegetables, seeds, and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing which are not edible and not specially enumerated or provided for.

All non-dutiable crude minerals, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for.

All earthen or clays unwrought or unmanufactured. Glass plates or disks, unwrought, for use in the manufacture of optical instruments, spectacles, and eye glasses.

Opium crude and not adulterated, containing nine per centum and over of morphia, for medicinal purposes.

Iron and steel cotton ties or hoops for baling or other purposes, not thinner than number twenty wire gauge.

Needles, sewing, darning, knitting, and all others not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

Copper, imported in the form of ores, regulus of, and black or coarse copper and copper cement, old copper fit only for remanufacture.

Antimony, as regulus or metal.

Quicksilver.

Chromate of iron or chromic ore.

Mineral substances in a crude state and metals unwrought not specially enumerated or provided for.

Brick, other than fire-brick.

German looking-glass plates, made of blown glass and silvered.

Vegetables in their natural state or in salt or brine, not specially enumerated or provided for.

Chicory root, ground or unground, burnt or prepared.

Acorns and dandelion root, raw or prepared, and all other articles used, or intended to be used, as coffee or substitutes therefor, not specially enumerated or provided for.

Cocoa, prepared or manufactured.

Dates.

Currants, Zante or other.

Figs.

Meats, game, and poultry.

Milk, fresh.

Egg yolks.

Beans, pease, and split pease.

Bibles, books, and pamphlets, printed in other languages than English, and books and pamphlets and all publications of foreign governments, and publications of foreign societies, historical or scientific, printed for gratuitous distribution.

Bristles.

Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal.

Feathers of all kinds, crude or not dressed, colored, or manufactured.

Finishing powder.

Grease.

Grindstones, finished or unfinished.

Curl'd hair, for beds or mattresses.

Human hair, raw, uncleaned and not drawn.

Hemp and rape seed, and other oil-seeds of like character.

Garden seeds.

Osier or willow, prepared for basket-makers' use.

Broom-corn.

Brush-wood.

Rags, of whatever material composed.

Rattans and reeds, manufactured but not made up into finished articles.

Stones, unmanufactured or undressed, freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone.

All strings of gut or any other like material.

Tallow.

Waste, all not specially enumerated or provided for.

SEC. 2. That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:

Glycerine, refined, three cents per pound.

Acid, acetic, acetous, or pyroligneous acid, exceeding the specific gravity of 1.047, five cents per pound.

Castor beans or seeds, twenty-five cents per bushel of fifty pounds.

Castor oil, forty cents per gallon.

Flaxseed or linseed oil, fifteen cents per gallon.

Licorice, paste or rolls, five cents per pound.

Licorice juice, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, manufactured, one-eighth of one cent per pound.

Chromate of potash, two and one-half cents per pound.

Bichromate of potash, two and one-half cents per pound.

Acetate of lead, brown, two cents per pound.

Acetate of lead, white, three cents per pound.

White lead, when dry or in pulp, or when ground or mixed in oil, two cents per pound.

Orange, mineral, and red lead, one and one-half cents per pound.

Litharge, one and one-half cents per pound.

Nitrate of lead, two cents per pound.

Magnesia, medicinal, carbonate of, three cents per pound.

Magnesia, calcined, seven cents per pound.

Magnesia, sulphate of, or Epsom salts, one-fourth of one cent per pound.

Prussiate of potash, red, seven cents per pound.

Prussiate of potash, yellow, three cents per pound.

Nitrate of potash, refined, or refined saltpetre, one cent per pound.

Salsoda, or soda crystals, one-eighth of one cent per pound.

Bicarbonate of or super-carbonate of soda, and salaratus, calcined or pearl ash, three-fourths of one cent per pound.

Hydrate or caustic soda, one-half of one cent per pound.

Soda silicate or other alkaline silicate, one-fourth of one cent per pound.

Sulphur, sublimed or flowers of, twelve dollars per ton.

Ultramarine, three cents per pound.

Paris green, twelve and one-half per centum ad valorem.

Colors and paints, including lakes, whether dry or mixed or ground with water or oil, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Zinc, oxide of, when dry, one cent per pound; when ground in oil, one and one-half cents per pound.

All medicinal preparations known as cerates, conserves, decoctions, emulsions, extracts, solid or fluid, infusions, juices, liniments, lozenges, mixtures, mucillages, ointments, oleo-resins, pills, plasters, powders, resins, suppositories, sirups, vinegars, and waters, of any of which alcohol is not a component part, which are not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty per centum ad valorem.

All ground or powdered spices not specially enumerated or provided for, three cents per pound.

Proprietary preparations, to wit: All cosmetics, pills, powders, troches or lozenges, sirups, cordials, bitters, anodynes, tonics, plasters, liniments, salves, ointments, pastes, drops, waters, essences, spirits, oils, or preparations or compositions recommended to the public as proprietary articles or prepared according to some private formula as remedies or specifics for any disease or diseases or affections affecting the human or animal body, including all toilet preparations whatever used as applications to the hair, mouth, teeth, or skin, not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Morphia or morphine and all salts thereof, fifty cents per ounce.

Acid, tannic or tannin, fifty cents per pound.

China, porcelain, parian, and bisque, earthen, stone, or crockery ware composed of earthy or mineral substance, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, printed, enamelled, or gilded, or otherwise decorated in any manner, fifty per centum ad valorem.

China, porcelain, parian, and bisque were not decorated in any manner, forty per centum ad valorem.

White granite, common ware, plain white or cream-colored, lustred or printed under glaze in a single color; sponged, dipped, or edged ware, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Brown earthenware, common stoneware, gas-retorts, and roofing tiles, not specially enumerated or provided for, and not decorated in any manner, twenty per centum ad valorem.

All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white,



colored, or blaque, composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and not decorated in any manner, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Paving tiles, not encaustic, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Encaustic tiles, not glazed or enamelled, thirty per centum ad valorem.

All glazed or enamelled tiles, forty-five per centum ad valorem.

Slates, slate pencils, slate chimney-pieces, mantels, slabs for tables, and all other manufactures of slate, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, moulded, or pressed green and colored bottle glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for, one cent per pound; if filled, and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem duty, or to a rate of duty based on their value, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter; but if filled and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem duty or to a rate of duty based on their value, they shall pay a duty of one cent per pound in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents.

Cylinder and crown glass, polished, above twenty-four by thirty inches square and not exceeding twenty-four by sixty inches square, twenty cents per square foot; all above that, thirty cents per square foot.

Unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, not exceeding ten by fifteen inches square, one and three-eighths cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding sixteen by twenty-four inches square, one and five-eighths cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding twenty-four by thirty inches square, two cents per pound; all above that, two and one-half cents per pound: *Provided*, That unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, imported in boxes containing fifty square feet as nearly as sizes will permit, now known and commercially designated as fifty feet of glass, single thick and weighing not to exceed fifty-five pounds of glass per box, shall be entered and computed as fifty pounds of glass only; and that said kinds of glass imported in boxes containing, as nearly as sizes will permit, fifty feet of glass, now known and commercially designated as fifty feet of glass, double thick and not exceeding ninety pounds in weight, shall be entered and computed as eighty pounds of glass only; but in all other cases the duty shall be computed according to the actual weight of glass.

Cast polished plate-glass, silvered, or looking-glass plates, above twenty-four by thirty inches square and not exceeding twenty-four by sixty inches square, twenty-five cents per square foot; all above that, forty-five cents per square foot.

Porcelain and Bohemian glass, chemical glassware, painted glassware, stained glass, and all other manufactures of glass, or of which glass shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, forty per centum ad valorem.

Iron in pigs, iron kentledge, six dollars per ton.

Iron railway bars, weighing more than twenty-five pounds to the yard, eleven dollars per ton.

Steel railway bars and railway bars made in part of steel, weighing more than twenty-five pounds to the yard, eleven dollars per ton.

Bar iron, rolled or hammered, comprising flats not less than one inch wide nor less than three-eighths of one inch thick, seven-tenths of one cent per pound; comprising round iron not less than three-fourths of one inch in diameter, and square iron not less than three-fourths of one inch square, and flats less than one inch wide or less than three-eighths of one inch thick, round iron less than three-fourths of one inch and not less than seven-sixteenths of one inch in diameter, and square iron less than three-fourths of one inch square, one cent per pound: *Provided*, That all iron in slabs, blooms, loops, or other forms less finished than iron in bars, and more advanced than pig-iron, except castings, shall be rated as iron in bars, and pay a duty accordingly; and none of the above iron shall pay a less rate of duty than thirty-five per centum ad valorem: *Provided, further*, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of not less than twenty dollars per ton.

Iron or steel tee-rails, weighing not over twenty-five pounds to the yard, fourteen dollars per ton; iron or steel flat rails, punched, fifteen dollars per ton.

Round iron, in coils or rods, less than seven-sixteenths of one inch in diameter, and bars or shapes of rolled iron, not specially enumerated or provided for, one cent per pound.

Iron or steel flat with longitudinal ribs, for the manufacture of fencing, four-tenths of a cent per pound.

Sheet iron, common or black, thinner than one inch and not thinner than number twenty wire gauge, one cent per pound; thinner than number twenty wire gauge and not thinner than number twenty-five wire gauge, one and one-tenth of one cent per pound; thinner than number twenty-five wire gauge and not thinner than number twenty-nine wire gauge, one and one-fourth of one cent per pound; thinner than number twenty-nine wire gauge, and all iron commercially known as common or black taggers iron, whether put up in boxes or bundles or not, thirty per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, That on all such iron and steel sheets or plates aforesaid excepting on what are known commercially as tin plates,terne plates, and taggers tin, when galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of those metals, one-fourth of one cent per pound additional when not thinner than number twenty wire gauge; thinner than number twenty wire gauge and not thinner than number twenty-five wire gauge, one-half cent per pound additional, and when thinner than twenty-five wire gauge, three-fourths of one cent per pound additional.

Hoop, or band, or scroll, or other iron, eight inches or less in width, and not thinner than number ten wire gauge, one cent per pound; thinner than number ten wire gauge and not thinner than number twenty wire gauge, one and one-tenth cents per pound; thinner than number twenty wire gauge, one and three-tenths cents per pound: *Provided*, That all articles not specially enumerated or provided for, whether wholly or partly manufactured, made from sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron herein provided for, or of which such sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron shall be the material of chief value, shall pay one-fourth of one cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the iron from which they are made, or which shall be such material of chief value.

Cast-iron pipe of every description, six-tenths of one cent per pound.

Cut nails and spikes, of iron or steel, one cent per pound.

Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Iron or steel railway fish-plates or splice-bars, eight-tenths of one cent per pound.

Wrought iron or steel spikes, nuts, and washers, and horse, mule, or ox shoes, one and one-half cents per pound.

Anvils, anchors, or parts thereof, mill-irons and mill-cranks, of wrought-iron, and wrought-iron for ships, and forgings of iron and steel, for vessels, steam-engines and locomotives, or parts thereof, weighing each twenty-five pounds or more, one and one-half cents per pound.

Iron or steel rivets, bolts, with or without threads or nuts, or bolt blanks, and finished hinges or hinge blanks, one and one-half cents per pound.

Iron or steel blacksmiths' hammers and sledges, track-tools, wedges, and crowbars, one and one-half of one cent per pound.

Iron or steel axles, parts thereof, axle bars, axle blanks, or forgings for axles, without reference to the stage or state of manufacture, one and one-half cents per pound.

Horseshoe nails, hob-nails, and wire nails, and all other wrought-iron or steel nails, not specially enumerated or provided for, two and one-half cents per pound.

Boiler-tubes, or other tubes, or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel, one and one-half cents per pound.

Chain or chains, of all kinds, made of iron or steel, less than three-fourths of one inch in diameter, one and one-fourth cents per pound; less than three-fourths of one inch and not less than three-eighths of one inch in diameter, one and one-half cents per pound; less than three-eighths of one inch in diameter, two cents per pound.

Hand, back, and all other saws, not specially enu-

merated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Files, file-blanks, rasps, and floats of all cuts and kinds, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Iron or steel beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, T T columns and posts, or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all other structural shapes of iron or steel, six-tenths of one cent per pound.

Steel wheels and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, and other railway tires, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, two cents per pound; iron or steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms or blanks for the same without regard to the degree of manufacture, one and one-half cents per pound.

Iron and steel wire and iron and steel wire galvanized, and all manufactures of iron and steel wire and of iron and steel wire galvanized, shall pay the duties now provided by law: *Provided*, That no such duty shall be in excess of sixty per centum ad valorem.

Clippings from new copper fit only for remanufacture, one cent per pound.

Copper in plates, bars, ingots, Chili or other pigs, and in other forms, not manufactured, two cents per pound; in rolled plates, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Lead ore and lead dross, three-fourths of one cent per pound.

Lead, in pigs and bars, molten and old refuse lead run into blocks and bars, and old scrap lead fit only to be remanufactured, one and one-quarter cents per pound. Lead in sheets, pipes, or shot, two and one-quarter cents per pound.

Sheathing or yellow metal, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Nickel, in ore or matte, ten cents per pound on the nickel contained therein.

Zinc ores, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Zinc spelter, or tuttenague, in blocks or pigs, and old worn-out zinc fit only to be remanufactured, one and one-quarter cents per pound; zinc, spelter or tuttenague in sheets, two cents per pound.

Hollow-ware, coated, glazed, or tinned, two and one-half cents per pound.

Needles for knitting and sewing machines, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Pens, metallic, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Type metal, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

New type for printing, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of copper, thirty-five per centum ad valorem; manufactures, articles, or wares not specially enumerated or provided for, composed of iron, steel, lead, nickel, pewter, tin, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, or any other metal, or of which any of the foregoing metals may be the component material of chief value, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, forty per centum ad valorem.

Cabinet and house furniture of wood, finished, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Manufactures of cedar wood, granadilla, ebony, mahogany, rosewood, and satinwood, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Manufactures of wood, or of which wood is the chief component part, not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

All sugars not above number thirteen Dutch standard in color shall pay duty on their polariscopic test as follows, namely:—

All sugars not above number thirteen Dutch standard in color, all tank bottoms, sirups of cane-juice or of beet-juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscopic not above seventy-five degrees, shall pay a duty of one and fifteen hundredths cents per pound, and for every additional degree or fraction of a degree shown by the polariscopic test they shall pay thirty-two thousandths of a cent per pound additional.

All sugars above number thirteen Dutch standard in color shall be classified by the Dutch standard of color and pay duty as follows, namely:—

All sugars above number thirteen and not above number sixteen Dutch standard, two and twenty hundredths cents per pound.

All sugars above number sixteen and not above num-

ber twenty Dutch standard, two and forty hundredths cents per pound.

All sugars above number twenty Dutch standard, two and eighty hundredths cents per pound.

Molasses testing not above fifty-six degrees by the polariscopic shall pay a duty of two and three-fourths cents per gallon; molasses testing above fifty-six degrees shall pay a duty of six cents per gallon: *Provided*, That if an export duty shall hereafter be laid upon sugar or molasses by any country from whence the same may be imported, such sugar or molasses so imported shall be subject to duty as provided by law at the date of the passage of this act.

Sugar candy, not colored, five cents per pound.

All other confectionery, forty per centum ad valorem.

Potato or corn starch, rice starch, and other starch, one cent per pound.

Rice, cleaned, two cents per pound; uncleaned, or rice free of the outer hull, and still having the inner cuticle on, one and one-quarter cents per pound.

Rice-flour and rice-meal, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Paddy, or rice having the outer hull on, one cent per pound.

Raisins, one and one-half cents per pound.

Peanuts or ground beans, three-fourths of one cent per pound; shelled, one cent per pound.

Mustard, ground or preserved, in bottles or otherwise, six cents per pound.

Cotton thread, yarn, warps, or warp yarn, whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form, valued at not exceeding forty cents per pound, thirty-five per centum ad valorem; valued at over forty cents per pound, forty per centum ad valorem.

On all cotton cloth, forty per centum ad valorem.

Spool-thread of cotton, forty per centum ad valorem.

Flax, hackled, known as dressed line, ten dollars per ton.

Brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, pad-dings, cot bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, lawns, or other manufactures of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, That cuffs, collars, shirts, and other manufactures of wearing apparel, made in whole or in part of linen, and not otherwise provided for, and hydraulic hose, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Flax, hemp, and jute yarns, and all twines of hemp, jute, butta, sunn, sisal-grass, ramie, and China grass, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Flax or linen thread, twine, and pack thread and all manufactures of flax, or of which flax shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Oil-cloth foundations, or floor-cloth canvas, or bur-laps, exceeding sixty inches in width, made of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Oil-cloths for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, and on all other oil-cloth (except silk oil-cloth), and on water-proof cloth, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Gunny-cloth, not bagging, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Bags and bagging, and like manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for, including bagging for cotton composed wholly or in part of flax, hemp, jute, gunny cloth, gunny bags, or other material, three-eighths cent per pound.

Tarred cables or cordage, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Untarred manilla cordage, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

All other untarred cordage, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Selines and seine and gilling twine, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Sail duck, or canvas for sails, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Russias and other sheetings, of flax or hemp, brown or white, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

All other manufactures of hemp or manilla, or of which hemp or manilla shall be a component material

of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Grass-cloth, and other manufactures of jute, ramie, China, and sisal-grass, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, That as to jute, jute-butts, sunn, and sisal-grass, and manufactures thereof, except burlaps, not exceeding sixty inches in width, this act shall take effect January first, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine; and as to flax, hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp, and the manufactures thereof, upon July first, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine.

SECT. 3. On and after October first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, there shall be admitted, when imported, free of duty:—

All wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals.

Wools on the skin.

Woolen rugs, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks.

And on and after January first, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned in this section, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:—

Woolen and worsted cloths, shawls, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool or worsted, not specially enumerated or provided for, forty per centum ad valorem.

Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods, and all goods made on knitting-frames, balmorals, woolen and worsted yarns, and all manufactures of every description, composed wholly or in part of wool or worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, not specially enumerated or provided for, forty per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, that from and after the passage of this Act, and until the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to classify as woolen cloth all imports of worsted cloth, whether known under the name of worsted cloth or under the names of "worsted" or "diagonals," or otherwise.

Bunting, forty per centum ad valorem.

Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description, composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, forty per centum ad valorem.

Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description, not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, except knit goods, forty-five per centum ad valorem.

Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer (except knit goods), forty-five per centum ad valorem.

Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head nets, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material, fifty per centum ad valorem.

Hemp and jute carpeting, six cents per square yard.

Floor matting and floor mats, exclusively of vegetable substances, twenty per centum ad valorem.

"All other carpets and carpetings, druggets, bookings, mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bed-sides of wool, flax, cotton, or parts of either or other material, forty per centum ad valorem."

Endless belts or felts for paper or printing machines, thirty per centum ad valorem.

SECT. 4. That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:

Paper, sized or glazed, suitable only for printing paper, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Printing paper, unsized, used for books and newspapers exclusively, twelve per centum ad valorem.

Paper boxes, and all other fancy boxes, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Paper envelopes, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Paper hangings, and paper for screens or fire-boards, surface coated paper, and all manufactures of which surface-coated paper is a component material not otherwise provided for, and card-board, paper antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, note, and all other paper not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Beads and bead ornaments of all kinds, except amber, forty per centum ad valorem.

Blacking of all kinds, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Bonnets, hats, and hoods for men, women, and children, composed of hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, and not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Brooms of all kinds, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Brushes of all kinds, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Canes and sticks, for walking, finished, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Card clothing, twenty cents per square foot; when manufactured from tempered steel wire, forty cents per square foot.

Carriages, and parts of, not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Dolls and toys, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Fans of all kinds, except palm-leaf fans, of whatever material composed, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Feathers of all kinds, when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed and finished birds and artificial and ornamental feathers and flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty-five per centum ad valorem.

Friction and lucifer matches of all descriptions, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Gloves, of all descriptions, wholly or partially manufactured, forty per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, That gloves made of silk taffeta shall be taxed fifty per centum ad valorem.

Gun wads, of all descriptions, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Gutta-percha, manufactured, and all articles of hard rubber not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Hair, human, if clean or drawn, but not manufactured, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Bracelets, braids, chains, rings, curls, and ringlets composed of hair, or of which hair is the component material of chief value, and all manufactures of human hair, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Hats, materials for: Braids, plaits, flats, willow sheets and squares, fit only for use in making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, not specially enumerated or provided for, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Hat bodies of cotton, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Hatters' plush, composed of silk or of silk and cotton, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

Inks of all kinds, and ink powders, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Japanned ware of all kinds not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Kaolin crude, one dollar per ton.

China clay or wrought kaolin, two dollars per ton.

Marble of all kinds in block, rough or squared, forty cents per cubic foot.

Marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and marble paving tiles, eighty-five cents per cubic foot.

All manufactures of marble not specially enumerated or provided for, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Papier mache, manufactures, articles, and wares of, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Percussion caps, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Philosophical apparatus and instruments, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Umbrella and parasol ribs, and stretcher frames, tips, runners, handles, or other parts thereof, when made in whole or chief part of iron, steel, or any other metal, thirty per centum ad valorem; umbrellas, para-

sole, and shades, when covered with silk or alpaca, fifty per centum ad valorem; all other umbrellas, thirty per centum ad valorem.

Watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, parts of watches, watch-glasses, and watch-keys, whether separately packed or otherwise, and watch materials not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Webbing composed of cotton, flax, or a mixture of these materials, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, thirty per centum ad valorem.

SEC. 5. That the following amendments to and provisions for existing laws shall take effect on and after the passage and approval of this act:

Section six of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," providing a substitute for title thirty-three of the Revised Statutes of the United States, is hereby amended as to certain of the sections and parts of sections or schedules in such substituted title so that they shall be as follows, respectively:

"SEC. 2499. Each and every imported article not enumerated or provided for in any schedule in this title, which is similar, either in material, quality, texture, or the use to which it may be applied, to any article enumerated in this title as chargeable with duty, shall pay the same rate of duty which is levied on the enumerated article which it most resembles in any of the particulars before mentioned; and if any non-enumerated article equally resembles two or more enumerated articles on which different rates of duty are chargeable, there shall be levied on such non-enumerated article the same rate of duty as is chargeable on the article which it resembles paying the highest rate of duty; and on articles, not otherwise provided for, manufactured from two or more materials, the duty shall be assessed at the rate at which the dutiable component material of chief value may be chargeable; and the words 'component material of chief value,' whenever used in this title, shall be held to mean that dutiable component material which shall exceed in value any other single component material found in the article; and the value of each component material shall be determined by the ascertained value of such material in its last form and condition before it became a component material of such article. If two or more rates of duty shall be applicable to any imported article, it shall pay duty at the highest of such rates: *Provided*, That any non-enumerated article similar in material, and quality, and texture, and the use to which it may be applied, to any article on the free list, and in the manufacture of which no dutiable materials are used, shall be free of duty."

SEC. 2502. SCHEDULE A—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS.—By striking out from this schedule the words "distilled spirits containing fifty per centum of anhydrous alcohol, one dollar per gallon;" also by striking out the words "alcohol containing ninety-four per centum anhydrous alcohol, two dollars per gallon."

#### The Free List.

SEC. 2503. By striking out the clause in this section commencing with the words "articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States," and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States, when returned after having been exported, without having been advanced in value by any process of manufacture or by labor thereon; casks, barrels, carboys, bags, and other vessels of American manufacture exported filled with American products, or exported empty and returned filled with foreign products, including shooks when returned as barrels or boxes; but proof of the identity of such articles shall be made, under general regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and if any of such articles are subject to internal tax at the time of exportation, such tax shall be proved to have been paid before exportation, and not refunded: *Provided*, That this clause shall not include any article upon which an allowance of drawback has been made, the re-importation of which is hereby prohibited except upon payment of duties equal to the drawbacks allowed."

The clause relating to "wearing-apparel," and so forth (tariff paragraph eight hundred and fifteen), is hereby amended so that it shall read as follows:

"Wearing-apparel, implements, instruments, and

tools of trade, occupation, or employment, professional books, and other personal effects (not merchandise) of persons arriving in the United States, not exceeding in value five hundred dollars, and not intended for the use of any other person or persons, nor for sale; but this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment or for sale: *Provided, However*, That the limitation in value above specified shall not apply to wearing-apparel and other personal effects which may have been taken from the United States to foreign countries by the persons returning therefrom; and such last-named articles shall, upon production of evidence satisfactory to the collector or officer acting as such that they have been previously exported from the United States by such persons, and have not been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of manufacture or labor thereon since so exported, be exempt from the payment of duty: *And provided further*, That all articles of foreign production or manufacture which may have been once imported into the United States and subjected to the payment of duty shall, upon re-importation, if not improved in condition except by repairs, by any means, since their exportation from the United States, be entitled to exemption from duty upon their identity being established, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury."

"Theatrical scenery, and actors' and actresses' wardrobes brought by theatrical managers and professional actors and actresses arriving from abroad, for their temporary use in the United States; works of art, drawings, engravings, photographic pictures, and philosophical and scientific apparatus brought by professional artists, lecturers, or scientists arriving from abroad, for use by them temporarily for exhibition and in illustration, promotion, and encouragement of art, science, or industry in the United States; and wearing-apparel and other personal effects of tourists from abroad visiting the United States, shall be admitted to free entry, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and bonds shall be given, whenever required by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importation: *Provided, However*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, extend such period for a further term of six months in cases where application therefor shall be made."

"Wearing apparel, old and worn, not exceeding one hundred dollars in value, upon production of evidence satisfactory to the collector and naval officer (if any) that the same has been donated and imported in good faith for the relief or aid of indigent or needy persons residing in the United States, and not for sale."

SEC. 6. That section seven of the act approved March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled "An act to reduce internal revenue taxation, and for other purposes," is hereby amended so that it shall read as follows:—

"Whenever imported merchandise is subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a duty based upon or regulated in any manner by the value thereof, the duty shall be assessed upon the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise, at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from whence imported, and in the condition in which such merchandise is there bought and sold for exportation to the United States or consigned to the United States for sale, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing the merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States: *Provided*, That if there be used for covering or holding imported merchandise, whether dutiable or free, any material or article, other than the ordinary, usual, and necessary coverings used for covering or holding such merchandise, duty shall be levied and collected thereon at the rate to which such material or article would be subject if imported separately: *Provided, further*, That so much of the foregoing as relates to boxes, sacks or coverings shall not apply to boxes, sacks or such other boxing or covering as may be the usual and necessary covering for machinery or parts thereof."

SEC. 7. That section eight of the act of March third,

eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled "An act to reduce internal revenue taxation, and for other purposes," amending section twenty-eight hundred and forty-one of the Revised Statutes of the United States, is hereby further amended so that said section of the Revised Statutes shall be as follows:—

"SEC. 2841. Whenever merchandise imported into the United States is entered by invoice, one of the following declarations, according to the nature of the case, shall be filed with the collector of the port, at the time of entry, by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent; which declaration so filed shall be duly signed by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent, before the collector, or before a notary public or other officer duly authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments, who may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury to receive such declarations and to certify to the identity of the persons making them; and every officer so designated shall file with the collector of the port a copy of his official signature and seal: *Provided*, That if any of the invoices or bills of lading of any merchandise imported in any one vessel, which should otherwise be embraced in said entry, have not been received at the date of the entry, the declaration may state the fact, and thereupon such merchandise of which the invoices or bills of lading are not produced shall not be included in such entry, but may be entered subsequently."

**"Declaration of Consignee, Importer, or Agent."**

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly and truly declare that the invoice and bill of lading now presented by me to the collector of \_\_\_\_\_ are the true and only invoice and bill of lading by me received of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported in the \_\_\_\_\_, whereof \_\_\_\_\_ is master, from \_\_\_\_\_, for account of any person whomsoever for whom I am authorized to enter the same; that the said invoice and bill of lading are in the state in which they were actually received by me, and that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any other invoice or bill of lading of the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the entry now delivered to the collector contains a just and true account of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, according to the said invoice and bill of lading; that nothing has been, on my part, nor to my knowledge on the part of any other person, concealed or suppressed, whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration therein are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now rendered of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief [insert the name and residence of the owner or owners] is [or are] the owner [or owners] of the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the annexed entry; that the invoice now produced by me exhibits the actual cost [if purchased] or the actual market value or wholesale price [if otherwise obtained], at the time of exportation in the principal markets of the country where procured, of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks and covering of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed ready for shipment to the United States, and no other or different discount, bounty, or drawback but such as has been actually allowed on the same."

**"Declaration of Owner in cases where Merchandise has been actually purchased."**

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of \_\_\_\_\_ contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me, in the \_\_\_\_\_, whereof \_\_\_\_\_ is master, from \_\_\_\_\_; that the invoice and entry which I now produce contain a just and faithful account of the actual cost of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes,

sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the same; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed any thing whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district."

**"Declaration of Manufacturer or Owner in cases where Merchandise has not been actually purchased."**

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of \_\_\_\_\_ contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me in the \_\_\_\_\_, whereof \_\_\_\_\_ is master, from \_\_\_\_\_; that the said goods, wares, and merchandise were not actually bought by me, or by my agent, in the ordinary mode of bargain and sale, but that nevertheless the invoice which I now produce contains a just and faithful valuation of the same, at their actual market value or wholesale price at the time of exportation, in the principal markets of the country where procured for my account [or for account of myself or partners]; that the said invoice contains also a just and faithful account of all the cost of finishing said goods, wares, and merchandise to their present condition, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs and charges incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; and the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed anything whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district."

SEC. 8. That any person who shall knowingly make any false or untrue statement in the declarations provided for in the preceding section, or shall aid or procure the making of any such false statement as to any matter material thereto, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor not more than three years, or both, within the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to relieve imported merchandise from forfeiture for any cause elsewhere provided by law.

SEC. 9. That sections twenty-nine hundred and seventy and twenty-nine hundred and eighty-three of the Revised Statutes of the United States are hereby amended so that the same shall be, respectively, as follows:

"SEC. 2970. Any merchandise deposited in bond in any public or private bonded warehouse may be withdrawn for consumption within three years from the date of original importation, on payment of the duties and charges to which it may be subject by law at the time of such withdrawal: *Provided*, That nothing here-

shall affect or impair existing provisions of law in regard to the disposal of perishable or explosive articles."

"SEC. 2983. In no case shall there be any abatement of the duties or allowance made for any injury, damage, or deterioration sustained by any merchandise while deposited in any public or private bonded warehouse: *Provided*, That the duty assessed on merchandise withdrawn from any such warehouse shall be assessed on the quantity withdrawn therefrom at the time of such withdrawal; but no greater allowance for leakage or evaporation of wines, liquors, and distilled spirits shall be made than is or may be allowed by law on domestic spirits or wines in bond: *And provided further*, That nothing in this section as amended shall restrict or in any way affect the liability of the proprietors of bonded warehouses on their bonds: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall restrain or limit the exercise of the authority conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury by section twenty-nine hundred and eighty-four of the Revised Statutes."

SEC. 10. That sections twenty-eight hundred and three and three thousand and fifty-eight of the Revised Statutes be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2803. Any baggage or personal effects arriving in the United States in transit to any foreign country may be delivered by the parties having it in charge to the collector of the proper district, to be by him retained without the payment or exaction of any import duty, or to be forwarded by such collector to the collector of the port of departure, and to be delivered to such parties on their departure for their foreign destination, under such rules, regulations, and fees as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe."

"SEC. 3078. All merchandise imported into the United States shall, for the purpose of this title, be deemed and held to be the property of the person to whom the merchandise may be consigned; but the holder of any bill of lading consigned to order and properly indorsed shall be deemed the consignee thereof; and in case of the abandonment of any merchandise to the underwriters, the latter may be recognized as the consignee."

SEC. 11. That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion to dispense whenever expedient with the triplicate invoices and consular certificates now required by sections twenty-eight hundred and fifty-three, twenty-eight hundred and fifty-four, and twenty-eight hundred and fifty-five of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and triplicate invoices and consular certificates shall in no case be required when the value of the merchandise shipped by any one consignee, in any one vessel, at one and the same time does not exceed one hundred dollars; and the Secretary of the Treasury, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to make such general regulations in regard to invoices and consular certificates as in his judgment the public interest may require.

SEC. 12. That all fees exacted and oaths administered by officers of the customs, under or by virtue of existing laws of the United States, upon the entry of imported goods and the passing thereof through the customs, and also upon all entries of domestic goods, wares, and merchandise for exportation, be, and the same are hereby, abolished; and in case of entry of merchandise for exportation, a declaration, in lieu of an oath, shall be filed, in such form and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and the penalties for false statements in such declaration provided in the fourth section of this act shall be applicable to declarations made under this section: *Provided*, That where such fees, under existing laws, constitute, in whole or in part, the compensation of any officer, such officer shall receive, from and after the passage of this act, a fixed sum for each year equal to the amount which he would have been entitled to receive as fees for such services.

SEC. 13. That section twenty-nine hundred of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2900. The owner, consignee, or agent of any imported merchandise which has been actually purchased may at the time, and not afterward, when he shall make and verify his written entry of his merchandise, make such addition in the entry to the cost or value given in the invoice, or pro forma invoice, or statement in form of an invoice, which he shall produce with his entry, as in his opinion may raise the same to the actual market value or wholesale price of

such merchandise, at the period of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported; and the collector within whose district any merchandise, whether the same has been actually purchased or procured otherwise than by purchase, may be imported or entered, shall cause such actual market value or wholesale price thereof to be appraised; and if such appraised value shall exceed by ten per centum or more the entered value, then, in addition to the duties imposed by law on the same, there shall be levied and collected a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem on such appraised value. The duty shall not, however, be assessed upon an amount less than the invoice or entered value, except as elsewhere especially provided in this act."

SEC. 14. That all invoices of imported merchandise shall, at or before the shipment of the merchandise, be produced to the consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent of the United States of the consular district from which the merchandise is imported to the United States, and if there be no consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent for said district, then said invoices shall be produced to the consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent of the district nearest thereto, and shall have indorsed thereon, when so produced, a declaration signed by the purchaser, manufacturer, owner, or agent, setting forth that the invoice is in all respects correct and true; that it contains, if the merchandise was obtained by purchase, a true and full statement of the time when, and the place where the same was purchased, and the actual cost thereof and of all charges thereon; and that no discounts, bounties or drawbacks are contained in the invoice but such as have actually been allowed thereon; and when obtained in any other manner than by purchase, the actual market value or wholesale price thereof at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country from whence exported; and that no different invoice of the merchandise, mentioned in the invoice so produced, has been or will be furnished to any one. If the merchandise was actually purchased, the declaration shall also contain a statement that the currency in which such invoice is made out is the currency which was actually paid for the merchandise by the purchaser.

"SEC. 15. That section twenty-nine hundred and thirty-one of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2931. The decision of the collector of customs, or officer acting as such at the port of importation and entry, as to the rate and amount of duties to be paid on any merchandise, and the dutiable costs and charges thereon, shall be final and conclusive against all persons interested in such merchandise, unless the owner, importer, consignee, or agent of the merchandise shall, within ten days after and not on any day before the ascertainment and liquidation of the duties by the proper officers of the customs, as well in cases of merchandise entered in bond as for consumption, give notice in writing to the collector if dissatisfied with the aforesaid decision, setting forth therein, distinctly and specifically, and in respect to each entry, the reasons of his objection thereto, and shall also, within thirty days after the date of such ascertainment and liquidation, appeal therefrom to the Secretary of the Treasury, who, on receiving such appeal, shall forthwith call upon the collector for a report thereon; and the collector shall thereupon, if he adheres to his decision, set forth, specifically and in detail, to the Secretary, the reasons therefor; and the decision of the Secretary on such appeal shall be final and conclusive, and such merchandise, or costs and charges, shall be liable to duty accordingly, unless suit shall be brought, within ninety days after the decision of the Secretary of the Treasury on such appeal, for any duties which shall have been paid before the date of such decision on such merchandise, or costs and charges, or within ninety days after the payment of duties paid after the decision of the Secretary. No suit shall be begun or maintained for the recovery of any duties alleged to have been erroneously or illegally exacted, until the decision of the Secretary of the Treasury shall have been first had on such appeal, unless the decision of the Secretary shall be delayed more than ninety days from the date of such appeal. And when a suit shall be brought by the United States to recover the additional duties found due on any ascertainment and liquidation thereof, and

not paid, the defendant or defendants shall not be permitted to set up any plea or matter in defense excepting such as shall have been set forth in a protest and appeal made as herein prescribed."

SEC. 16. That the section of the Revised Statutes numbered three thousand and twelve shall be, and hereby is, amended by adding at the end of said section the following words:

"And there shall be attached to the said bill of particulars, when served as aforesaid, a copy of each and every such protest or notice of dissatisfaction, and of every appeal relied upon by the plaintiff or plaintiffs in said suit; and the said bill of particulars shall declare the date of liquidation; and a bill of particulars, having been served as aforesaid, shall not thereafter be amended by the plaintiff, or by the court on the plaintiff's motion, so as to increase the total sum claimed therein as having been exacted in excess."

SEC. 17. That no suit which by this act, or by any law of the United States, is permitted to be begun against a collector of customs to recover money alleged to have been illegally exacted by him on imported merchandise, shall hereafter be begun or maintained in any court of any State of the United States, but each and every such suit shall be begun in the circuit court of the United States for the district in which such alleged illegal exaction shall have been made.

SEC. 18. That section three thousand and twelve and one-half of the Revised Statutes shall be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"Whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury (first) that, in any case of unascertained or estimated duties, more money has been paid to or deposited with a collector of customs than the law required to be paid or deposited; and also (second) whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall have decided, on an appeal to him as herein provided, that more money has been paid to or deposited with a collector of customs than the law required; and also (third) whenever any judgment shall have been recovered and entered, in any court of the United States, against a collector of customs, for duties illegally exacted by him on imported merchandise, and a certificate of probable cause shall have been entered in said suit, in compliance with the provisions and requirements of section nine hundred and eighty-nine of the Revised Statutes, from which judgment the Attorney-General shall certify, in conformity with the act of March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-five (chapter one hundred and thirty-six), that no appeal or writ of error will be taken by the United States, and from which judgment the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be satisfied that no such appeal or writ of error ought to be taken; and also (fourth) whenever any suit or suits have been begun against a collector of customs to recover money exacted by him and paid under protest, and an appeal, as required by law, and a bill of particulars has been served therein on the defendant or his attorney, as required by law, and when by the legal effect of any judgment of a court of the United States, satisfactory to the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Treasury as aforesaid, the said exaction of such duties shall have been declared illegal, and protests, appeals, and bills of particulars have been made according to the law in force at the time of importation, and the proper officers of the customs shall under the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury, have reliquidated the entries covered, by said suit or suits, and bill or bills of particulars, according to the principles and rules of law prescribed by said judgment, and the district attorney appearing of record for the defendant shall certify that such suits have been discontinued, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, in each and all of the before-mentioned cases, always excepting judgments or 'judgment cases' in suits commonly known as 'charges and commission' suits, which last named shall only be paid in pursuance of a specific appropriation therefor, draw his warrant upon the Treasurer in favor of the person or persons entitled to the overpayment, or the sum expressed in said judgment, or the sum thus found due on reliquidation of the entries in discontinued suits, including costs payable by law, directing the Treasurer to refund and pay the same out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The necessary moneys therefor are hereby appropriated, and this appropriation shall be deemed a permanent indefinite appropriation."

SEC. 19. That section twenty-nine hundred and

twenty-seven of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended by the addition of the following words thereto:—

"No allowances for damage to goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States shall hereafter be made in the estimation and liquidation of duties thereon; but the importer thereof may abandon to the Government all or any portion of goods, wares, and merchandise included in any invoice, and be relieved from the payment of the duties on the portion so abandoned: *Provided*, That the portion so abandoned shall amount to ten per centum or over of the total value of the invoice."

SEC. 20. That any person who shall give, or offer to give or promise to give, excepting for such duties or fees as have been levied or required according to the forms of law, any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any officer or servant of the customs or of the United States, in connection with or pertaining to the importation, or appraisement, or entry, or examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or of the liquidation of the entry thereof, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, at the discretion of the court; and evidence of such giving, or offering, or promising to give, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as prima facie evidence that such giving, or offering, or promising was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not done with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 21. That any officer or servant of the customs or of the United States who shall, excepting for lawful duties or fees, demand, exact, or receive from any person, directly or indirectly, any money or thing of value in connection with or pertaining to the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage or liquidation of the entry thereof, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, at the discretion of the court; and evidence of such demanding, exacting, or receiving satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as prima facie evidence that such demanding, exacting, or receiving was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 22. That section twenty-eight hundred and sixty-four of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:—

"SEC. 2864. That any owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person who shall, with intent to defraud the revenue, make or attempt to make any entry of imported merchandise by means of any fraudulent or false invoice, affidavit, letter, or paper, or by means of any false statement, written or verbal, or who shall be guilty of any willful act or omission by means whereof the United States shall be deprived of the lawful duties, or any portion thereof, accruing upon the merchandise, or any portion thereof, embraced or referred to in such invoice, affidavit, letter, paper, or statement, or affected by such act or omission, shall for each offence be fined in any sum not exceeding five thousand dollars nor less than fifty dollars, or be imprisoned for any time not exceeding two years, or both; and, in addition to such fine, such merchandise, or the value thereof, shall be forfeited, which forfeiture shall only apply to the whole of the merchandise, or the value thereof, in the case or package containing the particular article or articles of merchandise to which such fraud or alleged fraud relates; and any thing contained in any act which provides for the forfeiture or confiscation of an entire invoice in consequence of any item or items contained in the same being undervalued be, and the same is hereby, repealed."

SEC. 23. That all imported goods, wares, and merchandise which may be in the public stores or bonded warehouses or on shipboard within the limits of any port of entry, or remaining in the customs offices, on the day and year when this act, or any provision thereof, shall go into effect, except as otherwise provided in this act, shall be subjected to no other duty, upon the entry thereof for consumption, than if the same were imported respectively after that day; and all goods, wares, and merchandise remaining in bonded ware-



houses on the day and year this act, or any provision thereof, shall take effect, and upon which the duties shall have been paid, shall be entitled to a refund of the difference between the amount of duties paid and the amount of duties said goods, wares, and merchandise would be subject to if the same were imported respectively after that date.

SEC. 24. That sections three thousand and eleven and three thousand and thirteen of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby are, repealed as to all importations made after the date of this act.

SEC. 25. That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, all taxes on manufactured chewing tobacco, smoking tobacco, and snuff, all special taxes upon manufacturers of and dealers in said articles, and all taxes upon wholesale and retail dealers in leaf tobacco be, and are hereby, repealed: *Provided*, That there shall be allowed a drawback or rebate of the full amount of tax on all original and unbroken factory packages of smoking and manufactured tobacco and snuff held by manufacturers, factors, jobbers, or dealers on said first day of October, if claim therefor shall be presented to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue prior to the first day of January, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine, and not otherwise. No claim shall be allowed and no drawback shall be paid for an amount less than five dollars, and all sums required to satisfy claims under this act shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. It shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to adopt such rules and regulations, and to prescribe and furnish such blanks and forms as may be necessary to carry this section into effect.

SEC. 26. That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, manufacturers of cigars shall each pay a special tax of three dollars annually, and dealers in tobacco shall each pay a special tax of one dollar annually. Every person whose business it is to sell or offer for sale cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes shall, on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, be regarded as a dealer in tobacco, and the payment of any other special tax shall not relieve any person who sells cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes from the payment of this tax: *Provided*, That no manufacturer of cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes shall be required to pay a special tax as a dealer in tobacco, as above defined, for selling his own products at the place of manufacture: *Provided*, That the bond required to be given in conformity with the provisions of title thirty-five of the Revised Statutes of the United States, by every person engaging in the manufacture of cigars in the internal-revenue districts of the United States, shall be in such penal sum as the collector of internal revenue may require, not less than one hundred dollars, with an addition of ten dollars for each person proposed to be employed by such person in making cigars.

SEC. 27. That the sum of twenty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the alteration of dies, plates, and stamps, for furnishing blanks and forms and for such other expenses as shall be incident to the collection of special taxes at the reduced rates provided in this act.

SEC. 28. That section thirty-three hundred and sixty-one of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and all laws and parts of laws which impose restrictions upon the sale of leaf tobacco, be, and are hereby, repealed.

SEC. 29. That whenever in any statute denouncing any violation of the internal-revenue laws as a felony, crime, or misdemeanor, there is prescribed in such statute a minimum punishment, less than which minimum no fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment is authorized to be imposed, every such minimum punishment is hereby abolished; and the court or judge in every such case shall have discretion to impose any fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment not exceeding the limit authorized by such statute, whether such fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment be less or greater than the said minimum so prescribed.

SEC. 30. That no warrant, in any case under the internal-revenue laws, shall be issued upon an affidavit making charges upon information and belief, unless such affidavit is made by a collector or deputy collector of internal revenue or by a revenue agent; and, with

the exception aforesaid, no warrant shall be issued except upon a sworn complaint, setting forth the facts constituting the offence, and alleging them to be within the personal knowledge of the affiant. And the United States shall not be liable to pay any fees to marshals, clerks, commissioners, or other officers for any warrant issued or arrest made in prosecutions under the internal-revenue laws, unless there be a conviction or the prosecution has been approved, either before or after such arrest, by the attorney of the United States for the district where the offence is alleged to have been committed, or unless the prosecution was commenced by information or indictment.

SEC. 31. That whenever a warrant shall be issued by a commissioner or other judicial officer having jurisdiction for the arrest of any person charged with a criminal offence, such warrant, accompanied by the affidavit on which the same was issued, shall be returnable before some judicial officer named in section ten hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes residing in the county of arrest, or, if there be no such judicial officer in that county, before some such judicial officer residing in another county nearest to the place of arrest. And the judicial officer, before whom the warrant is made returnable as herein provided, shall have exclusive authority to make the preliminary examination of every person arrested as aforesaid, and to discharge him, admit him to bail, or commit him to prison, as the case may require: *provided*, that this section shall not apply to the Indian Territory.

SEC. 32. That the circuit courts of the United States and the district courts or judges thereof exercising circuit-court powers, and the district courts of the Territories, are authorized to appoint, in different parts of the several districts in which said courts are held, as many discreet persons to be commissioners of the circuit courts as may be deemed necessary. And said courts, or the judges thereof, shall have authority to remove at pleasure any commissioners heretofore or hereafter appointed in said districts.

SEC. 33. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may compromise any civil or criminal case, and may reduce or remit any fine, penalty, forfeiture, or assessment, under the internal-revenue laws.

SEC. 34. That section thirty-one hundred and seventy-six of the Revised Statutes be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3176. The collector or any deputy collector in any district shall enter into and upon the premises, if it be necessary, of any person therein who has taxable property, and who refuses or neglects to render any return or list required, or who renders a false or fraudulent return or list, and make, according to the best information which he can obtain, including that derived from the evidence elicited by the examination of the collector, and on his own view and information, such list or return, according to the form prescribed, of the objects liable to tax owned or possessed or under the care or management of such person, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess the tax thereon, including the amount, if any, due for special tax, and a penalty of twenty-five per centum, and he may add to such tax interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum thereon from and after the date when such tax became due and payable. The interest so added to the tax shall be collected at the same time and in the same manner as the tax. And the list or return so made and subscribed by such collector or deputy collector shall be deemed good and sufficient for all legal purposes."

SEC. 35. That nothing in this Act shall in any way change or impair the force or effect of any treaty between the United States and any other government, or any laws passed in pursuance of or for the execution of any such treaty, so long as such treaty shall remain in force in respect of the subjects embraced in this Act; but whenever any such treaty, so far as the same respects said subjects, shall expire or be otherwise terminated, the provisions of this Act shall be in force in all respects in the same manner and to the same extent as if no such treaty had existed at the time of the passage thereof.

SEC. 36. That section thirty-two hundred and fifty-five of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended by striking out all after said number, and substituting therefor the following:

"And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may



exempt distillers of brandy made exclusively from apples, peaches, grapes, or other fruits from any provision of this title relating to the manufacture of spirits, except as to the tax thereon, when in his judgment it may seem expedient to do so."

"The Secretary of the Treasury may exempt all distilleries which mash less than twenty-five bushels of grain per day from the operations of the provisions of this title relating to the manufacture of spirits, except as to the payment of the tax, which said tax shall then be levied and collected on the capacity of said distilleries; and said distilleries may, at the discretion of said Secretary, then be run and operated without storekeepers or 'storekeepers and gaugers.' And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of said Secretary, may establish special warehouses, in which he may authorize to be deposited the product of any number of said distilleries to be designated by him, and in which any distiller operating any such distillery may deposit his product, which, when so deposited, shall be subject to all the laws and regulations as to bonds, tax, removals, and otherwise as other warehouses. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is hereby authorized and directed to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section: *provided*, that such regulations shall be adopted as will require that all the spirits manufactured shall be subject to the payment of the tax according to law."

SEC. 37. That the provisions of an Act entitled "An Act relating to the production of fruit brandy, and to punish frauds connected with the same," approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, be extended and made applicable to brandy distilled from apples or peaches, or from any other fruit the brandy distilled from which is not now required, or hereafter shall not be required, to be deposited in a distillery warehouse: *provided*, that each of the warehouses established under said Act, or which may hereafter be established, shall be in charge either of a storekeeper or a storekeeper and gauger, at the discretion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

SEC. 38. That section thirty-three hundred and thirty-two of the Revised Statutes, and the supplement thereto, shall be amended so that said section shall read as follows:

"When a judgment of forfeiture, in any case of seizure, is recovered against any distillery used or fit for use in the production of distilled spirits, because no bond has been given, or against any distillery used or fit for use in the production of spirits, having a registered producing capacity of less than one hundred and fifty gallons a day, every still, doubler, worm, worm-tub, mash-tub, and fermenting-tub therein shall be sold, as in case of other forfeited property, without being mutilated or destroyed. And in case of seizure of a still, doubler, worm, worm-tub, fermenting-tub, mash-tub, or other distilling apparatus of any kind whatsoever, for any offence involving forfeiture of the same, it shall be the duty of the seizing officer to remove the same from the place where seized to a place of safe storage; and said property so seized shall be sold as provided by law, but without being mutilated or destroyed."

SEC. 39. That whenever it shall be made to appear to the United States court or judge having jurisdiction that the health or life of any person imprisoned for any offence, in a county jail or elsewhere, is endangered by close confinement, the said court or judge is hereby authorized to make such order and provision for the comfort and well-being of the person so imprisoned as shall be deemed reasonable and proper.

SEC. 40. That all clauses of section thirty-two hundred and forty-four of the Revised Statutes, and all laws amendatory thereof, and all other laws which impose any special taxes upon manufacturers of stills, retail dealers in liquors, and retail dealers in malt liquors, are hereby repealed.

SEC. 41. That this Act is intended and shall be construed as an Act supplementary and amendatory to existing laws, and the rates of duty and modification of clauses, provisions, and sections as herein specifically made are intended and shall be construed as a repeal of all clauses, provisions, and sections in conflict herewith; but as to all clauses, provisions, and sections in existing laws not herein specifically changed, modified, or amended, the rates of duty now existing shall be, and remain, in full force and effect. This Act shall

be in force from and after October first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, except as herein otherwise provided.

#### Full Vote in House on passage of the Mills Bill.

The vote, in full, by which the Mills Bill passed the House of Representatives, is as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Allen, Miss. Anderson, Iowa, Anderson, Miss., Anderson, Ill., Bacon, Bankhead, Barnes, Barry, Biggs, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Ark., Breckinridge, Ky., Brower, Bryce, Buckalew, Burnes, Burnett, Bynum, Campbell, F., Campbell, Ohio, Campbell, T. J., Candler, Carlton, Curuth, Cutchings, Chipman, Clardy, Clements, Cobb, Cockran, Collins, Compton, Cothran, Coates, Cox, Crain, Crisp, Culberson, Cummings, Dargan, Davidson, Ala., Davidson, Fla., Dibble, Dockery, Dougherty, Dunn, Elliott, Enloe, Ermentrout, Fisher, Fitch, Ford, Forney, French, Gay, Gibson, Glass, Grimes, Hall, Hare, Hatch, Hayes, Heard, Hemphill, Henderson, N.C., Herbert, Holman, Hooker, HOPKINS, Va., Howard, Hudd, Hutton, Johnston, N.C., Jones, Kilgore, Lafoon, Lagan, Landes, Lane, Latham, Lathum, Lawler, Lee, Lynch, Macdonald, Mahoney, Maish, Mansur, Martin, Matson, McAdoo, McClumby, McCreary, McKinney, McMillin, McRae, McShane, Mills, Montgomery, Moore, Morgan, Morse, Neal, Nelson, Newton, Norwood, Oates, O'Ferrall, O'Neill, Ind., O'Neill, Mo., Outhwaite, Peel, Penington, Phelan, Pidcock, Rayner, Rice, Richardson, Robertson, Rogers, Rockland, Russell, Russ, Rusk, Sayers, Scott, Seney, Shaw, Shively, Simmons, SMITH, Snyder, Spinola, Springer, Stahlnecker, Stewart, Tex., Stewart, Ga., Stockdale, Stone, Ky., Stone, Mo., Turaney, Taulber, Thompson, Cal., Tillman, Tracey, Townshend, Turner, Ga., Vance, Walker, Washington, Weaver, Wheeler, Whitthorne, Wilkins, Wilkinson, Wilson, Minn., Wilson, W. Va., Wise, Yoder, Carlisle, Speaker.—162.

NAYS.—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Mass., Allen, Mich., Anderson, Kan., Arnold, Atkinson, Baker, N.Y., Baker, Ill., Bayne, Belden, Ringham, Bliss, Boothman, Bound, Boutelle, Bowden, Bowen, Brewer, Browne, T. H. B., Brown, Ohio, Brown, J. R., BROWN, Buchanan, Bunnell, Burrows, Butler, Butterworth, Cannon, Caswell, Cheadle, Clark, Cogswell, Conger, Cooper, Crouse, Cutcheon, Dalzell, Darling, Davis, De Lano, Dingley, Dorey, Dunham, Farquhar, Felton, Finley, Flood, Fuller, Funston, Gaines, Gallinger, Gear, Gess, Goff, Greenman, Grosvenor, Grout, Guenther, Harner, Haugen, Hayden, Henderson, To., Henderson, Ill., Hermann, Hires, Hitt, Holmes, Hopkins, Ill., Hopkins, N.Y., Houk, Hovey, Hunter, Jackson, Johnston, Ind., Kean, Kelley, Kennedy, Kerr, Ketcham, La Follette, Laidlaw, Laird, Lehibach, Lind, Lodge, Long, Lyman, Mason, McComas, McCormick, McCulloch, McKenna, McKinley, Merriman, Milliken, Moffitt, Morrill, Morrow, Nichols, Nutting, O'Donnell, O'Neill, Pa., Osborne, Owen, Parker, Patton, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Phelps, Plumb, Post, Pugsley, Reed, Rockwell, Romels, Rowell, Russell, Conn., Ryan, Sawyer, Scull, Seymour, Sherman, Souden, Steele, Stephenson, Stewart, Vt., Struble, Symes, Taylor, E. B., Taylor, J. D., Thomas, Ky., Thomas, Ill., Thomas, Wis., Thompson, Turner, Kan., Vandever, Wade, Warner, Weber, West, White, Ind., White, N.Y., Whiting, Mass., Wickham, Wilber, Williams, Yardley, Yost.—149.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Belmont, Browne, Ind., Davenport, Foran, Glover, Grainger, Hestand, Hogg, Maffett, Perry, Randall, Spooner, Whiting, Mich., Woodburn.—14.

## PART XXVI.

### Analysis of Vote on the Mills Bill, showing that it is a Popular-Minority Measure.

Carefully compiled figures show that in the congressional districts represented by the 162

Representatives who voted for the Mills Anti-Protective Tariff Bill, there were at the congressional election in 1880, only 3,618,687 votes cast, while at the same election, in the congressional districts represented by the 149 Representatives who voted against its passage, there were 4,584,365 votes cast. This shows on the popular vote, a majority of 965,678 against that measure.

Grouping the Northern and Southern States into sections, it will be found that in the 22 distinctively Northern States there were cast, in 1880, as many as 4,156,798 votes in the districts represented by the 133 Northern Representatives voting against the Mills Bill,

while only 1,836,843 votes were cast in the districts represented by the 60 Northern Representatives who voted for the passage of that bill; and that in the solid Southern States, where the Republican vote is largely suppressed, in the 16 States, the popular vote, in 1880, was 427,567 in the districts whose representatives voted against the bill, and 1,781,844 in the districts whose representatives voted for the bill. These figures suggest the likelihood of a solid vote of the South for Cleveland and Free Trade, and a solid vote of the North for Harrison and Protected Labor.

The figures are as follows:

Whole Number of Representatives.	STATES.	YEA.		NAY.		Total Votes cast for Congressmen in the State, at the Election, 1880.
		Number of Members voting for the Bill.	Number of Votes cast at the Congressional Election, 1880.	Number of Members voting against the Bill.	Number of Votes cast at the Congressional Election, 1880.	
8	Alabama.....	8	86,653	-	-	86,653
5	Arkansas.....	5	54,780	-	-	54,780
6	California.....	12	68,438	4	122,626	191,064
1	Colorado.....	-	-	1	58,298	58,298
4	Connecticut (1 district paired).....	12	69,929	1	19,150	89,079
1	Delaware.....	1	22,229	-	-	22,229
2	Florida.....	12	56,537	-	-	56,537
10	Georgia.....	10	27,560	-	-	27,560
20	Illinois.....	6	176,014	14	388,204	564,218
13	Indiana (1 district paired).....	6	204,791	6	229,684	434,475
11	Iowa.....	3	98,236	8	247,039	345,275
7	Kansas.....	-	-	7	273,097	273,097
11	Kentucky.....	8	128,425	3	77,124	205,549
6	Louisiana.....	6	84,547	-	-	84,547
4	Maine.....	-	-	4	128,287	128,287
6	Maryland.....	5	114,336	1	33,929	148,265
12	Massachusetts.....	4	76,882	8	169,130	245,012
11	Michigan (1 district paired).....	4	139,892	6	210,206	350,098
5	Minnesota.....	4	177,080	1	38,642	215,722
7	Mississippi.....	7	46,318	-	-	46,318
14	Missouri (1 district paired).....	11	341,601	2	60,397	401,998
3	Nebraska.....	1	42,636	2	94,620	137,256
1	Nevada (paired).....	-	-	-	-	-
2	New Hampshire.....	1	37,534	1	39,559	77,093
7	New Jersey.....	2	57,572	5	173,797	231,369
34	New York (2 districts paired).....	12	301,565	20	675,501	977,066
9	North Carolina.....	8	175,350	1	30,284	205,634
21	Ohio (1 district not voting).....	5	161,590	15	502,222	663,812
1	Oregon.....	-	-	1	54,954	54,954
28	Pennsylvania (1 at large, 2 districts paired, 1 not voting).....	6	167,400	19	547,324	714,724
2	Rhode Island (1 district paired).....	-	-	1	11,258	11,258
7	South Carolina (1 district paired).....	6	34,490	-	-	34,490
10	Tennessee.....	8	180,450	2	50,963	231,413
11	Texas.....	11	280,243	-	-	280,243
2	Vermont.....	-	-	2	48,473	48,473
10	Virginia.....	4	84,546	6	140,373	224,919
4	West Virginia (1 district paired).....	2	63,779	1	34,497	98,276
9	Wisconsin.....	2	57,284	7	225,827	283,111
Add paired districts.....		162	3,618,687	149	4,584,365	8,203,042
		6	148,002	6	112,895	260,897
			3,766,689		4,697,260	8,463,939

Whole No. of Representatives.	STATES.	YEA.		NAY.	
		Votes for the Bill.	Number of Votes cast at the Congressional Election of 1880.	Votes against the Bill.	Number of Votes cast at the Congressional Election of 1880.
NORTHERN.					
6	California.....	2	68,438	4	122,626
1	Colorado.....			1	58,298
4	Connecticut.....	2	60,929	1	19,150
20	Illinois.....	6	176,014	14	388,204
18	Indiana.....	6	204,791	6	229,684
11	Iowa.....	3	98,236	8	247,039
7	Kansas.....			7	273,067
4	Maine.....			4	128,287
12	Massachusetts.....	4	76,882	8	168,130
11	Michigan.....	4	139,892	6	210,206
6	Minnesota.....	4	177,080	1	38,642
3	Nebraska.....	1	42,636	2	94,520
1	Nevada.....				
2	New Hampshire.....	1	37,584	1	39,539
7	New Jersey.....	2	57,572	6	173,797
34	New York.....	12	301,565	20	575,501
21	Ohio.....	5	181,590	15	502,222
1	Oregon.....			1	54,954
28	Pennsylvania.....	6	167,400	19	547,324
2	Rhode Island.....			1	11,238
2	Vermont.....			2	48,473
9	Wisconsin.....	2	57,284	7	225,827
		60	1,836,813	183	4,156,798
SOUTHERN.					
8	Alabama.....	8	86,653		
5	Arkansas.....	5	54,780		
1	Delaware.....	1	22,229		
2	Florida.....	2	56,537		
10	Georgia.....	10	27,560		
11	Kentucky.....	8	128,425	3	77,124
6	Louisiana.....	6	84,547		
6	Maryland.....	5	114,336	1	33,929
7	Mississippi.....	7	46,318		
14	Missouri.....	11	341,601	2	60,397
9	North Carolina.....	8	175,350	1	30,284
7	South Carolina.....	6	34,490		
10	Tennessee.....	8	180,450	2	50,963
11	Texas.....	11	280,243		
10	Virginia.....	4	84,546	6	140,373
4	West Virginia.....	2	63,779	1	34,497
		102	1,781,844 1,836,843	16	427,567 4,156,798
			3,618,687		4,584,365

## CHAPTER IV.

## British Free-Trade Virus—Its Workings in America.

*"That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 . . . have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union . . . in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade."*  
— Dem. Nat'l Platform, 1848.

*"We remit the discussion of the subject" [the Tariff] "to the people in their congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation."* — Dem. Nat'l Platform, 1872.

*"That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the" [Mills] "bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives."* — Dem. Nat'l Platform, 1888.

## PART I.

**President Cleveland a Free-Trader — His attack on "raw materials," the "key-stone of the Protective arch" — Senator Platt's demonstration.**

In his speech of Feb. 6, 1888, in the Senate, Senator Platt said:

But perhaps as favorite a method of attack upon the tariff by the free-trader as any is the claim that raw materials should be free, and why? Because the free-trader knows that the protection of raw materials is the keystone of the protective arch; that when you have once ceased to protect the production of what are called raw materials in the country, there is no logical ground upon which any article can be protected here. If that kind of production which employs the greatest percentage of labor in this country cannot receive protection, then nothing should receive protection; and it is, therefore, that the assault upon protection is made upon what are called raw materials.

It is more than that; it is an appeal to the supposed selfishness of manufacturers. The manufacturers are told — told by the President in his message — that they can cheapen the cost of production if they can have free raw materials. Sir, the manufacturer that seeks to obtain raw materials free and demands a tariff upon his product is a selfish man, and selfish almost to the point of criminality; and the manufacturers of New England as a class spurn that bribe. When in the preparation of the bill advised by the leading free-traders out of Congress in this country, the proposition is made to purchase the support of New England manufacturers by free wool, by free iron, by free coal, I tell you that they mistake the manufacturers of Connecticut and the rest of New England. They know that this is a system or it is nothing. They know that every industry must be protected to thrive, and they know that protection alone can make us generally prosperous as a nation. They are not to be diverted from this issue.

What are raw materials? I have not time to speak on this subject as I would wish, but the only raw materials there are, are those which grow out of the earth or those which repose beneath its surface. The moment you dig out the iron, and the coal, and the copper, and the marble, and the salt, and the clay, that moment human labor is added to the natural product, and from that moment it is no longer raw material. When you cut down the tree and begin to saw it into timber or into boards it is no longer raw material.

When the farmer raises or buys his flock of sheep and produces his wool by means of his labor, that is no longer raw material. Human labor, the great energizing, civilizing force of the world and of humanity, has entered into that product. I would not put it too

strongly if I were to say the soul of man has entered into and transformed that natural product. It is no longer raw material. Go into any one of the manufacturing establishments of this country; look at one that I have in my mind in my own State. In that factory they take copper in the ingot as it comes from the mine into the front door. When it goes out again it goes out in the shape of copper wire of  $\frac{1}{400}$  of an inch in diameter. Into that crude copper ingot has passed the highest thought of man; his brain is in the wire, his soul is there.

There is no raw material which should be made free if labor is to be protected.

But here the President leaves the field of argument and fallacy and comes to the field of practical recommendation. There is no mistaking his recommendation on this subject; there is no mistaking his position side by side with the practical free-trader and *doctrine* free-trader on this subject. Let me read a little:

"The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities."

"It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material."

I will not go on to read his long argument to show that wool ought to be put on the free-list, and subject to no duty. There is no mistaking his recommendation in that respect. He particularly specifies wool as one of the materials that should go upon the free-list.

Let us look at this matter a little. I said that protection is a system. Every industry which can be successfully carried on within our boundaries must feel the benefit of this protection, or the system is destroyed. The protectionist says that whenever and wherever an industry can be profitably carried on in this country it should feel the benefit of the protecting power and force of the Government, and the labor which carries it on should be held above and aloof from the cheap labor by which the manufacture is carried on in foreign lands.

When he comes to consider raw material the President has no reference to any inequalities in the tariff; in this respect he does not propose to correct, he proposes to destroy. His only conception of tariff reform, so far as raw materials are concerned, is by tariff destruction.

Wool, the President says, is raw material: but raw material just as truly includes iron ore, and copper ore, and bituminous coal, and lead, and zinc, and lumber, and a number of other things, as it does wool. Take all these things that are classed as raw materials and put them on the free-list, and what have you done? You have reduced governmental income by the beg-

gaily sum of \$12,000,000—beggarily in comparison with the amount which we are recommended to reduce. What else have you done? You have wiped out as with a brush at least \$300,000,000 of capital in the United States. Will you purchase the free-list for raw materials at any such expense as that? Have you contemplated what it is for the purpose of reducing our taxation \$12,000,000, that nobody feels, to destroy at one fell swoop at least \$300,000,000 of capital?

I have said that into the production of these materials which are called raw materials the greatest percentage of labor enters; more than into any other production. Why is it, I ask, if the President of the United States is not a free-trader, that he selects for the free-list those particular productions into which the greatest percentage of labor enters? It is a question that may not be answered here, but it will be asked in the coming months and it must find an answer.

If the manufacturer were the selfish being that he is supposed to be, enlightened selfishness would insist on protection. He knows that to put raw materials on the free list at the price of destroying \$300,000,000 of productive capital, and throwing out of employment from 200,000 to 350,000 laborers, immediately makes such a condition of things in this country that he cannot sell his wares. That means disaster. Free trade in raw materials means no trade for the manufacturer, and if he were the selfish being that the President of the United States and the free-traders generally suppose him to be, he would still be in favor of a system which insures him the best market in the world, the best market that mankind has ever known. . . .

## PART II.

### The Mills Bill a part of a Democratic Free-Trade bargain with Canada—Sir Charles Tupper's Testimony.

In the House of Representatives, June 28, 1888, Representative Oscar L. Jackson said:

We had some time since a distinguished body sitting in this city engaged in negotiating a fishery treaty between this country and our neighbors governing the country on our Northern boundary.

I have here before me the official report made by one of the members of that committee, Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, who represented Canada and Her Britannic Majesty on that conference. The report was made in the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament, and will be found in the House of Commons debates, second session Sixth Parliament, 51 Vic., of 10th of April, 1888. Sir Charles is evidently undertaking to explain to the Canadian people that whilst he had given the United States something in the treaty that was secured and negotiated with our own country, he wanted to call their attention to the much more valuable things which they had secured in return for it. And whilst, Mr. Chairman, we do not think he gave away anything that properly belonged to Canada and Great Britain, and that on the face of the treaty it is unjust to the United States, and concedes little or nothing that is not ours by right, yet I want to call the attention of the House and the country to what is now apparent, that this treaty was agreed to because the representatives of the British Government have had some private understanding with the Democratic majority in this House in regard to legislation to be hereafter had in Congress in the interest of Canada; that the small concessions made to the rights of our people in that treaty were obtained through promises from Americans that something that would be of great advantage to the Dominion of Canada on our north should be done by the Congress of the United States. This is at least one of the reasons why the industries of our country are being attacked by the Mills Bill. As an argument for this free-trade bill, we have been often told in this debate that tariff duties are a tax on the people of the country laying the tariff; that our tariff duties are paid by the people of this country exclusively. Sir Charles Tupper apparently does not so understand it, and I propose to have read now from his

official report made in Parliament on the 10th day of April, 1888, and the House can then judge for itself as to the meaning of his remarks, and also whether the Democratic Administration has not been promising Canada free trade.

After he had stated to the House of Commons that the same arguments would no doubt be used against the treaty and quoted against him in the Senate of the United States, he goes on to say:

"The only way we Canadians can obtain any benefits from the reciprocal relations with the United States is by legislation."

I read from pages 11, 21, and 22. Speaking of the non-intercourse act of our Congress, he says:

"That expressed the sentiments and the feeling in the United States of America, and our friends the plenipotentiaries representing the United States, said:

'If we make a treaty with you affecting the tariff, however small the inducement you might be willing to accept, it is certain of absolute rejection by the Senate, because the Congress of the United States have stated their position firmly, and they will not permit any interference on the part of the Administration of the United States by treaty with any thing that involves a change in fiscal laws of the United States.'

It will be observed that Sir Charles is very cautious in making public the promises he had received, but he continues:

"Now, sir, I am in somewhat a similar position in explaining this treaty, which I have now reached, to that in which I was in 1871 when defending the treaty of my right honorable friend under somewhat different circumstances. Then he said: 'Every word that you force us to say in support of this treaty will be used against us at Halifax in diminution of the payment that we are entitled to for the greater value of our fisheries.' To-day I am in a somewhat similar position. For every word that I say in defense of the treaty to which I have put my hand and to which I ask the sanction of this House with the utmost confidence, every word that I say in support of it may be used to-morrow in the Senate of the United States, where support to the treaty may be more difficult to obtain than it is in the House of Commons of Canada.

"The House will therefore understand that on this occasion it can not be expected from me that I shall point out very elaborately the advantages accruing to Canada under the treaty to which we have placed our hands. What I say is this: I say, sir, that the course that has been adopted in reference to this treaty has been adopted with a view to secure in the only way that was found practicable the best interests of Canada.

"As I have already informed the House, the plenipotentiaries of the United States stated they were quite unable to put any thing in the treaty that would necessarily touch the fiscal policy of their country. They said that to do so would be simply to invite rejection of the treaty on the ground that they had infringed the jurisdiction which Congress possessed, the United States Congress having, as I have shown the House, adopted, in the most emphatic form, the policy not to allow any changes in their tariff except by the act of Congress itself.

"We therefore put this in the contingent clause. We provide absolutely for the concessions that have been made with reference to delimitation, and with reference to the treatment of United States fishing vessels, when compelled to resort to our ports in distress or in need of casual supplies or for a homeward voyage. All these were made absolute by the treaty; but when it came to that which is of great value to the United States fishermen, when it came to that which enables the United States fishermen to make Canada a basis of supplies for the purpose of better competing with our own fishermen, we then felt that we had a right to take our stand, and if Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries have not been able to support the extreme contention of the Canadian Government, honorable gentlemen will find that, on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, who had, as a matter of diplomatic intercourse, taken a very strong ground as to the indefeasible rights of American fishing vessels to obtain in our ports as commercial vessels whatever supplies they required for carrying on their fishing—to be able to purchase bait, to be able to purchase supplies of every kind, and to be able to tranship their fish—they will find that our friends on the other side had, in the same way, to concede a

great deal as compared with the extreme contention that they had made.

"Here it is provided, as a just and proper security to the interests of the fishermen of Canada, who have the right, while excluded by heavy duties from the markets of the United States, to such protection as the treaty of 1818 has provided for them, that whenever a question arises as to Canada being made the basis of supply for the American deep-sea fishing vessels—because the question of fishing is not in controversy at all, the Americans having given up the right to catch fish in the inshore waters of Canada—that only can be done for a sufficient *quid pro quo*. We have, therefore, provided in article 15:

"When the United States shall remove the duty from fish-oil, whale-oil, seal-oil, and fish of all kinds (except fish preserved in oil), being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of Canada and of Newfoundland, including Labrador, as well as from the usual and necessary casks, barrels, kegs, cans, and other usual necessary coverings containing the products above mentioned, the like products, being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of the United States, as well as the usual and necessary coverings of the same, as above described, shall be admitted free of duty into the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland."

"And upon such removal of duties, and while the aforesaid articles are allowed to be brought into the United States by British subjects, without duty being re-imposed thereon, the privilege of entering the ports, bays, and harbors of the aforesaid coasts of Canada and of Newfoundland shall be accorded to United States fishing vessels by annual licenses, free of charge, for the following purposes; namely,—

"1. The purchase of provisions, bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits.

"2. Transshipment of catch, for transport by any means of conveyance.

"3. Shipping of crews.

"Supplies shall not be obtained by barter, but bait may be so obtained.

"The like privileges shall be continued or given to fishing vessels of Canada and of Newfoundland on the Atlantic coasts of the United States."

"I think that is a measure which will meet with the hearty approval of the House. I think that will be regarded as a fair and reasonable proposition, that if fishing vessels of the United States are allowed to make Canada a base for obtaining their supplies and furnishing all the materials necessary for the outfit of a fishing voyage, for the transshipment of their catch, and making our harbors and ports the means of carrying on their industry, the fishermen of Canada, with whom they are in that case better able to compete than they could otherwise, are entitled to have their fish entered free in the ports of the United States.

"While the plenipotentiaries of the United States were not able to make this an absolute provision, I do not hesitate to say that I look confidently to the period in the not remote future when fish will be made free, and the fishermen of the United States will be able to obtain all the advantages in our ports which are here given to them. I hold we have accomplished that without injuring in the slightest degree the fisheries of Canada, without injuring Canadian interests to any extent whatever. We have made concessions, as I have said, but we have made them with the avowed object of placing all our people, not only the fishermen, but the agriculturist, the lumberman, every man in this country, in a better relation with the United States than he was before. What is the result?

"As I have said, Mr. Bayard told us, the American plenipotentiaries told us, that there was but one way of obtaining what we wished. 'You want greater freedom of commercial intercourse. You want relaxation in our tariff arrangements with respect to natural products in which you are so rich and abundant. There is but one way to obtain it. Let us by common concession be able to meet on common ground, and remove this irritating cause of difficulty between the two countries out of the way, and you will find that the policy of this Government, the policy of the President and of the House of Representatives, the policy of the great Democratic party of the United States, (which) will at once take an onward march in the direction you propose, and accomplish steadily that which you would desire, is the only way by which it can ever be attained.'

"Those were not empty words: those were the sober utterances of distinguished statesmen who pointed to the avowed policy of the Government of the United States as the best evidence of the sincerity of what they said. What has happened already? Already we have action by the financial exponent of the Administration of the United States,—I mean Mr. MILLS, the gentleman who in the United States Congress represents the Government of the day, and stands in the position most analogous in the United States to the finance minister in this House, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who propounds the policy of the Administration in the House.

"How is he selected? The Democratic party sustaining the Government selects a man as Speaker of the House of representatives who is in accord with the policy of the Administration for the time being, and Mr. CARLISLE, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, nominates the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and all the members of the committee, and therefore the chairman of that committee occupies the position of representing the Government in bringing forward such bills as will represent the views and sentiments of the Democratic party in the United States supporting the Administration.

"What have we seen? The ink is barely dry upon this treaty before he, as the representative of the Government and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, brings forward a measure to do what? Why, to make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, and upon which last year \$1,800,000 of duty was paid.

"Some Hon. MEMBERS. We paid?

"Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I ask, sir, if that is nothing?

"Some Hon. MEMBERS. Who paid?

"Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not intend to insult both the great political parties of this country who have since 1854, and long before, maintained that the interests of Canada, the interests of British North America, were intimately bound up in obtaining free intercourse with the United States for our natural products; I do not intend to insult the two great parties of this country by telling them that they were fools; that they did not know what they were doing.

"Down to the present hour we have adopted the policy on both sides of the House, and we have pledged ourselves to the people to do every thing that lay in our power to obtain a free market for the natural products of our country with the United States; and I say you must answer me the question as to whether that was an act of supreme folly, or whether it was wise statesmanship on the part of both parties in this country, to adopt that policy, before you ask me such a question as 'Who pays the duty?'

"I say that under this bill which has been introduced and which, I believe, will pass, for it does not require two-thirds of the Senate where the Republican majority is only one in the whole House to pass this bill, it requires a majority of one only, and I am very sanguine that this bill will pass during the present session. Modified it may be, but I am inclined to think the amendments will be still more in the interests of Canada than as the bill stands to-day.

"If this is the case I think we may congratulate ourselves upon securing the free admission of our lumber, upon which was paid during the last year no less than \$1,315,450. On copper ore, made free by the Mills bill, we paid, or there was paid—to make it meet the views of the honorable gentlemen opposite more correctly—\$96,945.

"On salt \$21,992 duty was paid. This is rendered free by the Mills bill. I am sorry to find, as I hoped would be the case from the first copy of the bill that came to me, that potatoes were not included in vegetables. I am sorry to find there is a doubt as to whether the term 'vegetables' not specially enumerated will not exclude potatoes. In grappling with this policy of making the natural products of the two countries free, you do not expect any person who wants to carry a bill to put a heavier load upon his shoulders than he is able to carry, lest he may break down and do nothing. You expect him to take it in detail, and, as I believe, you will find the policy contained in this bill of making those natural products of Canada free carried out until you have perfect freedom of intercourse between the natural products of Canada and the United States. Of wool we sent last year 1,193,000 pounds of one kind and a variety of other kinds, upon which a duty was paid to the extent of \$184,852. Now, as I

say, on articles of prime importance and interest to Canada the removal of duty by the Mills bill amounts to no less than \$1,800,193.

"In the measure I submit I believe will be found a bill of vital importance to Canada to pass.

"I believe, sir, that we owe it to the Empire as well as to ourselves steadily to keep in view every measure that will conduce to the rapid progress of Canada, the development of our inexhaustible resources, and the building-up of a great and powerful British Dominion on this side of the Atlantic. I say, sir, that in the discharge of my duty I have steadily kept that conviction in view, and I believe the course which has been pursued will not only commend itself to the judgment and the support of the great majority in this House, but that the great majority of the people in this country will feel that in the adoption of this treaty we are taking a step that is calculated to conduce to the progress and greatness and best interests of Canada."

And, Mr. Chairman, we have the very best assurance of the fact that Canada was promised free trade in the legislation which is now proposed for the adoption of this House. Well might Sir Charles say that:

"The ink is barely dry upon the treaty before the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means brings forward a measure to that effect."

To do what? Why,

"To make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, and upon which last year \$1,800,000 of duty was paid."

Yes, that is how much gain the Canadians obtain by this legislation. That is why the honorable gentleman introduced this bill. We need have no misunderstanding about it. It is not in the interest of the United States. It is the bonus they propose to give to Canada and to Great Britain for having yielded up something as they supposed in the matter of the fisheries. This Administration cannot negotiate treaties upon a fair and square level with Great Britain. Our country has fallen so low that it has to buy any rights it obtains by throwing up and giving away what we ourselves are entitled to.

Let it be known, then, that this bill is not for our advantage or for the advantage of the people of the United States, that the charge is true that it is in the interest of foreigners. It is to give to Canada \$1,800,000 and far more. That it is to be given by an attack on our own industries. That our own laborers are to be thrown out of employment and our factories closed that Canada may thrive. The Canadians have no doubt but that our tariff duties are paid by them. They know very well they do not come off the people of the United States.

They know very well who pays the duty, and Sir Charles, in getting a promise that it shall be repealed, has a good reason why Canada might yield a little something upon the fisheries question. And in return for this confidence on the part of the representative of the British Government, we see the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means introducing this bill and doing all he can to return the Canadians something not in kind, but of much more value. He says further:—

"You will observe that on salt \$21,992 duty was paid last year. This is rendered free by the Mills Bill."

Twenty-one thousand dollars bonus to Canada.

Sir Charles grows pathetic and cannot conceal his disappointment when he adds, —

"I am sorry to find, as I hoped would be the case from the first copy of the bill that came to me, that potatoes were not included amongst vegetables."

Hence gentlemen on the other side have the Canadian authority for it that potatoes will not come in under that clause. I can now understand why the honorable chairman was so certain this morning that potatoes would not be free. The parties most interested admit it. He says that in grappling with this policy of making the natural products of the two countries free, which is the English for free trade, he does not expect any person who wants to carry a bill through the United States Congress to put a heavier load upon his shoulders than he is able to carry. How considerate he is of our free trade friends. Alas, I fear they have already shouldered more than they will be able to carry far.

This gives a new meaning to the expression often repeated here by the friends of this bill, that it is *only a step* in the right direction; that we are to go further

and carry bigger loads for our Canadian brethren hereafter.

One provision of the treaty is only to go into effect, it says on its face, when we give Canada free trade in certain enumerated articles. I would ask the chairman of the Ways and Means to explain to Congress and the country whether Sir Charles had any authority for the use he makes of alleged *assurances of other free-trade legislation*. If we got valuable concessions from Canada for free trade, I would also like to know whether anything is promised us from other countries that will gain by the passage of the Mills Bill. If our own people must suffer by this legislation, let us know whether we are even promised anything from the countries of Europe and Asia. Gentlemen of the majority, explain yourselves. Are you working in the interest of American or of foreign countries?

**Mr. Blaine's exposé of the enormous losses to American Farmers involved in the Mills Free Trade bargain bill.**

In a speech at Calais, Me., Aug. 29, 1888, Mr. Blaine said:

I have here an official copy of the Mills Tariff bill as it passed the Democratic House and as it lies on the tables of the Republican Senate. If I were to give it a name locally belittling its character, I should say it was "A bill for the destruction of the material interests of Maine." [A voice, "That's so," and applause.] It is a bill to throw open our American market to our Canadian neighbors without any consideration or recompense or exchange, but absolutely free of all charge. [A voice — "They shan't have them."] It invites the Canadians to bring in without duty every form of timber, hewn and sawed and squared and sided, and every other form in which wood is manufactured at the saw-mill. Last one might escape, they put in a general clause which covers every possible article. The bill then provides for admitting free of duty, all forms of farm product, grains and vegetables and fruits and flowers, and for admitting all their wool, every form of stone that can be quarried, their meat of all kinds, their milk and their eggs, their poultry, their game. In fact, the Democratic House says to our Canadian neighbors, "If you want our American markets without cost and without price, you may have them; for everything that comes from your forest, from your farm, from your orchards, from your gardens, from your dairies and your flocks, all your meats and your poultry and your game, the stones from your quarries and the bricks from your yards — if you have grown weary waiting and wishing for the markets of the United States, I, Grover Cleveland, President thereof, propose to relieve your fatigue and to ask you to walk in and sit down and make yourselves at home in our highways and on our byways, and especially in our market places. [Laughter and applause.]

#### One-sided Reciprocity.

My friends, this giving away of our markets strikes me as all the more remarkable, because the very men who passed the Tariff bill in the House have been urging us for years to renew the reciprocity treaty with Canada for the last twenty-two years. Since it expired many efforts have been made in Congress to reopen the negotiation for a reciprocity treaty, and, having got tired, I suppose the Democratic party now propose to establish a reciprocity treaty all on one side and without asking the Government of the Dominion to give way in a single point, without asking them to concede one item or line or word in their tariff. This bill gives away almost every material interest of Maine. [A voice — "That's so," and applause.] Why, gentlemen, viewing that merely as a trade — as a swap — I should be utterly ashamed of any decent horse jockey in Maine that could not do better. [Laughter and applause.] There is not a horse jockey in Maine who would not lose his standing with his fellows if he traded his horses on as poor a basis as the Democratic Administration propose to trade with Canada. We have in those items which the Mills bill concedes enough of value to Canada to have modified the entire fishery treaty and to have secured great rights to our fishermen. The revenue concessions made to Canada are worth vastly more — a hundred fold more — than the tax of \$1.50 a ton on our fishing

vessels which they propose in the *modus vivendi* appended to the late treaty. That would never have yielded them \$100,000 at the very outside, but who shall calculate what this will yield to Canada?

Mr. KARSON — It amounts to millions.

#### Millions of Dollars Loss to Americans.

My friend from Iowa well says that it amounts to millions; aye, many millions. Give as the Mills Tariff bill proposes: give to the lumbermen of Canada the market for all their product in the United States; give to their farmers the right to bring every thing they raise; give to their orchards the right to bring in all their fruits; give to their gardens the right to bring in all the vegetables; give to their dairies the right to import their product; give to their quarries the right to supply the United States with building stone; give to their brickyards the right to make the bricks for our great cities and manufacturing towns; give to their grazers the right to bring in wool; give to their stock growers and their butchers the right to supply us with meat, and even down to the henneries and poultry yards, — that the Democrats might not omit any thing, — give them the right to supply us with chickens and turkeys for a New-England Thanksgiving in honor of President Cleveland's surrender of American rights and interests [applause]; and when that is all done, you who live on the border, and are in constant communication with all that vast field of trade don't need to be told by me or by any one else that it involves millions of loss to the citizens of the United States. It is to me the most extraordinary proposal that ever was made.

#### President Cleveland's abject surrender, and ludicrous "flop."

The United States made a reciprocity treaty in 1854. At the end of 12 years we gave notice that it should be terminated. If I remember aright, Mr. Chairman, that treaty only gave reciprocity on 42 articles, I believe Canada had the advantage on 40 then [laughter], but by the Mills Bill they will gain the other two. [Laughter]. Canada is given in this bill a great deal larger trade with the United States for nothing than was embodied in the treaty which aimed at reciprocity. There need not have been a moment's dispute on the fishery question. If we stand ready to concede the American markets to Canada as the Mills Bill does, Canada will give us equal rights in her fisheries for the enormous privileges conceded, and pay boot for the chance. And yet President Cleveland recommended all the concessions in the Mills Bill, and in addition made a treaty with England surrendering the rights of American fishermen. Couldn't he have found some other American rights to give up? When arrested in his surrender of our fishing rights by the defeat of the treaty in the Senate, the President, as we now all know so well, in order to show his deep displeasure with the Republican Senate for its course, proposes to go to the opposite extreme (until after election), and punish Canada. Why, by the same course of reasoning, will not the President, as soon as the Senate defeats the Mills Bill, make another somersault and change as radically in regard to tariffs as he has in regard to fisheries? May not his belated letter of acceptance disclose such a radical, but temporary change, as will show him to be a protectionist up to the point of a prohibitory tariff? Would it be one whit more inconsistent than his sudden conversion on the fisheries?

#### The Preservation of American rights should be above Party.

All these questions, which directly involve the prosperity of our State and of every man in it, should not be mere issues between Republicans and Democrats. The value of a day's work, the protection of our industries, the preservation of American rights, are all larger questions than party organization or party triumph. You pay your taxes in Maine, you pay your taxes in the United States, you yield obedience, you owe allegiance, you observe the laws, you live under the flag, you stand ready to fight for the National Union as you already have fought. Beyond the frontier, across that river, our neighbors choose another Government, another allegiance. They are subjects of Queen Victoria, they are loyal to Her Majesty. They live under a foreign flag. They do exactly as they

have a right to do. I neither dispute their right nor envy their situation. It is their right to choose for themselves, as it is our right to choose for ourselves. But I am opposed, am totally opposed to giving the Canadians the sentimental satisfaction of waving the British flag, paying British taxes and enjoying the actual cash remuneration of American markets. [Great applause.] They cannot have both at the same time. If they come with us they can have what we have, but it is an absolute wrong against the rights of American citizens that millions of men who owe the United States no allegiance, who take no part nor lot with us, who are not of us, but choose to be foreign to us — it is an absolute wrong for a Democratic Congress to say that they shall have exactly the same share in our markets and the same privileges of trade under our flag that we have. [Applause.] I do not believe any gentleman from the other side who may now be doing me the honor to listen to me would say himself, glad as he might be of the advantage, that it was fair play. It is not fair play. It is not taking care of your own. It is not looking out for the rights of those who are obedient, honest, and loyal citizens; and a Government would be in default as to the duty it owes the humblest citizen if it chose to say that we have no market here that shall be sacred to our people any more than it shall be sacred to those who are alien to us and owe allegiance to Queen Victoria.

#### Canadians Cannot Have the Whole American Earth.

I have nothing whatever to say against the Dominion of Canada as a government, nor against its inhabitants. The Dominion of Canada is an energetic and able Government. There are able and clever men at the head of it. They have done a wonderful work, and they have made wonderful progress, and I don't believe there is a citizen of the United States from one end of the country to the other that envies the people of the Dominion all the prosperity they may attain. The greater prosperity she may attain, the better for those of us who are trading with her. I wish them God-speed. But, so far as I can help it, I do not mean that they shall be Canadians and Americans at one and the same time. [Great applause.] They can choose their side of the question and remain over there. We will obey all laws toward them. We will maintain all treaties with them. We will stand faithfully by our word, in letter and spirit, we will treat them as neighbors and in peace as friends — men descended from the same British Isles that the vast majority of citizens of the United States are — but I repeat that we don't love them well enough to invite them in to sit down at our hearthstones and take part of that which belongs to our own fireside and our own children. I have spoken freely, because I have nothing to conceal or withhold.

### PART III.

#### British Free-Trade Jubilation over President Cleveland's Free-Trade Message.

When President Cleveland's Free-Trade message reached England, it brought joy to the Cobden Club, and to the other Free-Traders of that Free-Trade land; and, until the warning went forth that such a course would prove detrimental to the Free-Trade cause, and that the better policy were a decorous silence, its press fairly teemed with congratulations to the English Free Traders, and praise of the American President, who was "playing into their hands" at the risk of sacrificing the best interests of his own country. Following are some of the comments of the British papers:

[From the *Saturday Review*.]

It may be taken for granted that the President has not acted without previously consulting the leaders of



the Democratic party and securing their approval. *He and they have taken up again the old free-trade policy of the South Carolina politicians, unconnected with what, in the jargon of American politics, was called the sectional question.*

[From *The Spectator*.]

*His terse and telling message has struck a blow at American protection such as could never have been struck by any fair trade league, such, indeed, as would have been greatly weakened by the operations of any fair-trade league. . . . He has fired a shot at the protectionists which will be all the more effective for his refusal to discuss the theoretic issue. . . .*

[From the *People's Journal*, Dundee.]

*A great sensation has been created by President Cleveland's message, and if the policy which it indicates be carried out, it will produce almost as much effect in this country as in America. The tariff reform which the President recommends goes as far, at least, as the abolition or reduction of the duties on raw materials. Should Congress give effect to this proposal, its immediate result would be an enormous stimulus to English industry.*

[From the *Scotsman*.]

*The President proposes a radical reduction in the duties on raw materials, or even their free importation, as a way of compensating manufacturers for the sacrifice which they are asked to make. The free importation of iron, coal, and wool would be a great boon to British producers; if it were accompanied with reductions in the tariff upon cotton, woollen, and other manufactures, the artisans of this country would derive a marked benefit from it. If once the United States finds herself on the road to free trade, she will hardly know where to stop; for the principle which President Cleveland, as the head of the Democratic party, lays down is really that no import duties are justifiable which are not levied solely for purposes of revenue.*

[From the London correspondence of the *Scotsman*.]

*The tenor of President Cleveland's message tends to confirm a statement which was made to me yesterday by a person of high authority, that the American Government are expected shortly to remove nearly the whole of the duty on pig iron. The statement was made some hours before the telegrams of the President's message reached London, so that it could not have been inspired by it. . . . It is also believed that the duty on lead will be materially lightened. I need hardly point out that if these expectations are realized a great "boom" in both industries will follow. In well-informed commercial circles one also finds that the belief in a considerable revival of trade is becoming every day more and more confirmed.*

[From the *Glasgow Herald*.]

*"It is a condition which confronts us; not a theory." Precisely so. Words almost identical with these have been used, and with enormous effect, in this country by Adam Smith, by Richard Cobden, by Sir Robert Peel. President Cleveland may say to others, therefore, and think what he chooses, but he has precipitated the inevitable struggle between free trade and protection in the United States, and that is tantamount to saying that he is on the side of free trade.*

[From the Haddingtonshire (Scotland) *Courier*.]

*This much is certain, that another fierce contest is impending in America over the principle at issue. If it terminates, as it may be hoped it will do, in the direction of a relaxation of those imposts that now so vexatiously hamper commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the United States, we may look to an impetus being given to our home trade that will go far to make up for the depression of late years.*

[The *London Iron and Steel Trades Journal*.]

*The facts set forth in the President's message, though by no means new, are now brought so prominently under the notice of the American Congress and of American citizens that a violent stimulus must be given to the party which advocates entire freedom of trade.*

[The *London Iron*.]

*The message of President Cleveland to the United States Congress is the preliminary to a movement which, we trust, will gain in strength.*

[The *London Ironmonger*.]

*Dealing with the message as it stands, it would certainly seem to indicate a greater leaning towards free-trade principles on the part of the United States Cabinet than has been observable hitherto.*

*"Mr. Cleveland's policy," said the Times, "may not establish free trade in the strict sense of the term, but it will to a great extent make trade free."*

*"The President," said the Daily News, "does not seem to perceive the effect of his own arguments, or even the meaning of his own words. His statement that the question of free trade is irrelevant is astounding and preposterous. Mr. Cleveland has persuaded himself to think, or finds it convenient to say, that the principle of fostering native industries by duties on foreign imports can be made compatible with the principle of regulating the burdens upon the people by the needs of the public service. It is pure delusion. Protection, albeit indefensible, is the height of wisdom compared with proposals which combine all the evils of interference with all the risks of liberty."*

*"His real meaning is that the scheme by which the artificial fabric of domestic enterprise has been built up in America is fundamentally vicious. He demands in effect that there should be a tariff for revenue purposes only."*

[From the *London Post*.]

*We must regard the message of the President of the United States as being a distinct pronouncement in favor of free trade.*

*We shall be much mistaken if the effect of this State communication will not be to strengthen considerably the case of free traders in all parts of the world. It will be regarded as a step in the right direction by all who believe in the soundness of free-trade principles.*

[From the *London Times*.]

*It is calculated that to give effect to Mr. Cleveland's policy, duties to the amount of some £18,000,000 a year, about two-fifths of the entire customs revenue, must be surrendered. This operation may not establish "free trade" in the strict sense of the term, but it will to a great extent make trade free.*

*As was to be expected, the protectionists have taken the alarm; and, as our correspondent at Philadelphia informs us, they are organizing for a determined resistance. They are, no doubt, right in believing that, whatever may be said of preserving the essence of the protective system and of ignoring free trade, the tariff cannot be reduced to the strict proportions of a revenue corresponding to the limited and diminishing necessities of the Federal Government without admitting a great flood of foreign competition.*

[From the *London Standard*.]

*"In re-adjusting the tariff," he adroitly explains, "the interests of American labor and our manufactures should be carefully considered. Relief from the hardships of the present tariff," he goes on to say, "should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of the manufacturing interests, but"—there is much virtue in the "but"—"such existence should not mean excessive profits."*

*Mr. Cleveland has used such praiseworthy candor in his positive treatment of the evils of the existing faulty system, that this soothing parenthesis, which the whole context proves to be a polite nothingness, may well be pardoned. When the inevitable consequences of adherence to a protectionist tariff are set forth by a man in Mr. Cleveland's position in the language which he has used, free trade becomes at once a living issue. There is an end of the truce, of the makeshifts, of the hollow compromises between the rival factions to keep the delicate subject in the background of the platform. If the Congress does not forthwith expunge the scandals of the customs lists, the next Presidential campaign will be fought out, not on the obsolete cries of Republican and Democratic strife, but on the new question whether the people are—simply because it suits the convenience of certain manufacturing rings that foreign competition should be rigorously excluded—to be mulcted year after year of enormous sums which the Treasury does not need, and which it cannot employ.*

*Nor was the British jubilation confined altogether to British papers. It was echoed in some of the Free-Trade papers of America*

as well. A special cable-despatch to the New York *World* [Free Trade] ran thus:

LONDON, December 10.

The English papers continue to devote much space to what they call "Mr. Cleveland's declaration in favor of free trade." From the average English comment the public here has been led to believe that *free trade* is now as good as adopted in the United States. It is considered here (in England) that *free trade with us (in America)* is just what is needed to revive drooping English industries. The *Times*, this morning, devotes a column to the American situation, denouncing Mr. Blaine for holding on to what it calls "the absurd principle of protection."

A member of the British Parliament also cabled to the New York *Herald* [Free Trade] the following:

To convert the United States is indeed a triumph. The Cobden Club will henceforth set up a special shrine for the worship of President Cleveland, and send him all its publications gratis. *Cobden founded free trade; Cleveland saved it.* Such is the burden of the song all through England to-day.

The song of British Free Trade jubilee was, however, suddenly hushed by the following note of warning, which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

English free-traders would be well advised if they moderated the ecstasy of their jubilation over President Cleveland's message. Every word which they say in its favor will be used as a powerful argument against the adoption of its recommendations.

But they had already let the Democratic Free-Trade cat out of the Cleveland bag, and all the Free-Trade efforts in Great Britain and America cannot get it in again.

#### PART IV.

**The English Free-Trade Cobden Club — The London "Times" declares that that club "cannot rest while the United States is unsubdued" — Its Great Corruption Fund — How British gold is used to break down the Republican American Protective Policy — Testimony of Titus Sheard, Thomas H. Dudley, Neal Dow, J. P. Dolliver, Thomas Bailey Potter, John Bright, and others.**

In the campaign of 1880, an immense amount of British gold was used in the United States wherever it would do the most good to the cause of free trade. The same thing occurred in the campaign of 1884. So also in the Presidential campaign of 1888, we may be sure that British gold in unlimited amount will be forthcoming in the supreme effort now being made to break down the Republican American Policy of Protection to the American manufacturer, farmer, and laborer. Let us see what proofs there are of the use of British gold by the Cobden Club in the campaigns of 1880 and 1884.

**Testimony of Hon. Titus Sheard, Speaker of the New York Assembly.**

The following letter, dated Little Falls, N.Y., Sept. 30, 1884, from the Hon. Titus

Sheard, Speaker of the New York Assembly, proves the alarming proportions of the Cobden Club free-trade corruption fund, and its use in this country:

SIR, — Much has been said about the interest taken by English manufacturers in the Democratic efforts to establish free trade in this country, and about the money said to be paid by them for that purpose.

There are many Democrats who discredit such reports, and declare that if they knew such to be the case they would never vote the National Democratic ticket again. Such an expression made by a Democrat as the above has influenced me to write this letter, and thereby give to any fair-minded man what ought to be conclusive proof that Englishmen not only take an interest in the matter, but that they actually do send over money to assist the Democratic party in its endeavors to destroy our manufacturing business.

A friend of mine was in Bradford, England, some time ago, and being in conversation with some manufacturers, one of them, understood to be the chairman of a certain local committee, said, "We sent from Bradford in 1880, for the election of your Free-Trade Democratic candidate, General Hancock, \$350,000, and if we in Bradford were sure that we could elect a Free-Trade Democratic President, we could raise from one to two millions of dollars."

Now take this statement with the fact that since the reduction of the tariff, on July 1, 1883, the importations have greatly increased, and from Bradford alone the increase in the month of June, 1884, of their particular kind of worsted and woollen goods over the month of June, 1883, was £197,000 (nearly \$1,000,000). In that do we not find the sequel of their selfish interest in our internal affairs?

What would be the increase if the Democratic free trade should be established? I have personal friends, manufacturers in the Yorkshire district, who openly admitted to me that they pay assessments to the Cobden Club continuously to help establish and perpetuate in this country their peculiar ideas of tariff for revenue only. Another instance I think will also show their watchfulness over our Congressional enactments. A few months ago the carpet weavers of Dewsbury, England, and other localities, held a meeting, and appointed committees to wait upon the different manufacturing firms and ask an advance of their wages, which the weavers claimed were too low, and that they could not stand it any longer. On their coming together to hear the several reports, the committee that waited upon Fairfax, Kelly, & Co., of Heckmondwike, said that they were well received by said firm, but the committee was told that it was impossible in the present state of trade to advance their wages, but if a certain "Free-Trade bill" then before the American Congress should pass, they, Fairfax, Kelly, & Co., would be able to advance the wages ten per cent. Surely he that rumeth may read.

TITUS SHEARD.

**Testimony of J. P. Dolliver, James S. Weeks, and others.**

The New York *Tribune* of Oct. 3, 1884, said:

The publication, in yesterday's *Tribune*, of the rumor that John Bigelow had gone to England to secure funds for Cleveland and Hendricks and free trade, caused a great deal of talk. Chairman Smith, of the Democratic State Committee, said that Mr. Bigelow had gone to England on account of his health and that of his daughter, and for no other reason; that he had known all along that Mr. Bigelow was going to Europe, and that no one in his right mind would for a moment believe that English manufacturers have any interest in American politics.

At the Republican Headquarters the Hon. J. P. Dolliver, the Iowa orator, said, "There is not the slightest doubt that British gold is to be used in this canvass, no more than that it has always been used during the last thirty years. Since 1844 large sums of corruption money have found their way to this country to be used where money would do the most good. The Cobden Club is working here. In our part of the country we have been flooded with tracts and pamphlets for ten years past. They fall among us like the leaves of autumn, and appear to do about as much good to all appearances. As I remember them there are 'The

**New Protection Cry;** 'Free Trade and English Commerce;' 'The Western Farmer of America;' 'Reciprocity,' and so on. These tracts, or creeds, or whatever you may call them, are scattered broadcast through the length and breadth of Iowa, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin. They are sent in the farmer's mail, they are distributed in the crowded cities and at public meetings. The sophistry and specious arguments brought to bear upon the questions of protection, free trade, reciprocity and the like are laughable, and betray the usual English ignorance of the intelligence and education of the average American.

"Yes, sir; money is used here by Englishmen for English ends. The Democratic party is the tool of these Cobden Club members and their sympathizers for two reasons: the first because, being a free trade party and opposed to fostering and protecting American industries, a foreign party, it is its policy; and the second, because liberal supplies of money can thus be secured; and Democratic principles, you know, can only be inculcated by the liberal use of money. No man who has lived in Iowa can deny that English influences are constantly at work for moulding popular opinion in favor of free trade.

James S. Weeks of Pennsylvania, said: "Do English manufacturers spend money in aid of the Democratic party, because of its friendliness to free trade? Yes, sir. I have heard of Mr. Bigelow's mission. I don't doubt it is for some such purpose as drumming up funds, although of course, I can't say. But one thing I do know, that Englishmen meddle with our politics with an impudence that is colossal. Do you suppose that for one moment the British would tolerate our going over to London, or Manchester, or Birmingham and attempting to run their elections?"

Ex-Congressman Murch, who represented the Fifth Congressional District of Maine for two terms, being elected on a Greenback-Labor ticket, is now supporting Mr. Blaine. He said: "Certainly I know that English influence is brought to bear on our elections. I have heard something about Bigelow's mission, but know nothing definite. All through Maine the Cobden Club's influence is felt. Their pamphlets find their way into every farm house. There can be no disputing the fact that Democracy, free trade, and British interest are bound up together. The money and influence of English manufacturers play a much greater part in American politics than most persons would believe."

#### An Englishman's Confession to Neal Dow.

The manner in which part of the British gold is used, is shown in the following letter:

SIR: I see . . . that the Hon. J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, affirms that "British gold is to be used in this canvass." We have in Maine an Englishman who has built up from very small beginnings, for himself and his sons, a very large and profitable trade in the manufacture of special goods, which before his day always came from England. His goods are now of the very best, and his prices are much less than those at which the imported articles were sold.

I was his guest a little while ago at his charming home, when he told me this story. He was at home—England—and was one day in a large warehouse of a friend of his, a manufacturer on a large scale. A gentleman came in whom he did not know, and, taking his friend apart, showed him a small memorandum book. After a few moments' talk, his friend went to his desk and drew a check which he gave to the stranger, who went away. His friend explained to him that it was his contribution to a fund for which all manufacturers were assessed in proportion to the products of their mills.

"What is this fund?" my informant asked.

"It is for use in the United States in the interests of free trade."

"How is the money employed?"

"In subsidizing American newspapers, in paying lecturers and other persons in operating on public opinion, in payment to writers of tracts, in printing and circulating them in the United States, especially in the West, and among members of Congress."

"Do you really operate directly on Congress?"

"Yes; by lobbyists regularly employed for that purpose."

"Does any of the fund go into the pockets of members?"

"I do not know any thing of that."

This information is entirely reliable, coming to me directly from a man well known to me and widely known and honored in this country.

PORTLAND, ME., Oct. 8, 1884.

NEAL DOW.

**More exact proofs of the corrupt machinations of the Cobden Club to break down the Republican Protective System in America—Testimony of Consul Dudley, Thomas Bailey Potter, and John Bright.**

But were further proof needed of the insidious and corrupting methods of the Cobden Club in its determination to break down the Republican Protective System in America, it is furnished in the following report in the *New York Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1884:

At a meeting of the Republican Association of Astoria, a few evenings ago, Thomas H. Dudley, ex-Consul of the United States at Liverpool, spoke to a large assembly of farmers and artisans. After speaking of the high character of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, whom he has known for many years, Mr. Dudley dwelt at length on the principle of Protection as opposed to the English theory of Free-Trade. He explained that the English system entirely disregarded the question of labor, while the American system regards labor as of primary importance. A portion of his speech which excited much interest among his hearers, was devoted to the Cobden Club, with whose workings the speaker is well acquainted. He said:

"England, also, is demanding of us the adoption of her system of a tariff for revenue only, or tariff for revenues exclusively. England takes a deep interest in this question. You all know the expressions made by the English newspapers and by the English people when Grover Cleveland was nominated. There is not a single English newspaper in favor of Blaine, they are all in favor of Cleveland. There is not a prominent Englishman to-day but is anxious to see Cleveland elected and Blaine defeated. I was in England myself when Carlisle was elected Speaker, and if there had been no other reason I should have become then and there a protectionist at seeing the rejoicing of the people in England. They took me by the hand and congratulated me, and said: 'That is the beginning of the end; you are to have Free-Trade.' I said, 'I can't see that I have anything to be congratulated upon; it may be good for you, but it is bad for us.' 'Oh, it is a good thing; it is a good thing,' they say. 'Having lived abroad, I know the Englishmen, their feelings and their sentiments upon this question. With them any thing is good that benefits them, regardless of its effect upon other nations. I was dining on one occasion at the Reform Club in London. It was quite a large dinner-party and a number of members of Parliament were present, and the subject under discussion was that of the Irish people and of the Irish nation. On this occasion as on occasions before—very frequently indeed—the Irish were the subject of discussion; and generally the criticisms that were passed upon them were not very favorable to that people or to that nation, and so it was upon this occasion. In the midst of the conversation one of the gentlemen spoke up and said this: 'The only time that an Irishman is of any benefit is when he emigrates to the United States and joins the Democratic party and votes for Free-Trade.' That was applauded by every man at the table excepting myself.

#### Power of the Cobden Club.

"England is carrying out this work of breaking down our protective policy, and to accomplish it has formed the Cobden Club—and for wealth, power and influence I know of no political organization in this world that is its equal. It includes statesmen, politicians, bankers, merchants, the legal profession, manufacturers and ministers of the Gospel, and even the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Coleridge, is a member of it. It includes in its membership 219 members of Parliament, and every member of the present English Cabinet except Lord Selbourne is a member of the Cobden Club. It has its agents all over this country; it has issued documents, and now has as its chief agent the Democratic party of this country.

They distributed in this country last year over 700,000 copies of their documents and pamphlets with the object of educating our people to break down the American system of protection. In support of my statement I hold in my hand a copy of their minutes, which came to me directly from the Cobden Club in London, in the month of March of this year, while I was there. *The London Times* in a recent article said: 'It is to the New World that the Cobden Club is chiefly looking as the most likely sphere for its vigorous foreign policy. It has done what it can in Europe, and is now turning its eyes westward and bracing itself for the struggle which is to come. *It cannot rest while the United States are unsubdued.*'

"That foreign institution, that foreign club, formed on English soil, sustained by English wealth, by English influence and English power, cannot rest until the United States are subdued, and they are at work subduing us. I repeat, they have their agents all over this country, that they have distributed 700,000 copies of their circulars here; they are busy, they are in your towns, and they are even in your colleges and your institutions of learning.

"Let me read an extract from these minutes—not published here—this is an English book, coming from London directly, from the Cobden Club, sent to me by a gentleman living in London. It is the annual meeting of the Cobden Club, held at the Century Club Rooms on Saturday July 19, 1884: '*Special report for the Club—for the members of the Club alone.* The Cobden medal for 1883 at Harvard University, United States of America, was awarded to Mr. David L. Conyngham for an essay on the decline and future of the American shipping. At Williams College, Massachusetts, United States of America, the Cobden medal for 1884 was won by Henry H. Wentworth, Niagara Falls, New York, and the 1884 medal at Yale College, Connecticut, United States of America, was won by Albert Monroe Pott, of Montclair, New Jersey.' But this is not all. The man who teaches political economy in Yale College, Professor Sumner, is a member of the Cobden Club of England. The man who is selected to teach our students political economy in Williams College, Professor Perry, is also a member of the Cobden Club—his name is here among the list of members. David A. Wells, of Connecticut, is a member. Let me read you further from their minutes—from their own book—from page 18 of their proceedings for 1883: 'In the United States . . . the exertions of your committee in disseminating publications have had the effect to bring free exchange to the front as one of the great questions of the day. Your committee continue to afford all the assistance in their power to those who are laboring in the free-trade power in foreign countries. In America, in the course of political events, there is great promise. Within three or four years the attention of the American people has been in a large extent directed to this question which has long been kept pretty much out of sight by considerations arising out of the effects of the great civil war. The result of turning of public attention in this direction is seen in the fact that revenue reform has become a leading question in the Presidential contest, and is on the winning side.'

#### Some of its members in this country.

"When I come to look at the list of members of the Cobden Club, I find Henry Ward Beecher among them, and I can understand why he is going to vote for Grover Cleveland. He ought to do so, for he is a member of the club. When I look farther, and see Carl Schurz in the list of members of the Cobden Club, I can understand why he is going to vote for Grover Cleveland. But that is not all: you have also the name here of B. S. Cox, who is running for Congress in New York. He, too, is a member of the Cobden Club; and, when he votes for the Morrison bill, he is but carrying out the instructions of that club. That club is not only using every effort here for the Democratic party, but may be the means of electing Grover Cleveland, the candidate of the Democratic party.

"I am reading from another one of their books, and one I got, also, from the Cobden Club in England in March of this present year. It is an address made by Mr. Mongredien, one of their agents that they employ to write for them, and it is issued by the Cobden Club to the farmers of America. It is not printed in this country. It is direct from them; and Thomas Bailey Potter, the secretary, told me himself in a letter that

he wrote to me that they had distributed 55,000 copies of this in the United States. Their instructions are in these words: 'Let the American farmers give their support to no candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives who does not pledge himself, if elected, to propose, or at least vote for, a reduction of 5 per cent every successive year on the import duties until the whole are abolished. Let no farmer vote for any member of Congress until he has first pledged himself to vote for a reduction of 5 per cent every year until all the duties are abolished.' These are the instructions that Mr. Cox of New York has, and has carried out, and has even gone beyond them in the Morrison bill, and is in favor of passing a bill reducing the duties 20 per cent. It may be that new instructions have been issued. He is a member, and should know, and it is for him to explain.

"Mr. Morrison who introduced that bill, is also a member of that club; his name is here among them, as also that of Frank Hurd, who has just been defeated in Ohio. It is not to be expected that these prominent members of the Cobden Club whom I have named will vote for James G. Blaine, and if you want to repeal the American system and adopt English Free-Trade, then vote for Grover Cleveland. If on the other hand you are in favor of protecting the laboring men and women of this country against the starvation wages of Europe, then vote for James G. Blaine. [Prolonged applause.] This is a question in which every one has interest; that comes home to every one of you.

"The Democrats will say you pay too much taxes; that you pay too much for the coat you wear; that you can buy it cheaper in England; that therefore you should take off the duties, repeal the tariff and buy it there.

#### Manufactured products cheaper here.

"I am prepared to prove that there is not a single manufactured product but is cheaper to-day in the United States than it was in 1860, before we had any protective tariff. Cotton goods have fallen at least 20 per cent; woollen goods and dress goods 25 per cent; silk goods on an average from 30 to 35 per cent; and all kinds of mechanical implements from a needle up to an anchor are cheaper to-day. Whilst I was Consul at Liverpool I invoiced steel rails to the amount of millions of dollars at \$130 per ton. You can buy them here now made in the Pennsylvania Steel Works or at the Thompson Steel Works at \$27 per ton. We made seven thousand million dollars' worth of goods here last year. We paid to the laboring men and women of our country for the production of those goods one thousand five hundred million dollars. (Of course you understand that these wages, \$1,500,000,000 do not remain in the pocket of the laboring man, but he distributes them among the butcher, the baker, the grocer, the tailor, the bootmaker, and various other people who have his custom.)

"You have labor organizations to keep out foreign labor; you get up laws to prevent contracts being made for prison labor, and all those things in favor of your own labor; and here you propose with one fell swoop either to reduce the labor of the whole country to the standard of Europe, or else to transfer our manufacturing industries there. We pay in this country on an average about double what is paid to the laboring men of England.

"In 1867 the Government sent David A. Wells to Europe for the purpose of investigating the questions of protection and of labor, and I was detailed to accompany him. We went among the manufacturing; I have seen their operations, inquired into their wages, seen their condition and know of what I speak. In a small town in the black country, for instance, where there were the Mitre Iron Works, I saw a young girl about twenty-one years of age taking coal out of a canal boat and wheeling it up an inclined plane and shooting it into the mouth of a furnace. With the permission of the president I inquired of the girl and learned of the following remarkable facts: If she worked for twelve hours a day for six days in a week, she would earn five shillings a week, with which, together with some small pittance earned by her mother, amounting in all to nine shillings and eight pence a week, the two had to house themselves, clothe themselves, and keep themselves warm. They lived on bread every day, with a few potatoes every other day, and a piece of meat once a month. I do

not mean to say that every man and woman in England are reduced to that, but I saw on this occasion thousands that were receiving no better wages.

"You Irishmen, you Germans, you Americans, if you want either to transfer our industries to Europe or to reduce the laboring men of our country to the same standard of wages as those of England and of Europe, vote for Grover Cleveland.

#### Why England opposes the Protective System.

"There is another question that may be coming up. I told you about the Cobden Club, what England is doing to break down our protective system. Why is she doing this? Certainly not for love. I will tell you why they are doing it. I have lived among them for eleven years, and I know this, too. England to-day does not raise sufficient food to feed her own people. For articles of food, such as meat, breadstuffs, butter, cheese, lard, fish, eggs, potatoes and rice, she paid last year over six hundred million dollars. In 1870 she paid for those same articles of food two hundred and seventy-six millions of dollars; and if you look over her statistics you will find that there is a gradual increase of that expenditure in about that ratio; and if she continues as she is now, in the year 1900 she will have to pay for those articles of food, over one thousand millions of dollars. If she can break down our protective system, and compel our artisans all to go to raising raw materials, you will see that she will put down the price of all agricultural products over fifty per cent. The farmer will not be able to raise one bushel more of grain per acre than he does now, and he will only get fifty cents where he now gets a dollar, and the laborer will have to be paid lower; and England, not America, will get the whole benefit. England wants a market for her manufactured products; she cannot sell what she is making. If she can break down our manufactures here, she expects us to buy from her, and we shall buy from her, and she would make the profit.

"Every newspaper and every statesman in England understands this question fully. I know it not only from their pamphlets and books, but I know it from themselves. I know Thomas Bailey Potter, the head of the Cobden Club, well. I know John Bright; we have dined together, and we have discussed these questions, and I know it from their own mouths."

#### Further and later proof afforded by Representative Woodburn—American members of the Free-Trade Cobden Club—Their corruption fund for 1888.

In his speech in the House, May 5, 1888, Representative Woodburn said:

The Cobden Club is an association of British manufacturers organized in 1868 for the avowed purpose of destroying the protective-tariff system in America, and to facilitate the introduction and sale of British goods in the American market. This organization, founded in London, has established agencies in New York and Chicago for the distribution of British free-trade documents in political contests in this country. Its secretary is a member of the British Parliament. His name is Thomas Bailey Potter, who, at the annual dinner of the Cobden Club at Greenwich on the 10th day of July, 1880, said that the Cobden Club was now about to enter a contest with a foe worthy of its steel. Their eyes were now turned westward. They were going to encounter their friends in the United States, and he believed they would be ultimately victorious. Six days after this interesting free-trade love-feast the London Times said:

"It is to the New World that the Cobden Club is chiefly looking as the most likely sphere for its vigorous foreign policy. It has done what it can in Europe, and is now turning its eyes westward and bracing itself for the struggle which is to come. It cannot rest while the United States are unsubdued."

The following is a London cable-despatch, dated January 8, 1888:

"The Cobden Club are trying to raise a large sum of money to be spent to further free-trade propaganda, especially in spreading broadcast pamphlets and other Cobden Club literature. Lord Brassey has given a thousand dollars, others less, and the hat is going round. It is long since the club has been so active.

They are indeed doing more than the free-trade movement in England appears to require. There can be little doubt that their surplus funds are intended as re-enforcements for Mr. Cleveland in his efforts to hand over the control of American markets to British traders."

A few years since, the following paragraph appeared in the London Times:

"A subscription was recently opened to raise funds to circulate free-trade tracts in foreign countries. About £40,000 (\$200,000) was subscribed. Some of these tracts are to be printed in New York for circulation in the United States. In addition to the above, \$47,000 was subscribed by foreign bankers and importers of this city whose names are in our possession."

More than two hundred members of the British Parliament and twelve out of fourteen British Cabinet members are members of the Cobden Club. Upon its roll of membership appears an army of dukes, earls, marquises, lords, peers, counts, and princes. The annual assessment is three guineas. The report of its committee shows that in 1886 they issued eleven millions of free-trade leaflets, and gives to the world the following interesting information:

"Your committee are not unmindful of the probable effects of fiscal freedom in America upon the world's commerce. They foresee that free trade means cheap production in the United States."

The club awards a prize of £60 for the best essay on free trade. They permit Harvard, Yale, and Williams Colleges in the United States to compete for silver medals of the club for essays on the same subject. Last year the committee kindly consented to permit the University of Indiana to enter the ranks of competition. The bankers of the club are the London and Westminster Bank and the Westminster branch, St. James's Square, London, S.W., where subscriptions are paid on the 1st day of January in each year. Its balance-sheet shows that for the year 1885 it expended £5,744 9s 3d. I now offer in evidence the record I hold in my hand, which contains the list of the members of the Cobden Club, with dates of entrance, as corrected up to the 1st day of January, 1888. On the back of the record is the motto of the club, "Free trade, peace, good-will among nations. God save the Queen." I forgot to state that the club committee declare in their report that no man can be an honorary member of the organization unless he has rendered distinguished service in the cause of British free trade.

It is so exclusive in its character that no man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow can be admitted to membership. The essential qualification is that the applicant must be a manufacturer or a nobleman.

#### American Members of the Club.

I find in the corrected list of distinguished foreign and colonial noblemen who are members of the club the following names and date of their admission: James B. Beck, Lexington, Ky., elected in 1888.

I regret to see the name of the brilliant Senator upon the roll of an anti-American association. He sits high in the hearts of the people west of the Rocky Mountains. He is the determined foe of British monometalism. He does not believe that the capital of the nation that does not produce an ounce of silver ought to regulate the price of the American product. He does not believe that the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury should shape the financial policy of this country to meet the views of forty-six New York bankers and the money-changers of Wall street and London. His name on the club roll is more than an indication of the political sentiments of the great party that recognizes him as one of its most boasted leaders. [Applause.]

The Senate of the United States is also represented in this foreign institution by Hon. Zebulon Vance, of Charlotte, N.C., who was admitted in the fold in 1883.

William Endicott, Jr., of Boston, Mass., a Cabinet officer of this Republic, its Secretary of War, was admitted in 1877. This ought to create no surprise, for, if common rumor reports him aright, he permits no visitor to escape without inflicting upon him an essay on the antiquity of his Anglo-Saxon ancestry and the peculiar aristocratic color of his Puritanical blood. [Laughter and applause.]

Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware's favorite son, the Democratic Secretary of State, was admitted in 1883. It would be strange, indeed, if his name were not on

the roll of American noblemen. Only a few days ago, at a public meeting at Birmingham, England, when Chamberlain mentioned the name of Bayard, the cheers of the multitude drowned the voice of the orator, and almost set in motion the walls of the building. When in the Senate of the United States, he declared that the passage of a resolution putting wool on the free list was the first step in the direction of free trade.

His diplomatic action on the Canadian fishery question, his release of three British vessels solemnly adjudged by a court of the United States to be forfeited and sold, together with their cargoes, for a violation of law in seal-fishing in the Behring Sea, coupled with his cringing apology to the British foreign office for not releasing them sooner, eminently qualify him for membership in the Cobden Club. From his political acts and utterances, a stranger, unacquainted with our form of government, would be just in concluding that he is acting in the dual capacity of an American Secretary of State and a British envoy extraordinary.

He had the honor of being elected the same day with his Excellency Nuban Pasha G. C. B., G. C. M. G., and the Marquis Vilfredo Pareto. [Laughter and applause.]

David Dudley Field, a Democratic member of the Forty-fourth Congress, whose legal reputation extends beyond the limits of the Empire State, and whose party prominence is such that he was called upon by a committee of this House to dictate the names of the new States that are to be admitted after the election, joined the brotherhood in 1881. Henry George, the Simon-pure free-trader, who, after being justly spurned by the Labor party, allied his political fortunes with Mr. Cleveland, on the principle that birds of a feather flock together, was elected the same year. W. Dorsheimer, whose recent death created a gap in the ranks of the Democratic party in the Empire State that cannot be readily filled, was elected a member in 1878.

Manton Marble joined the club in 1872. This is the nobleman delegated by Grover Cleveland to bring about an international money conference in the interest of silver. The silver-producers are doubtless indebted to the President of the United States for the significant appointment of a man to such a position when he was a notorious member of a foreign institution every British member of which is hostile to the coinage of the white metal.

W. K. Morrison, of Waterloo, Ill., was elected a member of the Cobden Club in 1876. Three times during his Cobden Club membership he was the Democratic chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and had the control of the revenue legislation of the country. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Is it any wonder that he was continually tinkering at a tariff revision in the interest of Great Britain that

resulted always in the stagnation of business, the timidity of capital, a dearth of employment for labor, that engendered strikes, begot violence, and deprived him of a seat in Congress?

In the memorable year of 1873 Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., was elected a member of the club. This is a name that must sound rather unmusical in the ears of the wretched, ragged, starving, persecuted tenantry of Ireland, made so by the propagation of the free-trade policy of this institution that put forth every effort to elect Grover Cleveland, and that is created expressly to destroy American markets.

L. Q. C. Lamar, of Oxford, Miss., was elected a member in 1877. He deserves to be there. He has always had the courage to express his free-trade convictions in and out of Congress. Were he not a free-trader, he would never have been appointed a justice of the Supreme Bench of the United States.

Last, but not least, on the roll of the Cobden Club membership is that able and impartial parliamentarian who possesses the almost godlike power of shaping the legislation of this great country, the present Speaker of this House, John Griffin Carlisle, of Covington, Ky. He is comparatively a young member, having been elected in 1883. [Applause.]

I find upon the roll of British, foreign, and American noblemen such distinguished names as the Duke of Argyll, K.T.; Sir Evelyn Baring, C.S.J.C.I.E.; Lord Brassey, of Bulkey; Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain; His Excellency the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia; Major-Gen. Sir William Crossman, K.C.M.G., M.P. [laughter]; Viscount de Figantera; Frederick W. C. Gibbs, Q.C., C.B.; Lord Randolph Churchill; Viscount Hampden, G.C.B.; Marquis of Lansdowne; Sir John Lubbock, Bart.; Viscount de Moser, of Portugal; His Royal Highness the Prince Jerome Napoleon, of France; Hon. Sir H. Parks, K.C.M.G.; Prince Carl Schurz; Marquis de Riscal; Chevalier Charles de Schezer; Hon. Frank H. Hurd, of Toledo, Ohio [laughter]; His Highness Prince Hassan, of Egypt; Hon. Randolph Tucker, of the Commonwealth of Virginia [laughter]; Baron von Stauffenberg Rastisen; Hon. Henry Watterson, of Louisville, Ky.; His Excellency Valdimir Weshniakoff, of St. Petersburg; Henry Ward Beecher; Baron W. K. Van Deden; and John C. Calhoun, of New York [great laughter and applause]; J. S. Moore, known as the Parsee Merchant [laughter]; William M. Slingerly, of the *Philadelphia Record*; David A. Wells, the free-trade writer.

I only give the names of a few of the American members who have combined to conquer and subdue American energy and enterprise. They shine out on the British Cobden Club list like apples of gold in pictures of silver. They ought to be preserved as relics for the reverential inspection of the rising generation of American workmen.

## CHAPTER V.

## The Protected American Farmer.

"The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive Free Trade throughout the world." — Democratic National Platform, 1856 and 1860.

"We remit the discussion of the subject [the tariff] to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation." — Democratic National Platform, 1868.

"That this Convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the [Mills] bill for the reduction of the revenue, now pending in the House of Representatives." — Democratic National Platform, 1888.

"The Protective system must be maintained. . . . We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive to . . . the Farming interests of the country. . . . We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate Protection to that industry." — Republican National Platform, 1888.

## PART I.

**The benefits of the Republican American Protective System to the American Farmer—The proofs by Henry C. Carey, Hon. J. T. Updegraff, a Canadian Farmer, Hon. Nathan Goff, and an American Mechanic.**

**Henry C. Carey's Proofs.**

Henry C. Carey, the political economist, in his *Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial* (1872), says:

Who, now, were the losers by the greatly increased difficulty of obtaining this great instrument [iron] of civilization? To answer this question, we must first inquire who are the great consumers of iron? The farmers and planters constitute three-fourths of the population of the nation, and if the loss were equally distributed, that portion of the loss would fall upon them: but we shall find, upon inquiry, that it is upon them, the producers of all we consume, that the whole of it must fall.

The farmer needs iron for his spades and ploughs, his shovels and his dung-forks, his trace-chains, and his horse-shoes, and his wagon-wheels; for his house, his barn, and his stable. He needs them, too, for his timber. If iron be abundant, saws are readily obtained, and the saw-miller takes his place by his side, and he has his timber converted into plank at the cost of less labor than was before required to haul the logs to the distant saw-mill. He obtains the use of mill-saws cheap. If iron be abundant, the grist-mill comes to his neighborhood, and now he has his grain converted into flour, giving for the work less grain than was before consumed by the horses and men employed in carrying it to the distant mill. If iron be abundant, spades and picks are readily obtained, and the roads are mended, and he passes more readily to the distant market. If iron increase in abundance, the railroad enables him to pass with increased facility, himself, his turnips and potatoes, to markets from which before

he was entirely shut out by cost of transportation, except as regards articles of small bulk and much value — wheat and cotton. If iron be abundant, the woollen-mill comes, and his wool is converted on the spot by men who eat on the ground his cabbage and his veal, and drink his milk, and perform the work of conversion in return for services and things that would have been lost had they not been thus consumed. At each step he gets the use of iron cheaper—that is, at less cost of labor. If iron be abundant, the cotton-mill now comes, and the iron road now brings the cotton, and his sons and his daughters obtain the use of iron spindles and iron looms by which they are enabled to clothe themselves at one-twentieth of the cost of labor that had been necessary but twenty years before. Instead of a yard of cotton received in return for two bushels of corn, one bushel of corn pays for six yards of cloth—and now it is that the farmer grows rich.

A careful examination of society will satisfy the inquirer that all the people engaged in the work of transportation, conversion, and exchange are but the agents of the producers, and live out of the commodities they produce, and that the producers grow rich or remain poor precisely as they are required to employ less or more persons in the making of their exchanges. The farmer who is compelled to resort to the distant mill employs many persons, horses, and wagons in the work of converting his grain into flour, and his land is of small value. Bring the mill close to him, and a single horse and cart, occasionally employed, will do the work.

The farmer who employs the people of England to produce his iron, is obliged to have the services of numerous persons, of ships and wagons, and horses, to aid in the work. Bring the furnace to his side, and let his neighbor get out his iron, and he and his sons do much of the work themselves, furnishing timber, ore, and the use of horses, wagons, etc., when not needed on the farm.

The man of Tennessee sends to market 300 bushels of corn, for which he receives in return one ton of iron, the money-cost of which is \$60, but the labor-cost of which is the cultivation of ten acres of land. If he could follow his corn, he would find that the men who get out his iron receive but 30 or 40 bushels, and that the remaining 260 or 270 are swallowed up by the numerous transporters and exchangers that stand between himself and the men whom he thus employs.

If, now, he could bring those men to his side, giving them double wages, say 60 bushels of corn, he would be a gainer to the extent of 240 bushels. While he has to give 300 bushels his iron is dear, and he can use little. When he obtains it for 60 bushels it is cheap, and he uses much. His production increases, and his ability to use iron increases with it, and the demand for workers in iron increases, and all obtain food more readily, the consequence of which is, that they have more to spare for clothing and for other comforts or the luxuries of life." [pp. 80-81.]

**Proofs by a practical Farmer—Representative Updegraff.**

The Hon. J. T. Updegraff of Ohio, in his speech of April 12 and 13, 1882, in the House of Representatives, said:

Mr. Chairman, I have been a farmer all my life, and every year for thirty years have sold the products of the farm. When manufacturers were fully protected and flourishing, I have never seen the time that judicious agriculture was not prosperous; and when manufacturing under "revenue" tariff was crippled or broken down I never saw agriculture flourishing. Is there any gentleman in this House who has? Sometimes a certain product may be in demand temporarily, but the uniform rule is as I have stated it. If any member has seen it otherwise, let him declare it. [Applause.] No; the real and permanent industries of a people are always in harmony and interdependence with each other. Each member of a community profits by an increase in the productive power of the whole body. That advantage is increased and multiplied by every increase in the *diversity of employments*. The farming interest above every other is benefited by this diversity, which saves the necessity of carrying bulky products to a distant market; for every intelligent farmer knows that the man who is compelled to go to market must, in some way, pay the cost of going, and that the very first of all the charges paid, by labor or by hand, is that for transportation.

But Mr. Mongredien says, in his Cobden Club pamphlet, "*The farmer neither receives nor seeks legislative protection.*" False again. He does both. The farmer has carefully and intelligently studied this question, not merely by theories of bookmen, but in the school of practical affairs. He asks, and has received, fair protection for his industries. It is just that he should, for many agricultural products are produced in other countries by pauper labor, against which it would be a monstrous outrage that the American farmer should be forced to compete. Surely this English teacher could not be ignorant of the fact that protective duties are imposed on all the leading agricultural products where protection is practicable. American farmers know that these duties were laid to protect these articles in the home market, which consumes nearly 92 per cent of all the products of the farm.

It is not necessary to give a full catalogue of all these products and the duty on each, but I mention enough, taken from our tariff list, to show how carefully the interests of the farmer have been considered. The duty on Indian corn is 10 cents a bushel; on wheat, 20 cents a bushel; oats, 10 cents a bushel; barley, 15 cents a bushel; rye, 15 cents a bushel; peas and beans, 10 to 20 per cent; potatoes, 15 cents a bushel; butter, 4 cents a pound; cheese, 4 cents a pound; poultry, 10 per cent; sugar, 2 to 5 cents per pound; leaf-tobacco, 35 cents a pound; manufactured tobacco, 50 cents a pound; beef and pork, 1 cent a pound; mutton, 10 cents a pound; hay, 20 per cent; on all domestic animals, except for breeding purposes, 20 per cent, but those for breeding purposes admitted free in the interest of farming and stock-raising; wool, from 10 to 12 cents a pound, with from 10 to 12 per cent added.

Not only is his interest thus protected, but the farmer knows well that the protection to the manufacturer benefits him still more. He knows that when the great manufacturing industries of various kinds are active and flourishing, that there is always a demand for all the variety of his products in the home market. He understands that the product or price of the great staples of wheat and corn a part of which may be exported, are no measure of the benefit to him of a home market which consumes at ready prices the still more abundant and profitable products of the farm which cannot reach a distant or foreign market

without great loss and many of them not at all. The vicinity of a manufacturing town or of a manufacturing establishment, whether it be a rolling-mill, furnace, or factory, not only at once raises the price of every foot of his land, but gives him a daily market for the perishable and small products of the farm, such as fruit, dairy products, vegetables, eggs, poultry, veal, mutton, hay, straw, fodder, berries, cord-wood, and a multitude of minor articles, thousands and millions of dollars' worth of which no absolute record can ever find its place in a national balance-sheet, and these are the most profitable of the products of the farm.

**Proofs furnished by a suffering Canadian Farmer.**

In a Canadian paper, 1882, appeared the following graphic contrast by a Canadian farmer between the condition of the protected "Yankee" farmer and his own unprotected condition:

The Yankee farmer rises in the morning tolerably refreshed. True, he has been sleeping on a bed, the sheets, blankets, and mattress of which would have been taxed 60 to 180 per cent had they been imported from a foreign country. But they are home-made, and his dreams have not been disturbed by the free-trade bugbear that "protection raises the price of the home manufactured article up to at least the price of the imported article *plus* the imported duty." Mr. David A. Wells and other agents of the Leeds and Manchester manufacturers once tried to frighten him with this boggy; but experience has taught him that it is only a make-believe. There is an import duty of eight cents a yard on cotton-sheeting, but he buys it from the cotton factory in his market town at seven cents a yard, and sees enormous quantities of it going to England in competition with free-trade cotton, to Canada, to South America, and even to Australia. Moreover, he knows that it is to that import duty he owes the establishment of the neighboring cotton factory, whose operatives consume his produce, and give him a profitable home market for rotation crops. The same is true of his blankets and mattress; indeed, he is well satisfied with his bed. It is home-made; it cost him if any thing less than an imported article; and its manufacture has given employment to artisans who buy the products of his farm almost direct from his wagon. He proceeds to put on his clothes, nothing alarmed because there is a heavy import duty on foreign tweed cloths, felt hats, boots, and cotton shirts. His suit from head to foot is of American make; the profits of its manufacture have gone to enrich the American people, and he thinks this is better for him than if his tweed coat had come from the west of England, his hat from Nottingham, his shirt from Manchester, and his boots from Stockport. The clock tells him it is breakfast time. He has no hard feelings against the clock merely because foreign clocks are taxed 35 per cent; on the contrary, it reminds him of the clock factories of Connecticut and the thousands of hands to whom they give employment, and who in their turn give a market and an increased value to every adjacent farm. Breakfast over — by the way, American importers bring his tea direct from China, not via Montreal or London — he takes to his farm implements. Foreign implements, such as spades, shovels, hoes, forks, rakes, etc., are taxed 35 per cent; wooden pulps, tubs, churns, etc., 35 per cent, and plows, harrows, seed-sowers, cultivators, mowers, reapers, thrashing-machines, etc., 35 per cent; and in 1860, when the battle of the Morrill tariff was being fought in Congress, the agents of the great Bedford and Leicester firms predicted that an import duty on their goods would ruin farming in the United States. He has discovered, however, that this is not true. Home factories have sprung up everywhere, and the keen competition has not only kept down prices, but incited the inventive genius of the American mechanic, so that Yankee farm implements have become the cheapest and best in the world. The heavy and cumbrous English machines are being driven from the foreign markets and even from the English market itself, which McCormick, of Chicago, has invaded with great success. In fact when our farmer contemplates the amazing growth and proportions of this industry it occurs to him that the English agents, who lobbied and even bribed politicians



and newspapers to oppose the high tariff, were not actuated so much by regard for the condition of the Yankee farmer as by the consciousness that protection would deprive them of the American market, and by the fear that it would in the long run make the Yankee manufacturer a formidable rival in other markets. This is what the farmer thinks as he works in his field and about his barn-yard during the forenoon. He is startled out of his reverie by the toot of the dinner-horn, and sits down at the table nothing put out by the reflection that tin horns of foreign make are taxed about two cents each. Neither does he lose his appetite when he remembers that furniture, such as the chair he is sitting on, the table at which he is eating, and the dresser where the dishes are stored, is taxed 35 per cent. when of foreign make. This duty has helped to establish hundreds of furniture factories and to give employment to tens of thousands of mechanics throughout the Union, and in this way has benefited him; for the home manufacturer is everywhere the farmer's best friend. After dinner he sets out for the market town, and as he journeys thither he pities the Canadian farmer, who, as a rule, has to dispose of his produce to the middlemen, that stand like a row of tax gatherers, each levying his tithes, between the Kanuck farmer and the foreign consumer. He wonders, too, does this old Yankee farmer, how the Canadian farms endure wheat and barley year after year, and rejoices that protection has given him a home market to which he can supply almost every variety of crop. He is following this train of thought when he enters the market town at one o'clock; and his sympathy for the Canadian farmer is deepened as he sees troops of Canadian operatives returning to the factories from their dinner. "I wonder," he commences, "if the Kanuck farmer ever sees a crowd of Yankee operatives going to work in a Canadian factory? Guess not! Then what do free-traders mean by arguing that protection, such as we Yankees are cursed with, ruins industry, while free-trade, with which the Kanucks have long been blessed, builds it up and makes a nation great? If that were so would not these active little French-Canadians be at work in Montreal, and would not our Yankee mechanics be pouring over there also? How is it, ye free-trade theorists, that the census of 1870 showed that Canada, with 4,000,000 of people, had sent us nearly 500,000, or one eighth of her children? And how is it that the Canadian census of 1870 showed that we, with ten times 4,000,000, had sent Canada only 70,000 Yankees?" By this time he has reached the store, and soon disposes of his wheat, tomatoes, carrots, potatoes, etc. With the money received in payment he makes his little purchases, and finds no small consolation in knowing that almost every dollar he pays out goes to home industries. Outsiders get nothing except for raw articles the United States can not produce, such as tea and coffee. "Even if I have to pay a little more for some of my purchases," he says to himself, "it is satisfactory to know that the money will be kept in the country, and paid out again for the produce I grow, and the beef, mutton, and pork I raise." He thinks this over as he travels homeward, and talks protection vs. free-trade with his sons in the evening. One of them works in the town—Canada has had no attractions for them. "You boys are all here," says the old man, "and I guess that is pretty good evidence that this is a habitable country, protection and all. If you had gone to Canada or England and were settled there, and were writing over for your friends and acquaintances to join you, as the half million Canadians and the hundreds of thousands of Englishmen and Irishmen in the States do, I should be inclined to suspect something was wrong. But here we are, drawing thousands of emigrants every year from free-trade countries, while retaining our own folks at home; paying off our war debt rapidly, and getting our bonds into our own hands; exporting \$300,000,000 a year more than we import; developing our home industries, pushing our foreign trade, and going ahead like thunder, in spite of panics and bad politics—boys, I guess we've every reason to thank God."

#### Convincing figures of Representative Goff of West Virginia.

In a speech, before the House of Representatives, April 27, 1888, Representative Nathan Goff said:

In 1860 the value of our real estate was \$6,973,006,049; in 1880 it was \$13,036,512,952, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. In 1860 we had in the United States 163,110,720 acres of improved land, while in 1880 we had 287,211,845 acres, an increase of 76 per cent. In 1860 our farms were valued at \$3,300,000,000; in 1880 at \$10,197,000,000, an increase of over 300 per cent. In 1860 our farmers raised 173,104,924 bushels of wheat—in tariff-for-revenue times—and found comparatively a poor market for it; while in 1880 they raised 498,549,868 bushels of wheat—in protective-tariff times—and every peck of it was in demand at a good price. In 1860 they produced 838,704,742 bushels of corn, while in 1880 they raised of corn 1,717,434,643 bushels. These figures relative to our grain are actually bewildering—an increase exceeding the entire production of 1860. A magnificent showing for our agriculturists. And they had a splendid home market for it. Destroy that market and where will they sell? Foreign countries bought all they wanted, all they needed of us, not exceeding 8 per cent. of our crops. They did not buy because we had to sell, but because they were hungry. We sold the greater part of that small per cent. to England. She is peculiarly situated, a manufacturing hive. Her agriculturists can not feed her artisans. England must go abroad for food. Providing for the future, she has lately expended millions of dollars in constructing railroads to the interior wheat fields of India, where the soil is rich beyond description, and where labor is satisfied with 8 cents a day. This is the competition the American farmer would meet with abroad; this is the competition that regulates the price of wheat in Liverpool. Our farmers are well aware of this, and they realize that the market for their surplus productions is not on the sea, competing with India, with Russia, with Australia, but is at home supplying our protected industries.

In 1860 we produced 5,056,383 bales of cotton, and in 1880, 7,110,717, an increase of, say, 41 per cent.; and still those who live where cotton was king want to go back to the old regime. They remind us of those eminently respectable people mentioned in English history who "would rather die on precedent than live on innovation."

In 1860 we manufactured of cotton goods to the value of \$115,681,774, while in 1880 we manufactured of the same articles to the value of \$210,950,383, an increase of, say, 82 per cent.

In 1860 we manufactured of woollen goods to the value of \$61,894,986, while in 1880 like manufactures had grown to the value of \$207,899,604, an increase of \$205,804,618—of, say, 333 per cent.

In 1860 we produced 60,264,913 pounds of wool, while in 1880 we clipped 240,213,817 pounds, an increase of 179,948,904 pounds—of, say, 298 per cent.—and all woollen goods cheaper and better than ever before. And still wool, by the bill under consideration, goes on the free-list.

In 1860 we mined and consumed 15,173,409 tons of coal; in 1880 we used 79,505,000 tons, an increase of 427 per cent. Mr. Chairman, it is pleasant to contemplate the labor employed in mining and using that coal, in opening the mines, in building railroads to them, in digging iron ore, making it into rails for the roads and the mines, in making chains, picks, cars, engines, and other things too numerous to mention. And, Mr. Chairman, remember that all those so laboring were utilizing the cotton and woollen goods, hats, boots, and other articles manufactured at our protected establishments, and they in turn were consuming the coal so mined, and all were making a market for the products of our farms.

In 1860 we made only 987,559 tons of pig iron, while in 1880 we made 3,835,191 tons. In 1860 we made 235,107 tons of railroad rails, and in 1880 we made 1,208,392 tons. Yet still we import large quantities from abroad. In this land of rich ores, coal, and limestone, with willing, expert labor, we ought to make it all. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see the American market given to American labor.

In 1860 our grand aggregate of national wealth was \$16,159,616,068, while in 1880 it was \$43,642,000,000, the increase alone nearly twice as much as had been accumulated from the time the continent was discovered down to 1860, as much twice over in twenty years of Republican protection as in the preceding three hundred and sixty-eight years. And Mr. Chairman, all this has been accomplished under "vicious,

inequitable, and illogical" laws, if President Cleveland is right—all this magical change produced without Mr. Chairman Mills's "free raw material." Mr. Chairman, this cry for "free raw material" is a delusion, a miserable sham; there is no such thing in the sense it has been used in this discussion. Out in West Virginia, in the interior of that State, away from railroads, inaccessible to-day, in our primeval forests, we have mountains of timber, iron ore, limestone, and coal. It is "raw material" now, as it was a thousand years ago.

Our people, and your people, Mr. Chairman, are constructing railroads into those forests, into that land of wondrous mineral wealth, are opening up mines, building furnaces, conquering the wilderness. This can only be done by virtue of a protective tariff. The coal in our mountains, before the mine is opened, is "raw material;" at the mine's opening, on the cars, or in the barge, it is the miner's finished product. The ore dug from the "hole in the ground" is the ore-miner's finished product, the result of his labor, of brawn and sweat, and as much entitled to protection as the rice and sugar from our plantations or the finished articles from our mills. The tree in the forest is the "raw material" of the lumberman, and when his capital and labor cuts it into logs it is then his finished product, and becomes the sawyer's "raw material." The sawyer runs it into lumber to suit the requirements of our various consumers, and it is still "raw material," until from the hands of our skilled laborers and expert toilers, it becomes, in desk, in chair, in house, in car, in many useful utensils and numerous objects of beauty and of art, the finished product of our wonderful industries.

The wool as clipped from our flocks is not raw material—it is the farmer's finished product; and unless I misread the signs of the times the farmers intend that it shall be protected. The bill under consideration places it on the free-list; President Cleveland so advises; the Democratic majority in this House agrees with him. To do so will destroy the wool industry of this nation, which is the sixth in order of value of our agricultural products—those excelling being corn, hay, wheat, cotton, and oats. Australia is the only country in the world excelling us in the quantity of wool produced—and with that country must our farmers compete if wool goes on the free-list—and in that country labor receives and is satisfied with 8 cents per day. Never by my vote shall the American farmer, shall the flock-masters of the Union be placed on that level, be brought to that degradation. [Applause.]

Already, since the agitation of this question, since the effort made to pass the "Morrison horizontal reduction bill" in the Forty-eighth Congress, has this great industry been seriously injured. In 1883 our flocks, encouraged by the tariff of 1867, numbered over 50,000,000 sheep and produced of wool 308,000,000 pounds. In 1897 the number of sheep had been reduced to about 45,000,000, and the product in pounds in the same proportion. We should restore the duty of 1867, increasing it where necessary, and stimulate this industry so essential to our prosperity as a people, our independence as a nation, and not entirely eradicate it, as we will do by the passage of this bill.

**Plain proofs by Edward P. Noyes—an American mechanic.**

Edward P. Noyes, a sensible American mechanic, writes from Gardner, Aug. 18, 1888, to the Boston Journal:

When the Republican Party guided the ship of State out from the mists and fogs of free trade and into the sunshine of protection, every thing seemed to go forward with a bound. The farmer beheld his home market rapidly increasing, and felt that in order to keep pace with the times, old methods must be discarded and new ones adopted. Mechanical ingenuity, encouraged largely by protection, invented and placed in the farmer's hands wonderful machines with which to plant, cultivate and harvest his crops. Mechanical industries, feeling the influence of the new movement, developed with wonderful rapidity. New shops, new factories, new towns and even new cities sprang into existence. The country was gridironed with railroads to accommodate this enormous traffic, opening up at the same time new fields for the farmer and giving him

unequalled facilities for marketing his crops. Millions of the people from other lands, attracted by the success of our experiment, came here, built homes for themselves and joined the grand army of producers and consumers. Our prosperity and development have been greater than that of any country that the light of the sun ever shone upon, until to-day we stand at the head in every thing that makes a nation good and great. All this is due more to protection than any thing else, which, in addition to the rest, has built up for the farmer a home market that is worth more to him than all the markets of the world put together.

#### Protection protects and does not rob.

Pray, is this the way protection robs the farmer? Obligated to go abroad to seek a market for his products? Nothing of the sort. When the crop of bread-stuffs is short in Europe they come to buy of us, and after the home market has been supplied what little remains is sold to them. Let us not indulge in the idea, either, that the people of Europe do this to help the farmer, but rather to help themselves. They never pay out a cent to us unless obliged to do so. Protection has developed all of our industries, and made the home market so good that nearly all the farmer's products are consumed at home. Even Mr. Mills is candid enough to admit that but about 8 per cent of our agricultural products seeks a foreign market. Now if the millions we annually pay out to foreign manufacturers were paid out to our own this 8 per cent would be consumed at home. Let me illustrate. In 1883 Congress reduced the duty on certain lines of woolen goods. The result was that many were thrown entirely out of employment, others were only kept partially employed, while the wages of all were reduced from 20 to 25 per cent. At the same time English factories were kept running night and day to fill American orders, and in the meantime the retail price of these goods has remained about the same. Now if instead of continually cutting down the duties, we raised them high enough to keep others out of our markets, an additional army of workers would then be needed, who would consume all that the farmer could possibly produce. Free trade would indeed oblige the farmer to seek a foreign market. Protection would provide him with a better one at home.

#### Mechanics and Farmers on the same footing.

Compelled to buy in the dearest market? He is simply obliged to buy in the same market we mechanics do. And why not? We buy his products; let him buy ours. That our market is the dearest I deny. I contend that the things the ordinary farmer or mechanic uses are as cheap here as in England. Meat is, considerably cheaper. Breadstuffs must be the same in both countries, for their doctrine is that Liverpool quotations determine the price. As a matter of fact, however, they are cheaper here. The fact that American cottons and wools are found in foreign markets, side by side with English goods, goes to show that there can be no great difference in the prices. The fact is, manufactured goods are cheaper in this country. Even importers are beginning to admit that the American manufacturer is fast becoming a dangerous rival, and if our Government would give the same encouragement to our shipping interests that other countries give to theirs, we could give foreign nations all the competition they desired.

#### Decreased prices for protected manufactures—a case in point.

I will instance a case in point. A few years ago sateens retailed here at from 75 cents to \$1 per yard. They were imported from France. As there was a heavy duty on them, American manufacturers felt encouraged to go into the business, and in a short time the price had dropped to 45 cents. In 1884 Messrs. Arnold, Constable & Co., importers of New York, addressed a letter to Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, asking that the duty might be removed or reduced, and complaining that American manufacturers were putting sateens upon the market at 11 cents per yard that could not be imported for less than 18 cents, thus admitting that we had beaten the Frenchman over 6 cents per yard. This was too much prosperity for the Democracy, and under the leadership of Mr. Morrison they voted almost solidly to pro-

test the importer rather than the manufacturer; voted to protect an interest which, although probably legitimate, gives employment to but few men, adds not one dollar to the value of the goods it handles, but which does manage somehow to extract as many profits as possible out of them, thus making the cost greater to the consumer. Fortunately the Morrison tariff bill failed to become a law. American satteens are still at the head, and the price, which seven years ago was 75 cents per yard, is now about 30 cents. The Democratic party would protect the importer. The Republican party would protect the manufacturer. The real difference in the two policies will be better understood when it is remembered that where the importer gives employment to one man the manufacturer gives employment to a hundred. Verily, what a magnificent robber the American manufacturer has become!

#### **The Free-Traders' programme to rob the farmers.**

Now let us see how they propose to help the farmer. By removing the duty from nearly every thing the farmer raises, thus compelling him to share his valuable home-market with the Canadian farmer. By making wool free, and thus bringing him into direct competition with the whole world. Mr. Curtis tells us in one of his latest editorials, that free wool is a necessity with us, as we annually consume 600,000,000 pounds, and don't produce half that quantity. This must be a wild estimate, because only five years ago we produced 325,000,000 pounds, which was within eleven per cent of our consumption. Workmen's clothing, blankets, flannels, etc., were then as cheap as they are now. At that time, at the solicitation of the free traders and importers,—the people never asked for it,—Congress reduced the duty on wool, the effect of which was to cripple the home manufacturer and benefit the foreign manufacturer correspondingly, by increasing importations. In one year the number of our sheep was diminished 8,000,000. In 1883 we imported but eleven per cent of our wools. Last year we imported over thirty per cent. Then we were becoming year by year more independent of foreign wool growers. Now we are becoming more and more dependent upon them, and nobody except importers and foreign interests has been benefited. If this is the result of a reduction of the duty on wool, what will be the result of free wool? If this is the way they propose to help the farmer, what would they do if they wished to harm him?

## **PART II.**

### **The Western Farmer and Southern Planter as well as the Eastern Farmer benefited by the Protective Tariff—Mr. Blaine's proofs.**

In his speech at Bangor, Me., Aug. 23, 1888, Mr. Blaine, after proving the prosperity, as shown by the savings of the protected American wage-laborer [see Chapter VI.] in the Eastern States, as compared with the savings of the unprotected British working-man, proceeded to say:

#### **Prosperity of the Western Agricultural States under Protection.**

But the Democratic advocate of free trade thinks that he can escape from the crushing force of these figures by his favorite cry that these earnings of the laboring man in New York and New England have been made at the expense of the agricultural States in the West. I first answer that manufactures are so rapidly spreading that there are no longer agricultural States in the sense in which that term was used a generation ago. Under a protective tariff manufactures are springing up everywhere, and already some States in the West—notably Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—have an annual product from manufactures mounting high up into the millions. But, secondly, I

answer that I have no need to interpose the manufacturing interests in stating the progress and development of the West. For in twenty years of protective tariff wealth has increased in a far greater ratio in the agricultural States of the West than in seven manufacturing States which I have adduced in the East. In 1860, for instance, the six Western States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska had a population of two and a half millions (2,500,000), and an aggregate wealth by the census of 1860 of eight hundred and seventy millions of dollars (\$870,000,000). To-day they have a population of perhaps eleven millions (11,000,000), the equal of New England. We cannot give the statistics of aggregate wealth either in the West or the East later than the census of 1880; but in the twenty years between 1860 and 1880 these six Western States had increased their aggregate wealth from eight hundred and seventy millions (\$870,000,000) to six thousand three hundred and seventy-five millions (\$6,375,000,000), an increase of more than seven-fold. New York and New England had three times the population of these Western States in 1860, with an aggregate wealth of thirty-seven hundred millions (\$3,700,000,000). To-day the population of these States is about the same as the Western States, while their wealth in the twenty years between 1860 and 1880 increased only three-fold, amounting in 1880 to eleven thousand two hundred and eighty-six millions (\$11,286,000,000). The ratio of development between the manufacturing States of New York and New England has, therefore, not been half so rapid as that of the six agricultural States which I have named. They have not, it is true, the same amount of cash to the credit of the wage-workers; but they have, in great and flourishing cities, in long lines of railways, in improved farms, in the increased values in great cities, in new towns, in the prodigious products of grain, in the countless flocks and herds, an increase of agricultural wealth to which the expense of the Western farmer under a revenue tariff bears so slight a comparison that it can hardly be stated.

#### **Prosperity of the Southern States under the Republican Tariff.**

Lastly, the objection to the conclusions I present comes from the Southern Democrat, who, forgetting the interests of his section, is urging the revival of free trade. He considers that the South has been robbed for the benefit of the North; and, hugging this monstrous delusion, he strives to place the Union back under the old free-trade systems of the ante-bellum period. Yet the beneficent effect of a protective tariff can be even better illustrated by the recent history and development of the South than by the progress of the North. By the census of 1860, seventy-one years after the Federal Government was organized, the Southern States, or, to describe them more accurately, the slave-holding States of the Union, had acquired property amounting in the aggregate to six thousand eight hundred millions of dollars (\$6,800,000,000). One-third of this total amount, or certainly over two thousand millions of dollars (\$2,000,000,000), was reckoned as the value of the negro slaves. Eleven of these States went into rebellion, at the end of which they had lost the institution of slavery, with all of its assured money value. They had used up four annual crops for war purposes. They had lost all their ready money and their stocks. They had lost a quarter of a million of the youth of their land, and had disabled as many more. They had subjected all their fair and blooming section to the blighting and devastating influence of the sword to as great a degree as the Seven Years' War had inflicted on Prussia, or the Napoleonic struggles had on France. Coming out of the war in 1865 defeated, discouraged, almost destroyed, the Southern people set to work under the influence of the protective system, made good the two thousand million dollars (\$2,000,000,000) which they had lost in slaves, repaired the ravages and damages of war, and in the short space of fifteen years they had acquired, by the census of 1880, twenty-one hundred million dollars (\$2,100,000,000) of property more than they had possessed by the census of 1860. If the financial and industrial condition of the South could be ascertained to-day, they would be found to have two and a half to three times as much property as they had on that direful day when they rashly fired on Sumter.

## PART III.

## Some of the existing duties that protect the farmer—Free Trade percentage tricks to mislead him.

Should any farmer be foolish enough to believe that he is not protected by the present Republican Protective Tariff, let him glance at the following list of dutiable articles, with amount of duty appended, on some of the products of the farm, and then ask himself how he would feel in the event of the anti-protective Mills bill becoming a law?

Animals, live, 20 per centum *ad valorem*.  
Hams and bacon, 2 cents per pound.  
Cheese, 4 cents per pound.  
Butter, 4 cents per pound.  
Lard, 2 cents per pound.  
Wheat, 20 cents per bushel.  
Rye and barley, 10 cents per bushel.  
Barley, pearled, patent, or hulled, one-half cent per pound.  
Barley malt, 20 cents per bushel.  
Indian corn or maize, 10 cents per bushel.  
Oats, 10 cents per bushel.  
Cornmeal, 10 cents per bushel.  
Oatmeal, one-half cent per pound.  
Rye flour, one-half cent per pound.  
Wheat flour, 20 per centum *ad valorem*.  
Potato or corn starch, 2 cents per pound; rice starch, 2½ cents per pound; other starch, 2½ cents per pound.  
Rice, cleaned, 2½ cents per pound; uncleaned, 1½ cents per pound.  
Rice flour and rice meal, 20 per centum.  
Hay, \$2 per ton.  
Honey, 20 cents per gallon.  
Hops, 8 cents per pound.  
Milk, preserved or condensed, 20 per centum.  
Pickles and sauces, 35 per centum.  
Potatoes, 15 cents per bushel.  
Vegetables, 10 per centum.  
Vegetables, prepared or preserved, 30 per centum.  
Vinegar, 7½ cents per gallon.  
Raisins, 2 cents per pound.

## The "Seven" Percentage trick of the Free Traders.

The disingenuous pretence of the Democratic Free Traders that this is not a contest of principle but only of "seven per cent" reduction in tariff rates is well exposed by the *Cleveland Leader*, thus:

The most deceptive misrepresentation of the Free Trade organs in regard to the Mills bill is that which asserts that the bill only proposes an average reduction of 7 per cent in the whole dutiable list, from 47 to 40 per cent, and that, therefore, it cannot be very injurious to the industries of the country.

For the purpose of illustration we will take ten leading articles on the tariff list, and show how they are affected by the Mills bill and its alleged "average reduction" of 7 per cent as follows:

	Present Duty. Per cent.	Mills Bill. Per cent.	Reduced Per cent.
Wool .....	55	free	—
Salt .....	40	free	—
Sugar .....	82	68	14
Rice .....	100	100	—
Lumber .....	17	free	—
Tinplates .....	34	free	—
Hemp and flax ..	20	free	—
American fruit ..	35	free	—
Cutlery .....	35	35	—
Earthenware ...	55	40	15

Average,.....47.3 on 10 articles. 60½ on 4 articles. 7½  
24.3 on 10 articles.

This list contains articles that the Mills bill puts on the free list, that it allows to remain as they are, and that it reduces, and is a fair and illustrative selection of the whole. Under the present tariff the average duty on the ten articles is 47 per cent and a fraction, just what the Democratic Free Traders claim. If the Mills bill passes, the new dutiable list will contain only four of these articles, sugar, rice, cutlery, and earthenware, the average reduction on which, as shown by our table, is 7 per cent and a fraction, just the reduction claimed by Cleveland, Mills & Co. The fair way to strike the average would be on the ten articles in both cases, and that would make the average of the present tariff 47 per cent, and of the Mills bill 24 per cent, and a careful examination of the whole bill shows, as we have stated heretofore, that the reduction, based upon all the articles that have been free-listed, is just about 23 per cent.

The Philadelphia *North American*, replying to the Free Trade Philadelphia *Times*, further ventilates the percentage tricks of the Free Traders as follows:

In order to give the right a chance to prevail, will the *Times* kindly state how it figured out that 42.49 per cent business? When a Free-Trade Democrat echoes that 42.49 per cent story, and is asked to explain what he means, he colors up and refers you to the *Times*, and then when the Free Trade mathematical machine is called upon, it blushes not, neither does it reply, but goes on grinding out the same old falsehood. One Free Trader called upon did make an effort to answer the question, and here is his example:

ARTICLES.	DUTY.
1.....	30 per cent.
1.....	35 per cent.
1.....	40 per cent.
1.....	50 per cent.
1.....	60 per cent.
5 Total.....	215 per cent.

215 divided by 5 equals 43 per cent.

"Then you mean to say that the result of your calculation simply shows the duty remaining on the articles that are not on the free list?"

"Yes, certainly."

"Suppose, then, that all were placed on the free list excepting the last of the five articles which has 60 per cent, would you strike your average as follows: 60 divided by 1 equals 60 per cent?"

"That is correct."

"Well, how about all the articles that are placed on the free list?"

"Oh! it is Free Trade so far as they are concerned."

"Well, if it was a matter of wages, and it was your lot to be numbered with those on the free list—those who received nothing—would it be any satisfaction to you to know that the other fellows got 43 per cent or 60 per cent?"

"Can't say that it would."

"Then what sense is there in talking about an average in which you do not share?"

"I must admit, not much."

"Now, suppose there were ten industries before the Mills Bill tried to kill them off, and that they were protected by duties as follows:

Industries.	Duties.	Industries.	Duties.
1.....	30 per cent.	1.....	35 per cent.
1.....	35 per cent.	1.....	40 per cent.
1.....	40 per cent.	1.....	50 per cent.
1.....	50 per cent.	1.....	60 per cent.
1.....	60 per cent.	—	—
1.....	30 per cent.	10 Total.....	430 per cent.

"430 divided by 10 equals 43 per cent. The Mills Bill comes along, strikes off the duty on the first five industries, and allows it to remain on the last five. What would be the true and honest method of ascertaining the per cent of duty remaining? It would be as follows:

Articles.	Duties.	Articles.	Duties.
1.....	0 per cent.	1.....	30 per cent.
1.....	0 per cent.	1.....	40 per cent.
1.....	0 per cent.	1.....	50 per cent.
1.....	0 per cent.	1.....	60 per cent.
1.....	0 per cent.	—	—
1.....	35 per cent.	10 Total.....	215 per cent.

"215 divided by 10 equals 21.5 per cent. It is, however, a sin of the greatest magnitude that men who set themselves up as public teachers will resort to tricky arithmetic when the livelihood and happiness of this great nation of workers are at stake. The arithmetic in both of the examples is impracticable, for in neither case does it protect the industries which the Free Trade Mills bill opens to Free Trade competition. No matter what the arithmetic makes the average, the industries killed by the Mills bill do not share in that average.

"When the Mills bill throws you out of work and out of wages, and your children are crying for bread, precious comfort it will give you to learn that your neighbor over the way is feeding his children with a big percentage of ham and eggs."

## PART IV.

### Increase in Farms, Farm Acreage, Farm Values, Production and Prices of Farm Products, and Decrease in Prices of all the Farmer wants to Buy—Decline of Agriculture in Free-Trade England.

In the House of Representatives, April 20, 1884, Hon. Frank Hiscock of New York made a speech in which he proved the enormous increase in American farm production and the advancement in price of farm products under the Republican American protective system. Said he:—

The enlargement of production since 1860, from the increase of agricultural machinery, from the stimulus to home consumption by extension of manufactures and greater ability to consume largely through high wages of labor, is a wonder to Americans as well as to the world at large, and from some of the statements made on this floor it would seem to be unknown to several participants in this discussion.

#### Increase in farms, farm-areas, and production, 1860 to 1880.

The increase in farms and farm-areas from 1860 to 1880 is as follows:

	1860.	1880.
Number .....	2,044,077	4,008,907
Acres improved .....	163,110,720	294,771,042
Total acres .....	407,212,533	536,081,835

Production has increased in far greater ratio than farms or acreage. Corn advanced from a product of 838,792,742 to 1,754,591,876, or 109 per cent; wheat, from 173,104,924 to 459,483,137 bushels, or 165 per cent; all cereals taken together, from 1,239,039,439 to 2,697,580,229 bushels, or 118 per cent. Cotton, in 1860, had reached an unprecedented production with a rapidity that had been phenomenal. The crop of 1859 amounted to 4,669,770 bales. Though its cultivation almost ceased for four years, it had risen to 5,761,252 bales in 1879, and to 6,949,756 in 1882.

Fifty years ago 60 per cent of our agricultural exports was cotton. Now, while it is nine times as much in value, it constitutes only a third of the values of agricultural exports. In the same time the increase in value of meat and breadstuffs has been thirty-fold. The exports of cotton were very heavy in 1859-60, amounting to \$191,806,555 in value, but in 1883 the value was \$247,326,721, though the consumption of cotton in American manufactories was enlarged in still

greater proportion, from 422,704,975 to 750,343,981 pounds, with very rapid increase since 1880. In the same period the increase of exports of agricultural products was from \$256,500,772 to \$619,269,449.

The product of wool is four times as much as in 1860 (it was 241,000,000 pounds in 1880), of improved quality, making the strongest and most durable cloth of any manufacturing country in the world, and needing no admixture of foreign wools. In 1860 we imported half the woollen goods consumed in cloth and wool. Now we produce about four-fifths of the consumption, and the small proportion imported is largely carpet wools of too low a grade for civilized agriculture to produce. It is true that there is a small quantity of superfine wool introduced, ours being principally of medium fineness.

The production of meat has been enlarged beyond the increase of numbers of cattle or the increment of population to be fed. Recent investigation in the Department of Agriculture has made the increase of value of cattle, by improvements in breeding upon the original stock, the sum of \$287,000. The cattle exported from New York in 1881 averaged \$93.65 and those from Boston \$99.68, being mostly high-grade shorthorns, while the unimproved Spanish cattle exported from Florida averaged but \$14.09 and those from Texas but \$16.84. The cattle exported in 1860 averaged only \$33.26 per head, while the exportation of 1882 averaged \$77.93 per head.

The price also indicates the great improvement in quality, as well as the stimulus of increased home consumption supplemented by the enlarged foreign demand. The Chicago prices of beeves in 1860 ranged from \$1.90 to \$3.75 per hundred; in 1882 extra beeves reached \$6.85 per hundred.

#### Increased Value and Prices.

The exports of animals in their products was in 1860 but \$20,402,312. In 1881 it was \$175,584,760. And now, sir, I propose to make a comparison of values and prices. In comparing the values of products of 1860 with those of 1880 the influence of railway extension and industrial prosperity are shown in their effect on prices. It is seen that prices of many products were high in 1860 on the seaboard, and low in the interior. In December of 1860 oats in New York were 37 cents per bushel; in Chicago, 17 cents. Corn was 68 cents in New York; in Chicago, 27 cents. Wheat was \$1.35 in New York; in Chicago, 75 cents.

In 1880 the aggregate value of the products of agriculture was more than double the aggregate for 1860. The comparative values of some of the principal products are as follows:

PRODUCTS.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Cereals ....	\$558,345,836	\$1,320,930,517	\$1,468,603,793
Cotton .....	211,516,625	271,636,121	309,696,500
Hay .....	152,671,168	410,146,545	369,958,158
Potatoes ..	44,459,547	81,848,474	95,304,844
Tobacco ...	21,710,473	38,758,215	43,189,951
Total ....	\$988,703,640	\$2,132,319,872	\$2,286,842,846

#### Farm prices, 1860 to 1882.

And now, sir, I want to call attention to farm prices in 1860, 1880, and 1882. I think, sir, I have heard it said we could not obtain them; and now bear in mind it is not the seaboard price which is to control—it includes transportation from the farm—but the price at the market point to the producer must be taken. I have worked this out at the cost of considerable labor, and I challenge its examination. If any one will take the prices current, at the nearest market in the various producing sections, of the various products, he will reach the same results; and while my average is lower than at some favored points he will find the prices for the different years will at the same points bear usually the same comparative relations to each other, and this must be remembered in the comparison of prices which I shall make:

Average farm values of products in 1860, 1880, and 1882.

CEREALS.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Wheat, per bushel.....	\$0 72.0	\$0 95.1	\$0 89.2
Corn, per bushel.....	43.0	39.6	48.4
Oats, per bushel.....	25.0	38.0	37.5
Rye, per bushel.....	52.0	76.6	61.5
Buckwheat, per bushel.....	54.0	69.4	72.9
Barley, per bushel.....	55.0	66.6	62.8
Potatoes, per bushel.....	40.0	48.3	55.7
Tobacco, per pound.....	05.0	08.2	08.4
Cotton, per pound.....	09.3	09.8	09.9
Hay, per ton.....	8 00.0	11 65.0	9 70.0

**Butter and cheese production.**

The butter production of farms, as reported by the census of 1880, was 459,681,372 pounds. Inclusive of that, not entering into the farm enumeration, the entire product of the United States was about 500,000,000 pounds. In 1880 the amount returned from farms and factories was 794,672,071. The total product of the country was about 900,000,000 pounds.

The average price of butter exported in 1860 was 15 cents. As only the poorer qualities were exported, the average farm price is a little higher than the sea-board price of export butter, and I estimate it at 18 cents. The range of recent prices is from 9 to 40 on the farm, with much higher rates for a small quantity of "gilt-edged" samples, yet the average is still low, but is not less than 21 cents for 1880 and 22 cents for 1882.

The export price in these years respectively was 17.1 and 18.5 cents per pound.

The production of cheese advanced from 103,633,927 pounds in 1860 to 243,157,850 in 1880. Including a little unenumerated, the actual production would be about 130,000,000 and 300,000,000 respectively.

The average prices were about 9½ cents in 1860, 9½ in 1880, and 10.5 in 1882. There was a partial glut in 1880, which reduced the price. The export prices of cheese are a little higher than farm prices—10 cents in 1860, 9½ cents in 1880, and 11.2 in 1882.

As a rule prices of butter are much higher in recent years than twenty-five years ago. Cheese is now about 10 per cent higher, as an average.

**Values of our farm production and an advancement of prices.**

The value of all productions of agriculture for 1879, exclusive of about \$400,000,000 of corn and hay consumed in the production of meat, was, approximately, \$3,600,000,000. This includes all meat products, milk consumed, fruit, and various minor products not included in the census tabulation of 1880. Of this about \$400,000,000 (farm value) was exported, leaving \$3,200,000,000 for domestic consumption. This gives about 11 per cent for exportation, which is more than usual, the range of recent years being 8 to 10 per cent.

In 1859 the production aggregated a value of about \$1,600,000,000, of which nearly \$200,000,000 was exported, leaving for home consumption a value of \$1,400,000. The per capita value of this consumption is nearly \$45 in 1860 against \$35 in 1850.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I invite the closest examination of the figures I have presented, and they prove, sir, an enormous increase in our farm production and an advancement of price.

**Increased value of farms and farm products in protected America—Agricultural decline in free-trade England.**

Said Representative Kasson of Iowa, in his speech in the House, March 27, 1884:

Has this [protective] system which you [free traders] so violently condemn impeded the development of the country? If I look in your books on political economy I perhaps should answer "Yes." I prefer to look into my own book, which is the history

of the United States as disclosed by the census taken under the law. I inquire, first, as to the effects upon that class of population with which I have been identified, and which you say suffers most of the burdens and injustices. I find that the value of the farms of the country in 1860 was \$3,200,000,000, rising to \$7,000,000,000 in 1870, and in 1880 to \$10,197,000,000. The gross value of their products in 1860 was not returned, but is estimated at \$1,400,000,000; in 1870 it was \$1,800,000,000, and in 1880 \$2,200,000,000. And just here let me re-enforce my statement respecting the growth of agriculture in this country by an extract from the British Agricultural Commission's report in 1882, in which this sentence occurs: "It is safe to say that for the last two years the agriculture of America has been at the very flood-tide of its prosperity." So even the census of 1880 has not fully told the magnificent story of our agricultural development under this system of "robbing" the farmers, our foreign rivals being the witnesses.

But what is the condition of the same agriculture under free trade in England, where the farmers, instead of being "robbed" by protection, have the blessings of free trade? Let the great free-trade organ of England, the *London Times*, tell the story in its issue of April 19, 1882. Its four-column article is under the title "Agricultural Decline in England," and is a review covering thirteen years. It declares that England now has about \$40,000,000 less value of live-stock, and a further loss of \$20,000,000 in grain crops, irrespective of the falling-off in yield per acre planted. That paper says sadly, in summing up: "We present the above statements illustrating the decline in agricultural wealth and production, leaving to farm occupiers and their landlords to consider how far the facts constitute an indictment against their craft, or only a record of its misfortunes."

Now put in contrast with this what is said by the British Agricultural Commission of our agriculture in its report of the same year, 1882: "It is safe to say that for the last two years the agriculture of America has been at the very flood-tide of its prosperity."

Which system has "robbed the farmer" or plundered the poor? Which has proved most beneficial to the farmer?

**Everything the farmer sells has gone up in price—Everything he buys has gone down.**

Representative Brumm, of Pennsylvania, in his speech before the House, May 1, 1884, said:

I remember very well, and I want you farmers to remember—I remember very well in my short lifetime when it took a good cow to buy a good cooking-stove. To-day a good cow will furnish the best kitchen in the land with cooking-stove and all the utensils necessary for a well-regulated kitchen.

I worked for years as a watchmaker, and I remember well when it took a good horse to buy a good clock, and to-day the price of a good horse will set you up in a respectable watch and clock business. Clocks for a dollar. A good horse is all the way from \$250 to \$1,000.

Why, sir, it used to take, in my short lifetime, a whole calf to buy a saw. To-day you can buy the best of Dimston's make for the hide of a calf.

I remember when it took a pound of the best butter to buy a pound of nails. To-day you can buy a pound of nails with a quart of skimmed milk.

Yet you talk about protection to the farmer. Where has his commodity fallen in price? Every other commodity has fallen by reason of protection, while the farmer has always held his own, or rose steadily from year to year.

Representative Browne, of Indiana, in his speech of April 30, 1884, on the Morrison horizontal-reduction tariff bill, said,—

What is our own experience? I will not repeat the figures so often given, but the fact dare not be controverted that under our protective system labor and the farm product have constantly been advancing, while every manufactured product has been cheapening in price. Farm labor has gone up 100 per cent

*and more within forty years. Cereals, poultry, beef, pork, hay, the product of the dairy, every thing the farmer puts on the market has gone up, while wools, cotton goods, hats, shoes, agricultural implements, every manufacture, indeed, the laboring man buys has steadily gone down.*

Mr. Chairman, I remember when, as a boy, forty years ago, I stood behind the counter of a country store in my district; we bought butter at from 5 to 10 cents per pound, eggs at 3 to 6 cents per dozen, chickens at 75 cents to \$1 per dozen, pork at from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per hundred net, and other farm products at prices equally low. These products have advanced three to four hundred per cent since then. On the other hand, cotton fabrics, such as prints, brown sheetings, tickings, drills, etc., that sold then at 12 to 15 cents per yard, are to be had to-day in the same market for from 6 to 9 cents. There have been like reductions in the prices of lawns, cassimeres, cloths, flannels; but I need not give details, as these facts stand admitted. The conclusion is clear; we can safely continue a policy that has brought these conditions to the country.

**Dutiable agricultural products—The foreigner bears the burden of the duties which protect the American farmer.**

Representative Chace of Rhode Island, in his speech before the House, April 16, 1884, said:

Below are the totals given in a table, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, showing the amounts of dutiable agricultural products imported into this country during the years 1882 and 1883, and the rate and amount of duties collected on them. Among them are \$4,000,000 worth of live animals, \$12,667,000 worth of bread-stuffs and farinaceous foods, \$18,000,000 worth of fruit, nearly \$1,000,000 worth of hay, more than \$1,000,000 of potatoes, and \$1,800,000 worth of provisions, including \$839,000 worth of butter. Included in the item of bread-stuffs is \$1,893,406 worth of rice, the duty on which is a direct protection to the Southern farmer. East Indian rice is worth in bond in New York from 2½ cents to 2¾ cents per pound wholesale, the duty being 2½ cents per pound, and the average ad valorem rate last year being 114.8 per cent. The average duty on fruits was 25.35 per cent, on sugar and molasses 52.88 per cent, and 31.17 per cent of all the duties collected was on agricultural articles. A favorite method of figuring with the free-trade doctrinaires is to assume that if an article is imported on which there is a duty, that fact is proof that all such articles produced and consumed in this country are enhanced by so much. I annex a table, prepared by the Agricultural bureau, showing that the gross agricultural products of this country in 1882 amounted to \$3,600,000,000; the average duties, being 31 per cent, would amount to \$1,116,000,000: either an utter absurdity, or we are paying our farmers a great bonus. It is pure nonsense. *The fact is, the foreigner generally pays the whole or a part of the duty on all articles.*

## PART V.

**A Distinguished Democrat admits that Protection Cheapens all Articles used by the Farmer and others—The Farmer will soon Demand more Protection for the Home Market.**

Representative and Ex-Senator Eaton, of Connecticut, in spite of threats to read him out of the Free-Trade Democratic Party if he dared to utter even a part of the truth as to the benefits of Protection, said, in his speech in the House, May 1, 1884:

The duty, then, of the patriot alone has gone by. As a patriot alone I would not have this question before Congress; but now I come to it as a party man, a Democrat of forty years' standing — yes, sir; of forty

years' standing, — and I am to be read out of the party, am I? . . .

But to the members of this House I desire to address myself, to those who are talking of robbery, of plunder, corruption, stealing, and thievery. There is not a single article bought in the South, from the wagon that draws the farmer's cotton to the markets to the pin that his wife uses, that is not 100 per cent cheaper than it was fifteen years ago. No matter how wrong the principle of protection may be, that is the fact. I grant you that it is wrong, but the fact remains the same. *It has cheapened every thing under God's heavens that men, women, and children use in this land — every thing.* And there is reason for it. . . .

Talk about the cotton of which my shirts are made. There is 50 per cent duty on that cotton. And it cannot be made anywhere on God's great earth except in New England; it cannot be made for the same money anywhere else. I know it; I assert it; I defy contradiction from anybody and anywhere. Take the Collins axes that have driven the English axes out of England and Scotland and Ireland, and the Swiss axe out of Switzerland, and yet there is a duty of 50 per cent on the Collins axes made in my county, their office under mine. There is not an axe that can be sold anywhere on the face of the earth in competition with the Hartford axe, and yet they pay, permit me to say, to meet the argument of my friend from New York, they pay for what is called raw material — and it is not raw material; it is material, but not raw — they pay duty on their iron and steel, and yet make an axe which has driven every manufacturer of every other country out of the market.

I assert it as a fact, for I brought it to the attention of the State Department when I occupied a very honorable position in the other branch as head of a committee, that the trade-marks of Massachusetts and Connecticut are stolen by Great Britain to-day — four in my own State, and four in the State of Massachusetts; that she cannot sell her own wares in her own country without stealing the trade-marks of the United States. (Applause.)

These are facts and ought to be known. . . .

Now a little story. Mr. Lincoln used to point an argument with a story. Suppose I do it, although I know it will not be as good as his stories were. There was a certain professor in my county, a theorist of the first water, a man who does not know any more about the practical tariff than I know about the Hebrew that he is well acquainted with. This professor came up into a large manufacturing village in my county to make a theoretical speech, such a one as my friend from Ohio (Mr. Hurd) delights in. There was a farmer standing by a post in the lecture-room, and the professor thought he might be a good subject to operate upon; so he said to him, "My friend, you are a farmer?" — "Yes." — "You live here?" — "Yes." — "Do you know these manufacturers in this village are robbing you?" "Why, no, I do not know it. How can they rob me?" I came here ten years ago with \$500; I bought a farm, running in debt \$2,500 for my farm and stock. I went to work raising truck for this village. I paid my debt and have got money in the savings bank, and do not owe any man a dollar. How have they ruined me?" The professor said, "Well, it appears you have been a hard-working man and have lived it through. But you pay six cents a yard duty for the very cloth your shirt is made of." "Well, professor," replied the farmer, "you may think so, but you cannot prove it by your algebra or your logarithms; you cannot prove it unless by *Æsop's Fables*, for I did not give but five cents a yard for the cloth." (Great laughter.)

**Our farmers' foreign market vanishing before the competition of Russia and India. — They will soon want more protection for the home market.**

Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, April 15, 1884, said:

I have said that our wheat-growers are in more danger from Russia than from India, and this is true. Southern Russia is one immense body of prairie land, as fertile as and in all respects resembling the rich wheat-fields of Illinois. The aggregate of Russia's

production of wheat for export has hitherto been limited by the want of agricultural machinery, railroads leading to the nearest seaports, and a system of elevators. When these improvements shall be introduced, in connection with the little better than Indian wages that are paid to Russian peasants, the foreign market for grain produced on our high-priced land, and at from one to two thousand miles from ports of shipment, will not pay the cost of production and transportation.

But it will be asked, is there danger of the establishment of such means of competition? No reply to this question. I beg leave to tell gentlemen that the Russian government has been and is again in negotiation with American parties to establish in the heart of this great wheat-growing country factories for the production of agricultural implements, to undertake the construction of railroads over the level surface of this prairie land, and of systems of elevators at convenient points along the railroads, and in the shipping ports to which they will lead. *I am no prophet of evil, no Cassandra, and have not risen to say to our farmers this overwhelming competition is your inevitable and immediate fate; my mission is now, as it has been for all the years of my mature life, to avert, if wise counsels can do it, such disaster to any portion of the American people.*

And Representative Evans, of Pennsylvania, April 22, 1884, during the same debate, said:

*It is the opinion of the best-informed political economists that the farmer will soon need a much higher protection on his cereal products to prevent importation of like products into this country to feed the millions of our people who are employed in manufactures and different pursuits other than agriculture. It is an admitted fact that we can no longer rely upon a foreign market for their consumption. British America, India, Australia, and Russia are building railroads and improving their facilities to make cheaper transportation.*

India alone has increased her exports of wheat enormously in the last four years. In 1880 she exported 4,000,000 bushels; in 1881, 12,000,000 bushels; and in 1883, 36,000,000 bushels. Her soil is fertile and well adapted to wheat-raising. It is said that the rates of freight from India and Russia to Liverpool are no higher than from the United States to Liverpool. Her rate of wages, although having risen 100 per cent in the last thirty years, is now about eight cents per day; farm labor can be had for five cents per day.

It is with this pauper labor we will have to compete in our exports of grain; and at the rate they are increasing their annual products, we will not only be compelled to give up the foreign market, except in times of failure, but they will be knocking very soon at the doors of our ports with their cereal products. Then you will find that the farmer will plead as he has never pleaded before for protection, and instead of twenty cents per bushel on wheat and barley he will want perhaps three times that amount. It is said that wheat can be produced at a profit in India for thirty cents a bushel.

Representative Russell, of Massachusetts, also said during that debate:

India is displacing the old rude implements of agriculture with new and modern ones, improving her lands by irrigation, and pushing railroads into the wheat-growing sections of the country. A new railroad line now constructing from Calcutta will open an outlet for from fifty to eighty million bushels per year. Another proposed line would draw traffic from 27,000 square miles of wheat cultivation, or more than 17,000,000 acres, capable of producing 150,000,000 bushels per year, thus increasing rapidly her growth and exports of wheat.

\* There are nearly twice as many agricultural producers in the fourth class as are found in the first, yet the crops of the million are worth much more money than all the results of labor of the two million workers. The class that has 53 per cent in agriculture makes \$101 per annum more than that which has 77 per cent, and the class with the lower average of 42 per cent gets \$133 above the earnings of that which averages 53 per cent in agriculture.

## PART VI.

### Values in Agriculture enhanced by Increase of Non-Agricultural Population — Values of Farm-Lands.

In his valuable report for December, 1883, Mr. J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the Agricultural Department at Washington, D.C., demonstrates a fact of great interest to the American farmer, to wit, that "values in agriculture are enhanced by increase of non-agricultural population."

#### Comparison between States.

He takes Virginia and Pennsylvania as preliminary examples to test the truth of that law. Says he:

More than half of the people of Virginia are farmers; only one in five of the Pennsylvanians are engaged in agriculture. Does the greater number in the former State make a greater demand for land and a higher price by reason of the competition? No; the competition is between one farmer and another in the sale of produce for which there is no near market; and the cheapening of products also cheapens the acres on which they are grown. So, Virginia farm-lands are valued at \$10.89 per acre, while those of Pennsylvania command \$49.50. So says the census of 1880. It also says that the average farm-worker of Virginia produces crops worth \$180, while the Pennsylvania agriculturist gets \$431. Why is this? Because of the other four mouths seeking to be filled and competing for the supply. Besides, high prices are a stimulus to large production, and fertilizers are more abundant in a district full of towns and villages.

Then, to more fully test the accuracy of the law which he announces, he divides the States and Territories of the United States into four classes—the first having less than 30 per cent engaged in agriculture; second, those with 30 and less than 50 per cent; third, those with 50 and less than 70 per cent; and fourth, those having 70 per cent and over, being almost exclusively agricultural States—and obtains the following verification of that law:

#### Summary.\*

CLASSES.	Number of States and Territories.	Acres.	Value.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
First class..	15	77,250,742	\$2,985,641,197	\$38 65	18
Second class	13	112,321,257	3,430,915,767	30 55	42
Third class.	13	237,873,040	3,212,108,970	13 53	58
Fourth class	6	108,636,796	562,430,842	5 18	77

The tabulations from which the above summary is compiled are given below, and they prove very clearly that "as the proportion of agricultural to other workers diminishes, the value of land increases, but in a much higher ratio."



**1st Class\*—States and Territories with less than 30 per cent of their total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
District of Columbia.....	18,146	\$3,632,403	\$200 18	2
Massachusetts.....	3,359,079	146,197,413	43 52	9
Rhode Island.....	514,813	25,882,079	50 27	0
Colorado.....	1,163,373	25,100,223	21 55	13
Nevada.....	530,862	5,408,325	10 19	13
Arizona.....	135,573	1,127,946	8 32	15
New Jersey.....	2,929,773	190,895,833	63 16	15
Wyoming.....	124,433	835,895	6 72	18
Connecticut.....	2,453,541	121,063,910	49 34	18
Montana.....	493,682	3,224,504	7 97	20
New York.....	23,780,754	1,056,176,741	44 41	20
Pennsylvania.....	19,791,541	975,689,410	49 30	21
California.....	16,593,742	292,031,282	17 39	21
Idaho.....	627,798	2,832,800	4 54	23
Maryland.....	5,119,831	165,505,341	32 33	28
Total.....	77,250,742	2,985,641,197	\$38 65	18

**2d Class\*—States and Territories with 30 and less than 50 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per Acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
N. Hampshire.....	3,721,173	\$75,834,389	\$20 38	31
Delaware.....	1,090,245	36,789,072	33 74	33
New Mexico.....	631,131	5,514,399	8 74	35
Maine.....	6,552,578	102,357,615	15 62	35
Utah.....	655,324	14,015,178	21 38	36
Ohio.....	24,529,226	1,127,497,353	45 97	40
Oregon.....	4,214,712	56,908,575	13 50	40
Washington.....	1,409,421	13,841,222	9 82	42
Michigan.....	13,807,240	499,103,181	36 15	42
Illinois.....	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31 87	44
Wisconsin.....	15,353,118	357,700,507	23 30	47
Vermont.....	4,882,588	109,346,010	22 40	47
Dakota.....	3,800,656	22,401,084	5 89	49
Total.....	112,321,257	3,430,915,765	\$30 55	42

\* "In this list the most diverse conditions are represented. On one extreme the District of Columbia has but 18,146 acres of agricultural land, which is valued at \$200 per acre as suburban property under the shadow of a large city. On the other, small areas in the Territories are surrounded by immense bodies of unoccupied lands, which are given away by the United States Government, keeping the prices of cultivated farms low, though they are rising with great rapidity. California and Colorado are similarly situated, yet further advanced in point of time and in development of industries, and of course showing higher prices. In the States in which there is no public land to depress prices, there is no average that is not higher than the general average of the next class of States having 30 to 50 per cent in agriculture; the range of prices is from \$32.33 per acre in Maryland to \$65.16 in New Jersey. Though New Jersey has 15 per cent in agriculture, the influence of the adjacent populations of Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn reduces practically her percentage to a lower proportion than Massachusetts and Rhode Island."—*Mr. Dodge's Report, Dec. 1883.*

† "This list embraces also a few of the Territories and a State or two in which the unoccupied public lands continue to depress prices of farm-lands."—*Ibid.*

**3d Class—States with 50 and less than 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
Virginia.....	19,835,785	\$216,028,107	\$10 89	51
Missouri.....	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47	51
Minnesota.....	13,403,019	103,724,260	14 45	52
Indiana.....	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11	52
Louisiana.....	8,273,506	58,980,117	7 13	57
Iowa.....	24,752,700	507,430,227	22 92	57
Nebraska.....	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65	59
W. Virginia.....	10,193,779	133,147,175	13 06	61
Kentucky.....	21,495,240	299,298,631	13 92	62
Florida.....	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15	64
Kansas.....	21,417,468	235,178,936	10 98	64
Tennessee.....	20,666,015	206,749,837	10 00	66
Texas.....	36,292,219	170,468,886	4 70	69
Total.....	237,873,040	3,218,108,970	13 52	58

**4th Class—States having over 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
Georgia.....	26,043,282	\$111,910,540	\$4 30	72
N. Carolina.....	22,363,558	135,793,602	6 07	75
S. Carolina.....	13,457,613	68,677,482	5 10	75
Alabama.....	19,955,334	78,954,648	4 19	77
Mississippi.....	15,855,462	92,844,015	5 86	82
Arkansas.....	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16	83
Total.....	108,936,706	562,439,842	5 18	77

**Comparisons within each State.**

In his February, 1884, number, Mr. Dodge continues his interesting statistical investigations, thus:

In the December number it was shown conclusively, by figures of the census of 1880, that increase of non-agricultural population enhances prices of lands and farm products. There was found a relation, other things being equal, of such prices to relative numbers of agriculturists and other workers. The larger the proportion of farmers, the smaller were found values in agriculture. Now, in view of the above considerations of nearness of producers to consumers, it is important to know whether, within the States, the proximity of different classes of workers increases locally such prices. It would be reasonable to suppose it would.

To test the supposition by the figures of the census which show the value of the products of manufacture, which represent usually the largest element in non-agricultural industry, let us take the principal manufacturing counties, average the value of their farm-lands, and compare the result with the average value of all the remaining farm-lands within the State.

There is a great difference in the aggregate value of manufactures of the different States. Mississippi and Nevada have no county with \$1,000,000 worth of manufactured products. Massachusetts has only two with less than \$10,000,000, and has one with \$134,567,625. Therefore it is necessary, in a comparison between the principal manufacturing counties and those of less importance, to take a different minimum of value in Alabama, as a line of separation, from the minimum taken for Massachusetts. The minimum proposed for each of the States south of Pennsylvania

and the Ohio River is \$1,000,000. Each county having not less than that amount of value in manufacturing production is placed in a group, and the average value of their lands compared with the average value of all the remaining lands in the State.

Then the agricultural States, in which other industries are more important, are allowed a minimum of \$2,000,000 per county. In this group come the thriving North-western States, new and largely agricultural, yet progressive, and already diversifying their industries, rural and manufacturing, quite rapidly. They are Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, and California is classed with them.

Then come the four States of the Ohio Basin, which lie between the river and the Great Lakes, which are already prominent in industrial development. It is necessary to make \$5,000,000 the minimum, so general is the distribution of the industries. With Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois are placed

the States of Northern New England; viz., Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

In a fourth group, comprising each of the Middle States, having a larger industrial development, \$10,000,000 per county will make a fair exhibit of the more advanced industrial counties.

These four groups comprise all the States, except those in Southern New England, which have a very exceptional degree of industrial advancement. In these, Connecticut has three of her eight counties, with more than \$25,000,000 each. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island the minimum is fixed at \$60,000,000.

The result of this comparison shows, in every State, without exception, a higher average value of farm-land in that portion of each State which makes the largest value of the products of manufacturing industry. These two sections of each State are contrasted in the following statement, which also gives the totals for each State, as follows:

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State.

STATES.	Number of Counties.	Value of Products of Manufactures.	Total Land in Farms.	Value of Farm Lands.	Value per Acre.
<b>Alabama:—</b>			<i>Acres.</i>		
Manufacturing counties .....	2	\$2,785,685	481,484	\$3,152,779	\$6 55
Other counties .....	64	10,779,819	18,373,850	75,801,869	4 13
Total .....	66	13,565,504	18,855,334	78,954,648	4 19
<b>Arkansas:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	1,859,198	173,305	2,058,079	11 87
Other counties .....	73	4,896,901	11,888,152	72,191,576	6 07
Total .....	74	6,756,159	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16
<b>California:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	6	96,217,320	2,116,416	79,972,137	36 37
Other counties .....	46	20,601,653	14,477,325	186,079,145	12 78
Total .....	52	116,218,973	16,593,742	266,051,282	15 79
<b>Colorado:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	2	10,383,397	78,317	3,460,553	44 19
Other counties .....	29	3,876,762	1,087,056	21,648,670	19 91
Total .....	31	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,109,223	21 55
<b>Connecticut:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	122,572,296	967,946	69,537,959	71 84
Other counties .....	5	63,124,915	1,485,505	51,625,951	34 68
Total .....	8	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49 34
<b>Delaware:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	17,805,608	253,039	18,757,836	73 87
Other counties .....	2	2,708,830	836,306	18,031,836	21 56
Total .....	3	20,514,438	1,090,245	36,789,672	33 74
<b>Florida:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	1,366,785	5,759	83,200	14 45
Other counties .....	38	4,179,663	3,291,565	20,208,635	6 14
Total .....	39	5,546,448	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15
<b>Georgia:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	7	19,331,004	995,971	9,181,254	9 22
Other counties .....	130	17,109,344	25,047,311	102,729,286	4 10
Total .....	137	36,440,348	26,043,282	111,910,540	4 30
<b>Illinois:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	10	340,527,740	4,470,503	196,518,392	43 96
Other counties .....	92	74,336,933	27,203,142	813,076,188	29 89
Total .....	102	414,864,673	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31 87
<b>Indiana:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	7	73,220,591	1,509,599	74,233,562	49 21
Other counties .....	85	74,779,820	18,912,384	561,002,549	29 66
Total .....	92	148,000,411	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11
<b>Iowa:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	9	37,355,066	3,018,517	97,434,304	32 28
Other counties .....	90	33,690,860	21,734,183	469,195,923	21 62
Total .....	99	71,045,926	24,752,700	567,430,227	22 92

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State. — Continued.

STATES.	Number of Counties.	Value of Products of Manufactures.	Total Land in Farms.	Value of Farm Lands.	Value per Acre.
			<i>Acres.</i>		
Kansas:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	5	16,050,363	1,006,965	24,699,803	24 53
Other counties .....	99	14,793,414	20,410,503	210,479,133	10 31
Total .....	104	30,843,777	21,417,468	235,178,936	10 98
Kentucky:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	10	56,659,426	1,571,585	57,335,970	36 48
Other counties .....	107	18,823,951	19,923,665	241,962,661	12 14
Total .....	117	75,483,377	21,495,240	299,298,631	13 92
Louisiana:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	2	20,456,396	49,075	1,010,663	20 59
Other counties .....	56	3,748,787	8,224,431	57,978,454	7 05
Total .....	58	24,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7 13
Maine:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	5	58,246,405	2,288,037	50,607,054	22 12
Other counties .....	11	21,583,388	4,264,541	51,750,561	12 14
Total .....	16	79,829,793	6,552,578	102,357,615	15 62
Maryland:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	8	101,635,101	1,904,199	93,199,562	48 94
Other counties .....	16	5,145,462	3,215,632	72,393,779	22 49
Total .....	24	106,780,563	5,119,831	165,593,341	32 33
Massachusetts:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	4	453,300,760	1,292,876	74,819,191	57 87
Other counties .....	10	177,774,518	2,066,203	71,378,224	34 55
Total .....	14	631,135,284	3,359,079	146,197,415	43 52
Michigan:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	6	74,928,516	1,500,690	60,373,468	40 23
Other counties .....	72	75,780,509	12,306,550	438,729,713	35 65
Total .....	78	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,203,181	36 15
Minnesota:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	6	55,507,084	1,508,251	39,581,999	26 24
Other counties .....	72	20,558,114	11,894,768	154,142,261	12 96
Total .....	78	76,065,198	13,403,019	193,724,260	14 46
Missouri:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	9	139,598,517	2,309,339	49,433,922	21 41
Other counties .....	106	25,787,688	25,569,937	328,199,385	12 76
Total .....	115	165,386,205	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47
Nebraska:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	2	5,866,751	495,434	9,456,461	19 09
Other counties .....	68	6,760,585	9,449,392	96,476,080	10 21
Total .....	70	12,627,336	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65
New Hampshire:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	5	60,258,153	1,880,602	47,725,874	25 38
Other counties .....	5	13,719,875	1,840,571	28,108,515	15 27
Total .....	10	73,978,028	3,721,173	75,834,389	20 38
New Jersey:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	6	208,670,151	368,675	35,562,438	96 46
Other counties .....	15	45,710,085	2,661,098	155,333,395	60 65
Total .....	21	254,380,236	2,929,773	190,895,833	65 16
New York:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	13	806,651,665	4,981,545	310,699,132	62 37
Other counties .....	47	184,044,931	18,799,209	745,477,609	39 65
Total .....	60	1,080,696,596	23,780,754	1,056,176,741	44 41
North Carolina:—					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	4,141,335	542,488	3,550,625	6 55
Other counties .....	91	15,953,702	21,821,070	132,242,977	6 06
Total .....	94	20,095,037	22,363,558	135,793,602	6 07

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State. — *Concluded.*

STATES.	Number of Counties.	Value of Products of Manufactures.	Total Land in Farms.	Value of Farm Lands.	Value per Acre.
<b>Ohio:—</b>			<i>Acres.</i>		
Manufacturing counties .....	12	240,632,186	3,388,305	229,903,034	67 85
Other counties .....	76	98,666,204	21,140,921	897,504,319	42 46
Total .....	88	348,298,390	24,529,226	1,127,497,353	45 97
<b>Oregon:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	5,543,941	678,769	13,123,679	19 33
Other counties .....	20	5,387,291	3,535,943	43,784,896	12 38
Total .....	23	10,931,232	4,214,712	56,908,575	13 50
<b>Pennsylvania:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	13	566,122,801	3,030,549	340,912,032	86 73
Other counties .....	54	148,695,644	15,860,792	634,777,378	40 02
Total .....	67	744,818,445	19,791,341	975,689,410	49 30
<b>Rhode Island:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	82,083,318	193,544	11,180,688	57 77
Other counties .....	4	22,080,303	321,269	14,701,396	45 76
Total .....	5	104,163,621	514,813	25,882,079	50 27
<b>South Carolina:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	8,384,219	1,471,846	8,387,900	5 70
Other counties .....	30	8,353,789	11,985,767	60,289,582	5 03
Total .....	33	16,738,008	13,457,613	68,677,482	5 10
<b>Tennessee:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	4	19,003,353	1,119,004	19,955,465	17 83
Other counties .....	90	18,071,533	19,547,911	156,794,872	9 56
Total .....	94	37,074,886	20,666,915	206,749,837	10 00
<b>Texas:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	5,139,720	554,512	5,671,879	10 23
Other counties .....	207	15,580,208	35,737,707	164,797,007	4 61
Total .....	210	20,719,928	36,292,219	170,468,886	4 70
<b>Utah:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	1,933,221	51,320	1,932,585	37 66
Other counties .....	22	2,391,771	604,204	12,082,593	20 00
Total .....	23	4,324,992	655,524	14,015,178	21 38
<b>Vermont:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	6,244,391	344,860	10,368,736	30 07
Other counties .....	13	25,109,975	4,537,728	98,977,274	21 81
Total .....	14	31,354,366	4,882,588	109,346,010	22 40
<b>Virginia:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	6	33,731,492	1,624,304	19,429,261	11 96
Other counties .....	93	18,049,500	18,211,481	196,598,846	10 80
Total .....	99	51,780,992	19,835,785	216,028,107	10 89
<b>West Virginia:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	2	11,207,436	244,624	11,955,131	48 87
Other counties .....	52	11,659,690	9,940,155	121,192,044	12 18
Total .....	54	22,867,126	10,183,779	133,147,175	13 06
<b>Wisconsin:—</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	15	96,101,406	4,720,777	159,941,426	33 88
Other counties .....	48	32,154,074	10,632,341	197,768,081	18 60
Total .....	63	128,255,480	15,353,118	357,709,507	23 30

The reader will observe that in every State there is a difference in value of lands in favor of the manufacturing counties, and that where there is little manufacturing there is small difference, and where the

products of manufacture are of large value lands bear a high price. That this differentiation may be easily seen, the following classification is made:

## Statement showing higher land values in manufacturing counties.

## FIRST GROUP.

STATES.	Manufacturing counties.		Other counties.	
	Acres.	Value per acre.	Acres.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts .....	1,292,876	\$57 67	2,066,203	\$34 55
Rhode Island .....	193,544	57 77	321,280	45 76
Connecticut .....	987,946	71 84	1,435,595	34 68
New York .....	4,981,545	62 37	18,799,209	39 65
New Jersey .....	368,675	96 46	2,561,068	60 65
Pennsylvania .....	3,930,549	88 73	16,860,792	40 02
Delaware .....	253,939	73 87	836,306	21 56
Total .....	11,989,074	\$71 85	41,930,472	\$40 33

## SECOND GROUP.

Maine .....	2,288,037	\$22 12	4,264,541	\$12 14
New Hampshire .....	1,880,602	25 38	1,840,571	15 27
Vermont .....	344,860	30 07	4,637,728	21 81
Ohio .....	3,388,305	67 85	21,140,921	42 48
Michigan .....	1,500,690	40 23	12,306,550	85 65
Indiana .....	1,508,599	49 21	18,912,384	29 66
Illinois .....	4,470,503	43 96	27,203,142	29 89
Total .....	16,381,596	\$43 54	90,205,837	\$32 03

## THIRD GROUP.

Wisconsin .....	4,720,777	\$33 88	10,632,341	\$18 60
Minnesota .....	1,508,251	26 24	11,894,768	12 96
Iowa .....	3,018,517	32 28	21,734,183	21 62
California .....	2,116,416	36 37	14,477,326	12 78
Total .....	11,363,961	\$32 90	58,738,618	\$17 14

## FOURTH GROUP.

Maryland .....	1,904,199	\$48 94	3,215,632	\$22 49
Virginia .....	1,624,304	11 96	18,211,481	10 80
North Carolina .....	542,488	6 55	21,821,070	6 06
South Carolina .....	1,471,846	5 70	11,985,767	5 03
Georgia .....	995,971	9 22	25,047,311	4 10
Florida .....	5,759	14 45	3,291,565	6 14
Alabama .....	481,484	6 55	18,373,850	4 13
Louisiana .....	49,075	20 59	8,224,431	7 05
Texas .....	554,512	10 23	35,737,707	4 61
Arkansas .....	173,395	11 87	11,888,162	6 07
Tennessee .....	1,119,004	17 83	19,547,911	9 56
West Virginia .....	244,624	48 87	9,949,155	12 18
Kentucky .....	1,571,585	36 48	19,923,655	12 14
Missouri .....	2,309,339	21 41	25,569,937	12 76
Kansas .....	1,006,965	24 53	20,410,503	10 31
Nebraska .....	495,434	19 09	9,449,392	10 21
Colorado .....	78,317	44 19	1,087,056	19 91
Oregon .....	678,769	10 33	3,535,943	12 38
Utah .....	51,320	37 66	604,204	20 00
Total .....	15,358,390	\$21 95	267,874,722	\$8 27

## Variation by States and Groups.

These States aggregate the value of \$5,336,465,954 in products of manufactures, the grand aggregate in 1880 being \$5,369,579,191 for all the States and Territories of the United States. Now the eighteen States and one Territory in the group which has the least manufactures, produce a value of \$676,427,860, or 12.6 per cent of the total for the United States, a fraction of 1 per cent for each State. These may well be considered agricultural States.

The third group includes four States, also essentially agricultural — Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and California — in which there is a quite general determination not to remain in the category of one-idea communities in industrial development. They have \$391,585,577 in manufacturing production, or 7.3 per cent of the grand aggregate for the whole country.

The second group is rounding into symmetry in industry and realizing the benefits of such a status in high prices of lands and

farm products, and rapid increase in wealth and culture. This class includes the States north of the Ohio River—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois—and also Northern New England. These seven States return a production of \$1,247,046,686, which is 23.2 per cent of the whole. These may be deemed industrial as well as agricultural.

But there are seven other States in which the industries are more equally balanced than

any other, which make more than half the industrial production of the United States, worth \$3,021,405,831, or 56.3 of all. These are found in Southern New England and the Middle States, and may properly be grouped together.

They include all manufacturing production except six-tenths of one per cent, scattered through two States and nine Territories. The tabulation by States is as follows:

**Aggregate value of products of agriculture by States, acres of land in farms, and value of farm lands, by States and groups of States.**

**FIRST GROUP.**

STATES.	Value of products of manufacture.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts.....		<i>Acres.</i>		
Rhode Island.....	\$631,125,284	3,359,079	\$146,197,415	\$43 52
Connecticut.....	104,163,621	514,813	25,882,079	50 27
New York.....	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49 34
New Jersey.....	1,080,696,596	23,780,754	1,056,176,741	44 41
Pennsylvania.....	254,380,236	2,929,773	190,895,833	65 16
Delaware.....	744,819,445	19,791,341	975,889,410	49 30
	20,514,438	1,090,245	36,789,672	33 74
Total .....	\$3,021,405,831	53,919,546	\$2,552,695,060	\$47 34

**SECOND GROUP.**

Maine.....	\$79,829,793	6,552,578	\$102,357,615	\$15 62
New Hampshire.....	73,978,028	3,721,173	75,834,389	20 38
Vermont.....	31,354,366	4,882,583	109,346,010	22 40
Ohio.....	348,293,390	23,529,226	1,127,497,353	45 97
Michigan.....	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,103,181	36 15
Indiana.....	148,006,411	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11
Illinois.....	414,864,673	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31 87
Total .....	\$1,247,046,686	105,587,433	\$3,558,969,239	\$33 71

**THIRD GROUP.**

Wisconsin.....	\$128,255,480	15,353,118	\$357,709,507	\$23 80
Minnesota.....	76,065,198	13,403,019	193,724,260	14 45
Iowa.....	71,045,926	24,752,700	587,430,227	22 92
California.....	116,218,973	16,593,742	262,951,282	15 79
Total .....	\$301,585,577	70,102,579	\$1,380,815,276	\$19 70

**FOURTH GROUP.**

Maryland.....	\$106,780,563	5,119,831	\$165,503,341	\$32 33
Virginia.....	51,780,992	19,835,785	216,028,107	10 89
North Carolina.....	20,065,037	22,363,558	135,793,602	6 07
South Carolina.....	16,738,008	13,457,613	68,677,482	5 10
Georgia.....	36,440,948	26,043,282	111,910,540	4 30
Florida.....	5,546,448	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15
Alabama.....	13,565,504	18,555,334	78,954,648	4 19
Louisiana.....	24,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7 13
Texas.....	20,719,928	36,292,219	170,468,886	4 70
Arkansas.....	6,756,159	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16
Tennessee.....	37,074,886	20,686,915	206,749,837	10 00
West Virginia.....	22,867,126	10,193,779	133,147,175	13 06
Kentucky.....	75,483,377	21,495,240	299,298,631	13 92
Missouri.....	165,386,205	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47
Kansas.....	30,843,377	21,417,468	235,178,936	10 98
Nebraska.....	12,627,336	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65
Colorado.....	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,109,223	21 55
Oregon.....	10,931,232	4,214,712	56,908,575	13 50
Utah.....	4,324,992	655,624	14,015,178	21 38
Total .....	\$676,427,860	283,233,112	\$2,552,840,616	\$9 01

## PART VII.

**The Farmer's Income — Values of Farm Products Enhanced by Increase of non-Agricultural Workers — Comparative Tables.**

In the last part it has been shown that the higher the proportion of non-agricultural population, the greater the value of the land to its owner. We shall now find from the same authority, in following tabulations compiled in his December, 1883, report, from the census of 1880, that in the cultivation of the soil, the farmer, even though he be not the land-owner, obtains an annual product of higher value where the proportion of non-agricultural workers is greater than that of agricultural workers.

**Comparison by States.****SUMMARY.**

CLASSES.	Number engaged in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.	Proportion of workers in agriculture.
First class.....	1,060,681	\$484,770,797	\$457	<i>Per cent.</i> 18
Second class.....	1,566,875	616,850,959	394	42
Third class.....	3,017,971	786,681,420	261	58
Fourth class.....	2,024,966	324,237,751	160	77

**1st Class — States and Territories with less than 30 per cent of their total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
District of Columbia.....	66,624	1,464	2	\$514,441	\$351
Massachusetts.....	720,774	64,973	9	24,160,881	372
Rhode Island.....	116,979	10,945	9	3,070,135	335
Colorado.....	101,251	13,539	13	5,035,228	372
Nevada.....	32,233	4,180	13	2,855,449	683
Arizona.....	22,271	3,435	15	614,327	179
New Jersey.....	396,879	59,214	15	27,650,756	501
Wyoming.....	8,884	1,639	18	372,391	227
Connecticut.....	241,333	44,026	18	18,010,075	409
Montana.....	22,255	4,513	20	2,024,923	449
New York.....	1,884,645	377,460	20	178,025,695	472
Pennsylvania.....	1,456,067	301,112	21	129,760,478	431
California.....	376,505	79,396	21	59,721,425	752
Idaho.....	15,578	3,858	25	1,515,314	393
Maryland.....	324,432	90,927	28	28,839,281	317
Total.....	5,780,710	1,060,681	18	\$484,770,797	\$457

**2d Class — States and Territories with 30 and less than 50 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
New Hampshire.....	142,468	44,490	31	\$13,474,330	\$303
Delaware.....	54,580	17,549	33	6,320,345	354
New Mexico.....	40,822	14,139	35	1,897,974	134
Maine.....	231,993	82,130	35	21,945,489	267
Utah.....	40,055	14,550	36	3,337,410	229
Ohio.....	994,475	397,495	40	156,777,152	394
Oregon.....	67,343	27,091	40	13,234,548	489
Washington.....	50,122	12,781	42	4,212,750	330
Michigan.....	569,204	240,319	42	91,159,858	379
Illinois.....	999,780	436,371	44	203,980,137	467
Wisconsin.....	417,455	195,901	47	72,779,496	372
Vermont.....	118,584	55,251	47	22,082,656	400
Dakota.....	57,844	28,508	49	5,648,814	198
Total.....	3,764,725	1,566,875	42	\$616,850,959	\$394

**3d Class—States with 50 and less than 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
Virginia .....	494,240	254,099	51	\$45,726,221	\$180
Missouri .....	692,959	355,297	51	95,912,660	270
Minnesota .....	255,125	131,535	52	49,488,951	376
Indiana .....	635,080	331,240	52	114,707,082	346
Louisiana .....	363,228	205,306	57	42,883,522	209
Iowa .....	528,302	303,557	57	136,103,473	448
Nebraska .....	152,614	90,507	59	31,708,914	350
West Virginia .....	176,199	107,578	61	19,360,049	180
Kentucky .....	519,854	320,571	62	63,850,155	199
Florida .....	91,536	58,731	64	7,439,392	126
Kansas .....	322,285	206,080	64	52,210,361	253
Tennessee .....	447,970	294,133	66	62,076,311	211
Texas .....	522,133	359,317	69	65,204,329	181
Total .....	5,201,525	3,017,071	58	\$786,081,420	\$261

**4th Class—States with over 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.**

STATES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
Georgia .....	507,862	432,204	72	\$67,028,929	\$155
North Carolina .....	480,187	360,937	75	51,729,611	143
South Carolina .....	392,102	294,602	75	41,108,112	140
Alabama .....	492,790	380,630	77	56,872,994	149
Mississippi .....	415,506	339,938	82	63,701,844	187
Arkansas .....	260,692	216,655	83	43,796,261	202
Total .....	2,689,139	2,024,966	77	\$324,237,751	\$160

In commenting on the latter table, Statistician Dodge makes some remarks which the South would do well to heed. "In the almost exclusively agricultural States," says he, "the range of income per man is quite uniform, from \$140 in South Carolina to \$202 in Arkansas, the average of all being \$160. It may be claimed that labor, from climatic or race considerations, is less efficient than in other States, but it is evident from the small areas planted, except in cotton and corn, and the small products gathered, that the lack of diversity in industry, and even of variety in agriculture, is dwarfing the magnificent productive resources of this great belt of States. The wisest and brightest of these farmers have reiterated this sentiment for a generation, and many are acting on it; but the reflex influence of manufactures and mining would accomplish more for agriculture than the most persistent direct efforts for the improvement of agriculture."

In his report of February, 1884, Mr. Dodge makes the following comments touching the farmer's income:

The fact that the group of States where industry is most diversified (those having only 18 per cent of all workers engaged in agriculture) afford \$457 per annum to each one, while the agricultural States, having 77 per cent in agriculture, allow an annual income of only \$160, is too significant to be explained away, too convincing for pretence of cavil. It stands as proof of the necessity of symmetry and complete-

ness of the productive system, and as a forceful illustration of the solidarity of the industries.

Full acceptance of the truth that increase of non-agricultural workers enhances values in agriculture, as proven by this grouping of facts, has been nearly universal. Two or three objections have been obscurely hinted, and may be easily answered.

If it should be objected that production on high-priced lands requires expenditure for labor, let us be thankful that the laborer shares the advantage of the farmer, and that higher values of products admit of higher wages of labor. If it be said that fertilizers cost money and reduce profits, it should be remembered that some States which use the largest proportion of fertilizers are in the list of lowest incomes, and exclusively agricultural districts. It may be said that the States of large incomes have the largest expenditure for agricultural implements. The difference is a trivial one, and yet it is one of the evidences of thrift and progress, and one of the means of enlarged production. All of these aids to production are abundant in thriving and prosperous districts, and ominously scarce in those where a worker produces less than \$200 per annum, or else absent altogether. There is no money for hired labor, for fertilizers or farm implements, in many a district exclusively agricultural.

But suppose some objector should cap the climax of absurdity by hinting that the interest on \$40, or \$2.40 per acre, is too great a burden to be borne in comparison with 30 cents on land worth \$5 per acre. The small boy of the farm would say at once that his father and grandfather had always lived on it and paid no interest, but that the value it represented had accrued under their good management and the stimulus of diversified industry about them. He would say that 160 acres and the stock upon it would command \$10,000 at any time, while the owner of the \$5 land could not get \$2,000. One has had comfort and culture, and the other deprivation — facts which tell the story of superior profit with a clearness that no sophistry can obscure.

It is like the growth of a city newspaper to an



ultimate value of \$500,000 parallel with the progress of a city which sustains it, while a country journal at the same time attains a value of \$10,000. The proprietor would scarcely feel impoverished because his accrued capital represents a large annual interest, or desire greatly a change of place with the owner of the less valuable establishment.

It is a little like the increased valuation of a slave in 1860, worth \$1,000 with cotton at 10 cents per pound, over his value in 1845, of \$500, when cotton would bring only 5 cents, except that he has grown older with less producing power, while the improved farm has advanced in fertility and in real capacity for production. Yet he is worth more, because the product of his labor brings twice as much money, and represents a capital that can be realized.

The experience of Western pioneers furnishes a strong illustration of the reality and profit of the advance in values by increase of population and the stimulus of activity. They enter homesteads in part from a desire for a home and farm, and in large part from the expectation of increased selling value; as settlement progresses, roads are built, schools established, and the neighborhood enriched and beautified. The original price being nominal, the advance is rapid, with general settlement and cultivation. Not unfrequently, in fifteen to twenty years, lands costing \$1.25 are readily salable at \$20 per acre. This is the case in many parts of the West. Investments are made by non-residents, to take advantage of the inevitable rise caused by the labor of others. One such owner of Iowa lands, after paying taxes for fifteen years, was astonished to find that land for which he had paid \$6 per acre would scarcely command the original price. A group of such investors owning a large slice of a county happened to be located together, all distant non-residents, and each depending in vain upon his neighbors for the improvements which were to enrich him. It is a great pity that the land speculators were not always thus placed by themselves. Their lands would not long be held unimproved.

The objection to which these illustrations make answer is as futile and unreal as the fancied burden of taxes to a rich tax-payer.

#### Comparisons within each State.

Pursuing the investigation from the variations between the States to those between localities within the State, Mr. Dodge proceeds:

While the four groups of States arranged with reference to the proportion of workers in agriculture show the steep gradation, in annual income of the worker, of \$457, \$394, \$261, to \$160, as the proportion in agricultural pursuits rises from 18, 42, 58, to 77 per cent of all persons reported in occupations, it is admitted that other causes come in to produce local variations. Were the presence of non-agricultural population—the fact of diversity in industry—the only cause of varying prices of lands or agricultural income, the difference would exactly accord with the relative proportion of farmers, which is not the case. The figures above show, however, that it is the predominant, controlling cause.

Pennsylvania has 20 per cent in agriculture; her farm lands are worth \$49.30 per acre. Iowa has 57 per cent in rural occupations, and her lands are valued at \$22.92. In annual income, however, Iowa distances every State in her class with \$448, while the average is only \$261, and Pennsylvania's is \$431. It is because of the fertility of Iowa soil, rich prairie areas instead of sterile mountain slopes, the ease and cheapness of cultivation, and the enterprise of a superior class of farmers. It is a case exceptional in the extreme, and the only State of thirteen in this class that approaches closely a comparison with Pennsylvania in income.

Referring to Missouri, adjoining Iowa, a State of varied resources, with lands as a whole not so easily opened or so cheaply cultivated, we find 51 per cent in agriculture, lands averaging \$13.47 per acre and producing \$270 per capita. Manufactures are more diffused through Iowa than Missouri, exclusive of the commercial and manufacturing city, St. Louis, which communicates with and benefits Southern Iowa perhaps even more than Southern Missouri. The condition of

agriculture is generally more advanced in Iowa, the average rate of production somewhat higher, and the profits of agriculture are therefore greater.

The prevalence of other industries develops mechanical skill, stimulates invention of labor-saving appliances, and gives more symmetrical practical culture to hand and brain. This is a prominent cause of the vast difference between sections almost wholly agricultural, and those in which exist harmonious and full development of the other industries. It gives more production per capita, while home markets make higher prices. Isolation tends to rust and decay; contact of industrial ideas and prevalence of mechanical skill tend to labor-saving ingenuity and manual dexterity in the work of agriculture. While various causes of difference in average incomes are admitted, the controlling influence of diversity in industry is undeniably established by the striking fact, that the average income of no State in the fourth class comes up to the average (\$261) of the third; not one in the third attains the average (\$394) of the second; and only two of the second, Illinois and Oregon, reach the average (\$457) of the first class.

## PART VIII.

### Wages of Farm Labor.\*

In the same report, Statistician Dodge pursues his inquiry further and proves that the farm laborer is also benefited by increased wages wherever there is an increased proportion of non-agricultural to agricultural workers. That protection fosters manufactures and increases the non-agricultural population, none would dream of denying. The statistics given in this chapter therefore prove beyond a doubt that protection does not protect merely those engaged in manufacturing the articles which are protected by the tariff, but that it protects the owner of the farm, the cultivator of the farm, and the farm laborer, each and every one of them. Says Mr. Dodge, who treats the matter as one of pure statistics, and not of politics:

Having shown that the value of the farm and the income of the farmer are enlarged by increasing the proportion of non-agricultural laborers in a State, it is important to inquire whether the farm laborer shares in the advantage to the owner and cultivator of the soil. Fortunately a definite answer can be given from repeated and trustworthy returns of the wages of farm labor to the Department of Agriculture.

In 1870, when wages and prices generally were high, the average wages of farm labor in the first or manufacturing class of States was \$34, while in the last, exclusively agricultural class, it was but \$15. When the panic came, and years of manufacturing depression followed, mechanics and artisans competed with farm laborers and reduced the price of rural labor. It is a fact that prices at different times furnish an accurate measure both of the industrial status of the laborers and the prosperity of the great industries of the country.

In 1882 the wages of agricultural labor averaged nearly \$25 in the first and second class, \$19.50 in the third, and \$13.20 in the fourth. The demand for wheat and corn, beef and pork, the product of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other States of the second class, to supply home, Eastern, and foreign markets, brought up the value of farm labor to an equality with wages in the States of the first class. The scarcity of laborers, who prefer farms of their own, also contributed to high rates in this class. Where more than half of the workers are farmers, the competition of laborers reduces inevitably the rate of wages. So we find that where the proportion reaches three-fourths, the reduction usually amounts to 50 per cent.

\* The enhanced wages of farm labor under the Republican American Protective Tariff System is treated more fully in the chapter, following this, on "The Protected American Laborer."

**Hon. Warner Miller's report on 5,000  
Farmers' letters.**

**Farmers of America demand more  
Protection instead of less.**

The great majority of these letters express the conviction that the tariff, notwithstanding defects and omissions, has contributed powerfully to the growth and welfare of agriculture. Few are hostile or indifferent. An overwhelming majority of the writers realize that the protective system, by building up other industries, has enormously enlarged the demand for agricultural products. While increasing the demand, it has greatly diminished the number of those who would otherwise have been forced, for lack of other employment, to crowd into agriculture and to compete with each other in supplying that demand. It has helped to bring to this country nine million immigrants since its adoption, and during the past fifteen years not one in twelve of them have been farmers, farm laborers, or shepherds; out of 6,000,000, more than 5,500,000 have been of other occupations. It has especially aided the development of manufactures and mining near the farms, so that the safest and most profitable of all markets for farm products has been enlarged. Thus in the ten great farming States of the West, the increase in acres of improved land in farms from 1860 to 1880 was 160 per cent. A growth so remarkable could not have occurred without disaster to farmers, indeed, it would have been utterly impossible, if there had not been a far more rapid growth of other branches of industry. For during the same years, and in the same great farming States, the hands employed in manufactures increased 261 per cent, the wages paid to them increased 303 per cent, and the materials used in manufactures, bought mainly from farms, increased 389 per cent. The wages which manufacturing hands in these States had to spend, mainly in buying farm products, averaged \$1.10 for each improved acre in 1860, and had risen to \$1.71 for each improved acre in 1880. The value of materials purchased for manufacture in these States, mainly from farms, averaged \$4.02 for each improved acre in farms of those States in 1860, but had risen to \$7.58 for each improved acre in farms in 1880. The following tables, prepared from census reports, verify these statements:

These were referred to a committee of men of national reputation.—Senators, Governors, Representatives, and others of various States of the East and West—port thereon to the entire body of Americans. The report was agreed to and by the committee, Messrs. Warner, Cyrus C. Carpenter, John T. Rich, Morse, Edw. Burrough, J. D. Lyman, Hale, and William M. Grosvenor, Jan. 18, and the following is taken from it:

FARMS. Acres improved land.		MANUFACTURES. Hands employed.	
1880.	1860.	1880.	1860.
18,081,001	12,625,394	183,699	75,602
13,933,738	8,242,183	69,508	21,295
8,298,862	3,476,296	77,591	23,190
26,115,154	13,096,374	144,727	22,968
9,162,528	3,746,167	57,109	15,414
19,864,541	4,792,792	28,372	6,307
7,246,693	558,250	21,247	2,123
5,504,702	118,789	4,793	336
10,736,566	405,468	12,062	1,735
16,745,031	6,240,871	63,995	19,681
States.....	135,691,906	663,013	188,651
	Increase of 160 per cent.		Increase of 251 per cent.
MANUFACTURES. Wages paid.		MANUFACTURES. Value materials used.	
1880.	1860.	1880.	1860.
\$62,103,800	\$22,302,989	\$215,334,256	\$69,800,270
21,960,888	6,318,335	100,262,917	27,142,597
23,313,692	6,735,047	92,900,269	17,633,611
57,429,085	7,637,921	289,843,967	35,558,782
18,814,917	4,284,708	85,798,178	17,137,334
9,725,962	1,922,417	48,704,311	8,612,259
8,613,094	712,214	55,660,681	1,904,070
1,742,311	105,332	8,208,478	237,215
3,995,010	880,346	21,453,141	8,612,259
24,309,716	6,669,916	110,798,392	23,940,941
States.....	\$232,009,465	\$1,028,962,530	\$210,490,338
	Increase of 303 per cent.		Increase of 339 per cent.

The farmers see that the rapid increase of agricultural production here, which has been the wonder of the world, could not have occurred without ruining farm-owners and degrading farm labor, had not the still more rapid and more wonderful development of other industries been encouraged by protection. But the letters urge with great unanimity that farm as well as other labor needs direct defence, and for the same reason. For all American labor has in common the responsibilities and burdens of citizenship to bear. There is no justice in forcing it to compete at any point with the labor of serfs or slaves, crofters or coolies. The American worker rightly claims, with his position as a self-governing citizen, a measure of independence in his industry, of comfort in his home, of respectability in his circumstances, of education for his children, of time for acquiring information. These are rights. Their denial tends to undermine intelligent and self-respecting citizenship, and threatens the safety of the Nation. . . .

#### Gaps in the Farmers' Barriers.

But the barrier around farming industry, at all points relatively low, has many gaps, partly from early oversight and partly from mistaken revision within the past few years. Even at this hour, some important products of American farms are undersold in many of our cities and towns by the products of ill paid or unpaid labor. Onions from Spain and Egypt appear in markets as far west as Chicago. Tobacco raised by coolies in Sumatra lessens the reward of American growers. Wool clipped by slaves, by convicts, or by creatures scarcely less degraded, stops wool-growing by an army of American farmers, and sends 6,000,000 sheep to the slaughter. Potatoes and cabbages by the cargo, from places where women work daily in the fields, come hither as ballast, with eggs by the shipload from Holland, cattle from Mexico, and barley from Canada. The home market, which the farmer defends for other labor, he must at some points fight for with his worst rivals. Debasing competition with the worst-paid labor in the world, from which he helps to shield other industries, is suffered to beat down his rewards.

Thousands of farmers therefore appeal, through the letters considered, to all other farmers throughout the country, to unite in demanding for their great industry, not only indirect benefits, but the fair measure of direct protection it deserves. They urge that fraudulent or law-evading importations of cattle, tobacco, and wool should be stopped; that duties on farm products should be so arranged as to give farmers more varied opportunities to secure fair returns; that heavy taxes now paid by consumers, of which farmers pay nearly half, should be repealed, since they are no longer needed for revenue; that the protecting arm of the government should be extended as well to farmers near the seaports and the Canadian or Mexican border as to those of the interior. Prostration of agriculture at any point involves overcrowding elsewhere. . . .

#### Cattle fraudulently imported.

1. The fraudulent importation of cattle for slaughter, across Northern and Southern boundaries, on pretence that they are for breeding purposes only, and by law free of duty, should be effectually prevented. It is quite enough that 73,000 head were last year imported at a duty of only 20 per cent, which would be thought scanty protection for any other industry. But 12,000 head were brought in from Mexico, professedly for breeding; and many more from Canada, though American producers have for years been unable to get living prices. The collapse of extensive speculations in cattle and ranches caused a great number of animals to be sacrificed at low prices; and though consumers gained relatively little, one of the chief industries of the country was rendered almost wholly unprofitable. The greatest danger will come if similar speculations arise in Mexico or Canada. At their collapse, immense numbers of cattle may again be forced upon our market, in spite of the low duty, which will then prove no protection. But the fraudulent evasion of the law already increases, and can be indefinitely extended. The act leaves to collectors at all points a discretion which has been often, and can be extensively, abused, as to the evidence they may require that importations are for breeding only. Rulings of the department could afford but a temporary

and partial defence. The law itself should rigidly prescribe the evidence to be given, if any animals not of certified pedigree are to be admitted free of duty. It should not be forgotten that countless herds are north and south of us, and a loose law might at any time bring disaster to a great industry.

#### Grain must be Protected.

2. The duty on barley should be raised to equal that on wheat; viz., 20 cents per bushel, with a proportionate increase in the duty on barley malt. Over 10,000,000 bushels of barley were imported during the last fiscal year, and probably over 13,000,000 during the last calendar year, while in 1886 the home production was 59,000,000 bushels. The regions in which it may be most profitably grown have their prices fixed in great markets which Canadian producers can reach by water, while most of our own producers cannot. The Canadian neighbors who seize American fishing vessels, in disregard of the reasonable interpretation of existing treaties, are the only people whom an additional duty on barley would disturb. To thousands of farmers near the border the opportunity to raise this crop in measurable safety from ruinous competition would be most welcome. To the argument that duties on cereals have no effect, it is a sufficient answer that wheat in Minnesota is now worth 10 cents per bushel more than wheat across an imaginary line in Manitoba. The existing duties on other cereals are of practical benefit and should be maintained.

#### Gardens can be made to pay.

3. The duty on potatoes and market garden products, which at times can be brought hither in ballast in almost unlimited quantities, should be large enough to insure a fair defence to farmers near the seaboard and border. The farmer has to pay American, not foreign workers, to employ capable and independent workers, and not mere slaves of the soil. Whenever there is a surplus in any other land fronting on the Atlantic, or when vessels coming to our ports find no paying cargoes, the farmer is likely to find his only markets gorged with foreign supplies, thrust upon buyers at less than the bare cost of production here. He cannot know when the season begins what quantities his market will demand of his products, for the quantities brought from abroad depend, not upon American wants, but upon the other cargoes offered ocean vessels, or upon the crops abroad. Even when he loads his products for market, he cannot know that a ship may not arrive the same day with such quantities as to glut the market for a week. In one month, last November, there were imported 773,000 bushels of potatoes, averaging less than 31 cents per bushel. In four days of January the imports at New York alone were 149,000 bushels, from Scotland 68,000, from Holland, Denmark, and Germany 13,000, and from other distant countries. Against such killing competition it is no wonder that American market gardeners do not thrive, and supplies for Eastern cities and manufacturing centres are always liable to be scarce and dear, while agriculture is getting starved out of seaboard States. It is no wonder that the four States of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania each raised fewer potatoes than they did 20 years ago; in 1859 their product was 44,139,700 bushels, in 1885 only 39,576,000, and in 1886 and 1887 about the same. Nor is this the only product which has been made scarce for consumers by open doors to foreign producers and uncertainty for home production. Onions and cabbages, now free, are brought by vessels from great distances; thousands of crates in a single recent cargo of onions from Spain; about 1,000,000 bushels of beans and peas were imported within the year just closed; 90,000 tons of hay, even in a year when in every part of the country our own crop was full; and probably over 18,000,000 dozen eggs. The effect of these imports, coming without warning and at most irregular times, is to destroy the only home market left for more than half a million farmers near the seacoast. Cheap transportation makes them powerless to compete in many great products with Western farmers; ballast-bearing ships leave only a ferry between them and the worst-paid labor of Europe. It is believed that all farmers throughout the country will unite to support the prayer of hundreds from seaboard and border States that a moderate protection be given in the only industry left them, that duties of 25 cents per bushel on onions and 25 per

bages, 30 per cent on fowls and poultry and ables in natural state or in salt or brine not provided for," 5 cents per dozen on eggs, 20 n beans and peas, \$3 per ton on hay, 10 cents on hops, and 25 cents per bushel on potatoes, d; and that no duty on market garden produ- tutable be removed or reduced. It is fur- mended that wherever duties are needed to it-growers near seacoast or border against ul influence of foreign competition, such mposed; that the duty on dairy products be i, and that the oleomargarine law be sup- d enforced, as well for the protection of as for the defence of producers.

#### Why burn our flax?

More than 1,000,000 tons of flax straw goes to be burned in Western States, worth, if pre- 1,000,000; while we pay \$16,000,000 to foreign r linen goods, besides duties amounting to which the Government does not want, and ost wholly fail to encourage the linen manu- The committee believes, as many farmers he duties on flax should be raised, with the inen goods manufactured from flax, to such to afford effectual encouragement both to ation of the fibre and to the manufacture of Home manufacture has made cotton goods re than they are abroad, and the woollen t largely worn quite as cheap here as in any try, and silk goods 30 per cent cheaper than in 1860, but the linen manufacture has never iraged by similar duties. The market has o the foreign producers, and linen goods are 5 per cent dearer here than abroad. The o secure permanent cheapness is to develop e manufacture to use up the fibre already t home, but now wasted.

#### A Bounty to Sugar-Growers.

More than 279 of the 326 farmers who refer at duties on sugar ask the abolition of those hey state with truth that these duties take couple \$58,000,000, of which the farmers pay ; that the Government does not need the ind that, though millions have been paid to encourage sugar-growing in Louisiana, e yield for ten years before the war was glienda, and it has never been as large in vent year. Then 37 per cent of the supply home plantations; now not one pound in entire supply is produced in this country. ut of fifty-one pounds per capita consumed, seven were of foreign growth. German ome producers have proved far more ef- a increase in German production in only ould supply half of the entire consump- country. It is officially reported that the economic production of sugar from sorg- ; last been solved. It is therefore recom- at the duties on sugar and molasses be abol- that a bounty be paid to sugar producers of untry. If it develops a great industry, as has in Germany, the people will be richly it does not the money will not be taken reasury, and the consumers will have saved \$50,000,000 each year.

#### Tobacco Frauds must be Stopped.

Producers of tobacco do not ask any increase but they earnestly desire that the fraudu- ation of coolie-grown tobacco, by which try has been rendered unprofitable, may be more precise language in defining the which existing duties were meant to apply. the price of American leaf tobacco has tly depressed, and from 25 to 40 per cent of tion in some States has been stopped, by aporation of the type commercially known ers," so prepared and packed as to evade t duty on wrappers and to be admitted as unmanufactured leaf" tobacco. Prepared by r in Sumatra, at wages of 7 to 10 cents per abacco is so carefully selected and assorted entation that 4,000,000 pounds imported place of 15,000,000 pounds of American 40 per cent of the entire product of wrap- ough in fact a highly manufactured arti- fraudulently imported as raw material.

Inferior, because of its bitter flavor, to the American leaf displaced, it is preferred only because of its cheapness, and if this country excludes coolies by law, can it justly permit the product of their labor to drive American leaf-growers out of the business, and with them a large part of the highly skilled labor of the farms and the cigar manufactories? The growers therefore ask that the law be so worded that leaf to- bacco, any part of which is suitable for and commer- cially known as wrappers, shall pay, if not stemmed, 75 cents per pound; if stemmed, \$1.00 per pound. They moreover urge that the internal tax on tobacco, which is no longer needed and which burdens con- sumers and limits the consumption, be repealed.

#### Appeal of the Wool-Growers.

7. The wool-growers have especial reasons at this time to appeal to their brother farmers for support. At a time when their industry is depressed, as it hardly ever has been before by foreign competition, permitted by a reduction of duties in 1883, by Treasury rulings since, and by systematic frauds in foreign ports, the President proposes in his annual message the repeal of all duties on wool. In the two years before the change of duty, and in the past two years, the imports for consumption were as follows:

YEAR.	QUANTITIES.	DUTIES.
1881 . . . . .	67,416,967	7.20 cts.
1882 . . . . .	63,016,769	6.11 cts.
Average 2 years . .	65,216,868	6.65 cts.
YEAR.	QUANTITIES.	DUTIES.
1886 . . . . .	107,910,549	4.75 cts.
1887 . . . . .	114,404,174	5.16 cts.
Average 2 years . .	111,157,361	4.95 cts.

Under efficient protection, the production of wool rose from 60,000,000 lbs. in 1860 to 308,000,000 lbs. in 1884, the year after the change of duty. It has since declined to 285,000,000 pounds in 1886, and, according to estimates of the Agricultural Bureau, to 265,000,000 pounds in 1887. Meanwhile the stocks of domestic wool unsold at the close of 1887 are greatly increased: 31,974,000 pounds are on hand, an increase of 6,620,157 pounds, at Boston alone. To the mischief done by reduced duties there is added: first, the great fraud- ulent importation of Donskoi and other washed wool, under pretence that it is unwashed, a systematic fraud by which the United States Consul at Odessa reports to the State Department that the Government has been defrauded for years, and of more than \$15,000,000 in duties. Each pound of foreign wool thus fraudulently imported, already scoured and shrunken, takes the place of two to four pounds of American wool in natural condition.

The imports of woollen rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks rose to 4,902,351 pounds last year. In 1882, when the duty was 12 cents per pound, the imports were only 917,621 pounds. The reduction of duty to 10 cents is not the chief cause. The Treasury Department decided that articles must be admitted for duty under the classes by which they were commercially known. The manufacturers in Europe proceeded to manufacture a finely prepared article which they caused to be commercially known as "ring waste." In condi- tion and value superior to the finest scoured wool, on which the duty is 60 cents per pound, manufactured in great quantities for the express purpose of evading American duty, it is admitted, under the ruling of the Department, as waste at only 10 cents per pound duty. This ruling, moreover, has been sustained by a decision of the United States Court at Philadelphia, and it effectually destroys a large measure of the protection which the reduced tariff was intended to give wool growers. In like manner, decisions admitting worsted mixtures as being, not woollen cloth, but as worsted manufactures, have greatly increased the imports at low duty of fabrics which take the place of home manu- factures from American wool. Thus 30,799,036 pounds of woollen goods and waste, dutiable by the pound, were imported in 1887, against 15,583,968 pounds in 1883, and each pound displaces more than one pound of American wool.

The wool growers who appeal to other farmers throughout the country show that the prostration of their industry is imminent; that they number more than one million, and if forced to give up wool grow- ing must devote their land to other branches of agri-

culture in which competition is already severe enough; that the prostration of the manufacture would also deprive American farmers of a considerable part of their home market, and that, with woollen goods worn by nine-tenths of the people as cheap now as in any other country, quality considered, the consumers have only to pay higher prices if the enormous consumption of this country is to be supplied wholly or in part by foreign looms. They therefore ask a united effort of all farmers to obtain from Congress such action that this industry may receive the substantial protection enjoyed under the tariff of 1867; that the dividing line between

wools paying the highest and those paying the lowest rate of duty be reduced proportionately to the reduction in the price of foreign wool; that washed wool of all classes be subject to twice, and scoured wool to three times the duties on unwashed wool; that mixed wool be charged the highest rate of duty to which any portion of the mixture would be subject, without regard to its commercial name; that the law be so amended as to prevent the admission of clothing wools at the rate charged on carpet wools, and that the rate on rags, shoddy, mungo and waste be such as will effectually discourage their importation.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Protected American Laborer.

*"That policy which secures the largest amount of work to be done at home, is the policy which will secure to our laboring-man steady employment at the best wages. A policy which will transfer work from our mines and factories to foreign mines and foreign factories inevitably tends to the depression of wages here."* — Benjamin F. Harrison, July 26, 1888.

*"Labor has that in it which cannot be bought and sold. The labor of man is civilization; it is advancement; it is the upward trend of humanity. . . . In whatever field labor may be exercised, it is, and must be, the grandest material human force."* — Senator Platt, April 27, 1888.

*"I am for legislating in favor of my country, her industries, and her institutions, first, last, and all the time. I believe in the old Bible doctrine that, 'he who provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel.'"* — Representative Goff, April 27, 1888.

*"We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we earnestly indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress, in opposing its passage."* — Republican National Platform, 1888.

## PART I.

### Comparative Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in Massachusetts and Great Britain—Increase of Wages in Massachusetts, 1860 to 1881.

That the American Protective Tariff System encourages the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises and hence gives employment to labor is denied by none. That it thereby makes the Nation self-sustaining by diversifying our industries is equally patent. In the preceding chapter its great benefits to the farm-owner and farm-cultivator in all ways—whether as to increased value of his land and its products or as to decreased price of all that he needs must purchase—have been shown beyond cavil. Let us now ascertain how and to what extent this Republican American System benefits and elevates American Labor in all its practical aspects, so that the miserable working classes of Europe lift

their sad eyes with longing gaze toward the fair land where honest toil is respected, adequately compensated, and is a badge of nobility and not of degradation.

As England is the great exponent of the doctrine of Free-Trade, so America is that of Protection. Comparisons, therefore, between the results achieved in these two countries are eagerly sought by the intelligent workingman. It is difficult, of course, in a country so vast as this, with wages of the same kind of labor so much greater in some parts than in others, to make as close a comparison for the study of the laboring man and the political student as could be wished. But it is generally conceded that the fairest comparison of the sort that can be made is that between Massachusetts and Great Britain. Let us then take Massachusetts, and compare twenty-four of the leading industries common to both of them, and we find the following to be the general average weekly and hourly wages paid to all employees therein engaged.

\* General average weekly wage paid to all employees.

INDUSTRIES.	General Average Weekly Wage paid to All Employees.		Percentage of Average Weekly Wage, higher in	
	Mass.	Great Britain.	Mass.	Great Britain.
Agricultural implem'ts..	\$10 25	\$8 85	15.8	.....
Artisans' tools .....	11 80	4 89	141.3	.....
Boots and shoes .....	11 63	4 37	166.1	.....
Brick .....	8 63	4 16	107.5	.....
Building trades .....	14 99	7 21	107.9	.....
Carpetings .....	6 08	4 11	47.9	.....
Carriages and wagons ..	13 80	4 89	182.2	.....
Clothing .....	10 01	6 71	49.1	.....
Cotton goods .....	6 45	4 66	34.4	.....
Flax and jute goods .....	6 46	2 84	127.5	.....
Food preparations .....	9 81	2 72	260.7	.....
Furniture .....	11 04	7 96	38.7	.....
Glass .....	12 28	6 94	76.9	.....
Hats: fur, wool, and silk	11 01	5 51	99.8	.....
Hosiery .....	6 49	4 87	39.0	.....
Liquors: malt and distilled ..	12 87	12 66	1.7	.....
Machines and machinery ..	11 75	6 93	69.6	.....
Metals and metallic goods ..	11 25	7 40	52.0	.....
Printing and publishing ..	11 37	5 52	106.0	.....
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles .....	8 67	4 94	75.5	.....
Stone .....	14 39	8 58	67.7	.....
Wooden goods .....	12 19	5 67	115.0	.....
Woollen goods .....	6 90	4 86	42.0	.....
Worsted goods .....	7 32	3 60	103.3	.....
All Industries .....	\$10 31	\$5 86	75.94	.....

† Average Wages by the Hour.

INDUSTRIES.	MASS.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	Average Wages per Hour.	Wages by the hour higher in Mass. Per Cent.	Average Wages per Hour.	Wages by the hour higher in Great Britain. Per Cent.
Agricultural implements ..	Cts. 17.08	4.2	Cts. 16.39	.....
Artisans' tools .....	19.67	117.1	9.06	.....
Boots and shoes .....	19.56	135.1	8.32	.....
Brick .....	13.48	.....	.....	.....
Building trades .....	24.98	78.4	14.00	.....
Carpetings .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carriages and wagons .....	23.00	153.9	9.06	.....
Clothing .....	17.15	37.1	12.51	.....
Cotton goods .....	10.75	29.2	8.32	.....
Flax and jute goods .....	10.77	104.8	5.26	.....
Food preparations .....	16.35	217.5	4.88	.....
Furniture .....	18.55	22.4	15.16	.....
Glass .....	20.47	.....	.....	.....
Hats: fur, wool, and silk ..	18.35	79.9	10.20	.....
Hosiery .....	10.82	25.7	8.61	.....
Liquors: malt and distilled ..	18.56	.....	.....	.....
Machines and machinery ..	19.72	48.8	13.25	.....
Metals and metallic goods ..	18.91	37.3	13.77	.....
Printing and publishing ..	19.50	90.1	10.29	.....
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles .....	14.45	57.9	9.15	.....
Stone .....	24.10	.....	.....	.....
Wooden goods .....	20.32	.....	.....	.....
Woollen goods .....	11.50	32.5	8.05	.....
Worsted goods .....	12.20	89.7	6.43	.....

These tabulations, the result of painstaking and most intelligent research by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Statistics, exhibit the significant fact that the wages of, or by the hour in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free-Trade Great Britain by about 71 per cent (70.80), and that the wages of labor by the week in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free-Trade Great Britain by about 76 per cent (75.94).

Other careful statistics furnished in the report of the same Bureau for July, 1884, show in a comparison of weekly wage tabulations, that—

Taking the average wages paid to men as 100, in Massachusetts, the ratio of those paid to women is as 51.39 to 100 (that is, the average wages of women are a little more than one-half as much as those paid to men); those paid to young persons 43.04 to 100, and those paid to children 32.15 to 100. In Great Britain the ratio for women is 40.92 (men's wages considered as the unit, or 100), for young persons 29.06 to 100, and for children 9.56 to 100. In Massachusetts, on the average, one woman, one young person, and one child working together would earn as much combined as 1.26 men; in Great Britain they could earn only .79 as much as a man, or 59.4 per cent in favor of the women, young persons, and children of Massachusetts.

And furthermore that—

There is in Great Britain no branch of an indus-

try, of those considered, in which men are employed, in which the prevailing average weekly wage rises above \$20, while in Massachusetts in 8 + per cent of the occupations the average weekly wage exceeds that figure, reaching to \$40, or double the highest weekly average wage in Great Britain.

In Great Britain there is no branch of these industries in which women are paid more than \$6 per week, on an average, while in Massachusetts in 53 + per cent of the various occupations, or branches of industry, the average weekly wage exceeds \$6 per week, reaching as high as \$19, or more than three times the highest occupation average for Great Britain. In Great Britain \$6 is the highest occupation average for young persons in these industries; the occupation average in Massachusetts reaches to \$11, or nearly double the Great Britain highest occupation average for young persons.

In the case of children, the highest occupation average, in the industries considered, for Great Britain is \$2, while in Massachusetts in 94 + per cent of the branches of these industries in which children are employed, the range is higher, reaching \$7 in a small percentage of the occupations.

**The increase of wages of mechanical and factory labor in Massachusetts from 1860 to 1881.**

The following table from the Report of the Massachusetts Labor Statistics Bureau for 1882, develops the increase of labor wages in that State at different periods, from 1860 to 1881 inclusive:

\* Compiled from tabulations pages 300 to 301 of the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1884, furnished by Col. Carroll D. Wright, then Chief of that Bureau.

† Compiled from tabulations, page 304, *ibid.*

Average weekly wage in Massachusetts—1860, 1872, 1878, 1881, from the Report on the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts for 1882.

OCCUPATIONS.	Average Weekly Wage: standard, gold.				Increase for 1881.*
	1860.	1872.	1878.	1881.	
Agriculture:					
Laborers, per month, with board .....	13 63	23 09	15 72	18 00	+2 28
Blacksmithing:					
Blacksmiths .....	9 30	16 44	13 75	16 38	+2 63
Boots and shoes:					
Cutters .....	12 00	14 81	11 05	14 91	+3 86
Bottomers .....	10 50	16 00	10 71	11 71	+1 00
Crimpers .....	10 50	16 00	10 00	11 88	+1 88
Finishers .....	14 50	16 00	11 75	12 18	+ 43
Shoemakers .....	10 33	14 68	8 00	12 21	+4 21
Machines and machinery:					
Pattern makers .....	11 50	17 60	15 24	18 10	+2 86
Iron-moulders .....	9 50	14 67	12 30	16 40	+4 10
Brass-moulders .....	10 00	14 67	13 25	15 75	+2 50
Blacksmiths .....	9 15	16 00	12 15	15 75	+3 60
Blacksmiths' helpers .....	6 50	10 20	7 70	10 29	+2 59
Machinists .....	9 64	14 40	13 05	17 09	+4 04
Cleaners and chippers .....	6 00	.....	7 50	8 64	+1 14
Chuckers .....	6 75	.....	9 75	11 33	+1 59
Fitters .....	8 83	14 40	10 66	12 82	+2 16
Setters-up .....	10 00	12 80	12 00	13 38	+1 38
Rivet-heaters, boys .....	4 00	.....	5 00	5 64	+ 64
Riveters .....	9 50	14 67	12 00	13 05	+1 05
Wood-workers .....	9 16	.....	10 39	14 60	+4 21
Painters .....	6 00	.....	8 00	12 23	+4 23
Laborers .....	6 00	8 53	7 27	9 15	+1 88
Watchmen .....	7 00	.....	9 00	12 11	+3 21
Teamsters .....	7 50	.....	10 00	11 80	+1 80
Metals and metallic goods:					
Hammersmen .....	.....	.....	12 00	18 00	+6 00
Heaters .....	21 33	23 40	27 77	.....	+4 37
Rollers .....	10 67	13 80	16 40	.....	+2 60
Puddlers .....	24 00	15 00	20 91	.....	+2 91
Shinglers .....	24 00	19 50	22 94	.....	+3 44
Finishers .....	.....	.....	27 00	28 87	+1 87

But I do not rely upon these authorities alone. H. Conant, treasurer of the Conant Thread Company, of Pawtucket, R.I., and also the owner of thread-mills in Great Britain, writes me, under date of Jan. 19, 1882, that the "cost of building and equipping a cotton factory in New England, as compared with the cost of a similar structure in Lancashire or Scotland, is just about double." Mr. Wyckoff, secretary of the Silk Association of America, declares that "a silk factory built in Coventry or Macclesfield, of the same size and floor capacity as one here, would cost about 60 to 65 per cent as much." William Clark, superintendent of the Clark Thread Company, of Newark, N.J., a company owning mills both here and in Great Britain, declares that a factory, including buildings and machinery, erected in Newark, "will cost 80 to 85 per cent more than in Paisley." James Coats, of J. & P. Coats, the largest thread manufacturers in the world, and owning and running mills here and abroad, declares that a factory would cost "fully twice as much to build here as in Scotland."

I have here the *Deutsche Industrie Zeitung* of June, 1881, the organ of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Chemistry in Dresden, and regarded, I believe, as the highest authority in Europe. It shows that the cost per spindle of constructing mills in England is \$5.79 to \$7.75; in France, \$8.69 to \$9.65; in Germany, \$8.69 to \$9.65; while in the United States, the cost is from \$12 to \$18.

Mr. President, what makes this difference in cost? It is because 90 per cent of the cost is labor, and labor in Great Britain is paid only one-half as much as labor here.

But, Mr. President, as to the wages of these operatives. The Clark Thread Mills, of Newark, N.J., under date of Jan. 25, 1882, furnish from their pay-rolls in Scotland and here the following comparative table of wages:

EMPLOYEES.	Paisley, Scot.	Newark, N.J.
<b>Girls.</b>	<i>Per week.</i>	<i>Per week.</i>
Spoolers .....	\$3 50 to \$3 75	\$7 00 to \$9 00
Reelers .....	3 50 to 3 75	7 50 to 8 00
Cop-winders .....	3 50 to 3 75	7 50 to 8 00
Twisters .....	2 25 to 2 50	5 00 to 6 00
Strippers .....	1 50 to 1 75	3 00 to 3 00
Bobbin-cleaners .....	1 25 to -	2 50 to 3 00
<b>Men.*</b>		
Carpenters .....	7 00 to 7 50	16 50 to 18 00
Machinists .....	7 00 to 7 50	16 50 to 18 00
Dyers .....	7 00 to 7 00	13 00 to 15 00
Bleachers .....	6 50 to 6 50	13 50 to 15 00
Firemen .....	6 00 to 6 00	12 00 to 13 00

Mr. Coats, under date of Pawtucket, R.I., Feb. 1, 1882, furnishes me the following comparative rates of wages paid in their factories here and in Scotland:

OPERATIVES.	United States, Wages per week.	Scotland, Wages per week.	Difference.	
			Amount.	Per cent.
Spoolers .....	\$6 50	\$3 40	\$3 10	94
Twister-tenders .....	5 00	2 55	2 45	123
Doffers .....	4 37	1 94	2 43	125
Cleaners .....	2 63	1 62	1 11	73
Reelers .....	7 88	3 62	4 26	124
Winders .....	7 25	2 50	4 75	129
Wrappers and boxers ..	7 96	2 04	5 92	126
Dyers .....	9 84	3 32	6 52	86
Bleachers, men .....	11 81	5 10	6 71	123
Bleachers, women .....	5 25	2 43	2 82	116
Mechanics .....	13 13	7 94	5 19	66
Firemen .....	10 66	5 83	4 83	82

Mr. Coats adds:

"Our manufacture is a specialty, requiring the em

## PART II.

### Comparative Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in New Jersey and Scotland.

Hon. Wm. P. Frye, of Maine, in his speech in the United States Senate, Feb. 10, 1882, in reply to Southern Senators who reiterated the dogma that protection does not increase the wages of labor, disposes of it in the following figures and facts:

But the Senator from Texas denies that a tariff for protection secures for the laborer higher wages than does a "purely revenue tariff." A most amazing declaration. In my hand is a book entitled "The State of Labor in Europe," carefully prepared and printed under the authority of Congress, from "Reports of United States Consuls," and a work entitled "Labor in Europe and America," by Dr. Young, late chief of the United States Statistical Bureau, and I aver that, in the cotton and woollen mills of England, the average wages is one-half below the wages in the cotton and woollen mills of America.

\* As compared with 1878.

of good, steady hands, it being impossible to maintain the quality of our goods with a less of help. The general average of female work in Scotland, you will observe, is under \$3 a week, or it averages \$7.50 per week. (Remember the time run between the two countries, deducted from the rates paid here to make the more correct.) The difference in male help is great, but the great bulk of those we employ are. We are obliged to pay higher wages, as we employ help corresponding to the best class of weaving and other highly paid department labor. Unless we do so, we find our help to remain with us steadily, subject to the discipline necessary to produce our quality of these conditions apply to Scotland as well as to our experience proves the help to be intelligent and able to attend to as many manipulations.

Let from the wages paid here an amount equal to the difference of time run during the two countries."

Statements are from business men, owners and in Europe, who know whereof they speak, they are the indisputable practical facts of the record. They show conclusively that the workmen and working-women do half as much pay as do ours.

Following statement, showing the weekly rates in the several countries, computed from the reports, and compared with rates prevailing in the United States, show as great a difference in all classes of industry:

allows a condensation of the tables given in

the cost of the necessaries of life is, on

the average, from twenty to forty per cent higher in Europe than in America.

And yet the Senator from Texas declares they are paid alike.

### PART III.

#### Comparative Weekly Rates of all Wages in Europe and America—in Country and City.

Consul-General Merritt of London, in his report to the State Department upon "Labor and Living in the United Kingdom" (U. S. Consular Reports, December, 1883, p. 298), referring to the consular reports made in 1878 on the condition of "Labor in Europe," says: "These reports, having been found correct and comprehensive, may well be taken as a basis for comparison and reference in the present inquiry respecting wages, cost of living, and consequent condition of the laboring classes of the United Kingdom." As no better or later tabulations are given, the following official tables (in the letter of the Secretary of State, May 17, 1879, to the Speaker of the House), compiled from the consular reports of 1878 aforesaid, are subjoined:

It showing the Weekly Rates of all Wages in the several Countries, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Rates prevailing in the United States.

OCCUPATIONS.	Belgium.	Denmark.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Spain.	United Kingdom.			United States.	
							Engl'd	Irel'd	Scotland.	N. York	Chic'o.
General laborers:—											
out board or lod'g.			\$3 15	\$2 87	\$3 50		\$3 60	\$3 40	\$4 25		
board and lodging			1 36	1 48	1 80		2 60	1 30	\$1 50-2 40		
without b'd or lod'g.			1 10	1 08	1 55		1 80	2 16	1 80-3 25		
with board and lod'g.				75	60		1 15	75	60-1 00		
Building trades:—											
carpenters and joiners.	\$6 00		4 00	3 60	3 45	\$5 12	8 12	7 58	9 63	\$12-\$15	\$6-\$10
masons.	5 40	\$4 25	5 42	4 00	4 18	4 88	8 25	7 33	8 12	9-12	7-11
bricklayers.	5 40			3 65	3 95		7 25	7 95	8 40	10-14	10-12
glaziers.	6 00	4 45	5 00	4 30	4 00	4 80	8 16	7 58	8 28	12-18	12-15
painters.	4 20	4 15	4 90	3 92	4 60		7 25	7 54	8 16	10-16	6-12
plumbers.	5 40			3 80	4 35	7 20	8 70	7 68	10 13	10-15	9-15
roofers.	6 00		5 50	3 60	3 90		7 75	8 46	7 13	12-18	12-20
slaters.				4 00	3 90		7 90		8 30	10-15	12-18
Other trades:—											
blacksmiths.	4 40	4 25	5 55	3 50	3 90	5 40	6 50		6 60	5-8	8-12
millwrights.	4 40	3 90	5 45	3 55	3 94	4 65	8 12		7 04	10-14	9-12
farmers.		3 72	4 85	3 82	3 90	3 60	7 83		6 50	12-18	9-20
fishermen.		4 20		3 20	5 49		7 40		6 90	10-14	8-15
sailors.	4 50	4 50	5 42	3 85	4 20		7 25		4 75	8-12	12-18
coopers.	4 80		6 00	3 97	4 95	4 20	7 70		8 48	9-13	7-13
shoemakers.		4 10	7 00	3 30	4 95	4 95	7 30		6 10	12-16	6-15
tailors.		3 85		3 30	3 90		7 40		7 10	12-16	15-20
hatters.		3 85	4 63	4 00	3 90		8 09		6 25	10-13	15-10
coppersmiths.				4 00	4 00		9 72		8 75	15-25	9-30
millwrights.		3 85	5 40	3 25	3 50		7 20		7 00	12-18	15-25
carpenters.		4 00		3 30	4 95		7 50		7 50	10-15	12-20
masons.		4 62	4 70	4 80	3 90		7 75		7 52	8-18	12-18
bricklayers.	4 80	3 85	5 00	3 60	3 90		6 80		6 15	12-15	6-12
glaziers.		4 85		3 30	3 90		7 30		6 33	12-18	12-15
plumbers.		3 30	4 75	3 12	4 32	3 90	7 35		7 55	12-18	9-18
painters.		4 10	5 10	3 58	4 30	3 90	\$5-7 30		7 00	10-18	6-18
carpenters.	4 80	3 90	4 40	3 65	3 60	3 90	7 30		6 00	10-14	9-12
porters, etc.	3 00			2 92	2 60	3 00	5 00		4 50	6-9	5-6
Employees:—											
pass. trains.			11 33	8 35	9 50		9 12	9 00	8 70		
" "			6 25	3 30	4 50		6 00	4 50	4 96		
" "			3 60	3 22			5 50	4 00	4 69		
" "			5 85	3 52	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 12		
" "			5 50	3 41	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 19		
" "			5 00	2 60	3 40		4 50	4 00	4 44		
" "			3 35	3 10	3 30		4 50	4 00	4 27		



Statement showing the weekly rates of all wages in the principal cities of Europe, compiled from consular reports, and compared with rates in New York and Chicago.

[illegible]

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**Weekly wages in England, France, Germany, and the United States.**

OCCUPATIONS.	Wages paid in England.	Wages paid in France.	Wages paid in Germany.	Wages paid in U. S.	Remarks.
Brickmakers.....	5 11	5 12	5 12	5 12	
Bricklayers.....	5 11	5 12	5 12	5 12	
Boat and Shoe Works.	7 2	7 2	15 4	Men.	
Sewing Machine.....	5 50	5 50	7 51	Women.	
Cutters.....	5 04	5 04	14 51		
Cockers.....	6 48	6 48	14 51		
Riveters.....	6 09	6 09	11 31		
Finishers.....	7 25	7 25	12 52		
Carpeters.....	12 54	12 54	4 25	17 50	
Strippers.....	5 40	5 40	6 51		
Grinders.....	5 16	5 16	5 42		
Overcoaters.....	12 07	12 07	18 09		
Machine Drivers.....	12 00	12 00	18 09		
Firers.....	5 40	5 40	5 50		
Padding.....	1 24	1 24	5 50	Per ton.	
Shedding.....	0 28	0 28	5 50		
Rolling in Pul- ding Mill.....	0 29	0 29	0 62	" "	
Rolling and Heating.....	1 50	1 50	4 50	" "	
Joiners.....	8 50	8 50	4 25	12 60	
Laborers (with harn.....)	4 50	4 50	0 90	3 50	(With board.
Pattern Makers.....	7 50	7 50	4 25	18 10	
Iron Moulders.....	8 40	8 40	4 25	16 40	
Brass Moulders.....	8 40	8 40	4 25	16 00	
Smiths.....	8 20	8 20	4 25	16 90	
Strikers.....	5 00	5 00	3 50	9 90	
Fitters.....	8 00	8 00	4 25	13 60	
Leather Tanners.....	7 50	7 50	5 50	11 60	
Curriers.....	8 67	8 67	6 25	14 00	

## PART IV.

**Labor-Wages of Mechanics in America in 1874 as compared with 1860—The Rise under Protection.**

The following tables, prepared in the Bureau of Statistics, will furnish an interesting study to the artisan and mechanic, as exhibiting the rise in wages from 1860, when the democrats were in power, to 1874, when the Republicans were in full power.

**Mechanical Labor.**

*Table showing the average Daily Wages, without Board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the undermentioned Trades in the respective years 1860 and 1874.*

	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or Masons.		Cabinet-makers.		Coopers.		Carpenters.		Painters.		Plasterers.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
<b>NEW ENGLAND STATES.</b>														
Maine.....	\$1 97	\$2 37	\$2 30	\$3 50	\$1 88	\$2 12	\$1 74	\$2 12	\$2 00	\$2 75	\$1 92	\$2 50	\$2 27	\$3 50
New Hampshire.....	2 08	3 44	2 50	3 87	1 63	3 00	1 75	2 67	1 75	2 94	1 75	2 75	2 00	3 89
Vermont.....	2 21	2 88	2 63	2 75	2 19	2 88	2 13	2 75	2 05	3 00	2 04	2 62	2 65	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 91	2 83	2 42	3 67	2 00	3 16	2 25	2 37	1 98	3 02	1 94	2 83	2 42	3 33
Rhode Island.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....
Connecticut.....	1 67	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 67	.....	1 92	.....
<b>MIDDLE STATES.</b>														
New York.....	1 66	2 64	2 02	3 23	1 77	2 55	1 64	2 19	1 74	2 65	1 77	2 63	2 11	3 07
New Jersey.....	1 48	2 96	1 58	3 34	1 32	2 65	1 34	3 00	1 60	2 75	1 76	2 92	1 84	3 17
Pennsylvania.....	1 47	2 32	1 82	2 89	1 32	2 91	1 31	2 22	1 59	2 87	1 85	2 42	1 76	2 74
Delaware.....	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 50	1 50	3 00	(?)	2 00	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 75
Maryland.....	1 50	2 50	1 50	4 00	2 50	3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 25
West Virginia.....	1 69	2 50	2 06	2 95	1 66	2 81	1 53	2 19	1 73	2 50	1 84	2 40	2 08	2 58
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>														
Idaho.....	1 75	2 30	2 18	3 06	1 90	2 24	1 58	1 12	1 78	2 33	1 94	2 29	2 08	2 64
Indiana.....	1 93	2 00	2 60	3 25	1 84	2 62	1 62	2 25	1 83	2 33	1 96	2 37	2 33	3 00
Illinois.....	2 02	2 81	2 73	3 69	1 97	2 83	2 00	2 75	2 03	2 87	2 02	2 56	2 49	3 38
Michigan.....	2 10	.....	2 41	.....	1 88	.....	1 70	2 50	1 90	.....	1 90	.....	2 30	.....
Wisconsin.....	2 88	2 50	2 54	3 00	2 01	2 00	2 03	2 00	2 13	2 50	2 08	2 75	2 49	4 00
Minnesota.....	1 90	3 00	2 41	3 00	1 96	2 50	1 86	3 00	1 89	2 50	1 96	3 00	2 35	.....
Iowa.....	2 17	2 50	2 47	3 50	2 10	2 50	1 95	.....	2 01	3 00	1 93	2 50	2 47	3 00
Kansas.....	2 69	.....	3 17	.....	3 00	.....	2 85	.....	2 75	.....	2 55	.....	2 69	.....
Nebraska.....	2 50	.....	3 50	.....	2 50	.....	.....	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	4 00	.....
Missouri.....	2 03	3 50	2 71	4 00	2 10	3 00	2 00	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 46	3 00	2 71	3 50
Kentucky.....	2 03	2 63	2 68	3 50	1 84	2 75	1 88	2 90	2 28	3 20	2 17	2 90	2 37	3 10
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>														
Virginia.....	1 40	2 20	1 75	2 00	1 68	1 88	1 55	1 63	1 74	1 70	1 80	1 63	1 71	2 00
North Carolina.....	1 50	2 50	1 83	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 00	.....	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	1 67	3 00
South Carolina.....	1 67	2 50	1 71	2 50	2 17	.....	1 50	.....	1 90	2 50	1 85	2 50	1 90	2 50
Georgia.....	1 88	3 00	2 58	2 50	2 08	2 75	1 44	3 00	2 13	2 75	2 13	2 75	1 94	2 50
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 30	.....	2 25	.....	2 83	.....	2 50	.....	2 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 67	.....
Louisiana.....	2 70	4 00	2 60	3 50	2 12	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 70	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	3 00
Texas.....	2 66	3 00	3 33	3 75	3 50	2 50	2 37	.....	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 87	3 50
Mississippi.....	2 50	3 00	2 94	3 00	2 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 12	2 50	2 00	.....	3 50	3 00
Arkansas.....	2 60	3 50	2 83	4 50	2 71	3 00	2 25	3 00	2 41	3 00	2 42	3 00	2 67	3 00
Tennessee.....	2 03	3 25	2 28	4 08	2 29	2 83	1 78	2 50	2 29	2 75	2 36	2 83	2 32	3 16
<b>PACIFIC STATES.</b>														
California.....	4 22	3 00	4 96	5 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	.....	3 95	3 00	4 06	4 00	4 75	5 00
Nevada.....	6 80	6 00	6 80	6 00	6 88	.....	.....	.....	7 00	6 00	7 80	5 00	7 80	6 00
Oregon.....	4 50	5 00	5 42	5 00	4 41	4 00	4 12	4 00	4 50	4 00	4 34	4 50	5 60	5 00
<b>TERRITORIES.</b>														
Washington.....	8 50	4 00	8 00	5 00	6 00	3 00	5 00	3 00	6 00	4 50	6 00	5 00	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	5 25	.....	6 50	.....	4 87	.....	.....	.....	4 38	.....	4 37	.....	5 87	.....
Montana.....	2 23	3 50	3 25	3 50	.....	3 00	.....	.....	3 25	2 50	2 50	3 00	3 00	3 50
Idaho.....	.....	3 75	.....	5 50	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	5 00	.....	5 00	.....	6 00
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	.....	4 00	.....	5 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 00	.....	4 00	.....	5 00
New Mexico.....	2 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	2 50	2 75	3 00	.....	3 00	4 25	3 00	3 50	4 00	3 00
<b>AVERAGES.</b>														
New England States.....	1 89	2 88	2 27	3 45	1 91	2 79	1 90	2 48	1 83	2 93	1 80	2 67	2 17	3 38
Middle States.....	1 55	2 65	1 83	3 32	1 68	2 82	1 46	2 43	1 61	2 59	1 70	2 73	1 97	3 09
Western States.....	2 13	2 66	2 67	3 37	2 11	2 56	1 95	2 50	2 10	2 72	2 13	2 67	2 57	3 23
Southern States.....	2 12	2 99	2 41	3 20	2 31	2 95	1 95	2 63	2 12	2 52	2 16	2 59	2 37	2 85
General average.....	1 92	2 79	2 30	3 33	2 00	2 78	1 82	2 51	1 92	2 69	1 95	2 66	2 27	3 14
Pacific States (gold).....	5 17	4 67	5 73	5 50	5 01	3 50	4 06	4 00	5 15	4 33	5 40	4 50	6 05	5 33
Territories (gold).....	4 63	3 80	5 19	4 60	4 46	3 65	4 00	3 00	4 16	4 25	3 97	4 00	4 72	4 50
Average.....	4 90	4 23	5 46	5 05	4 74	3 57	4 03	3 50	4 66	4 29	4 69	4 25	5 39	4 91

\* Piecework.

## Mechanical Labor—(Continued).

Table showing the Average Daily Wages paid, etc.

STATES.	Shoe-makers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tinmiths.		Wheel-wrights.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
<b>NEW ENGLAND STATES.</b>												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 22	\$3 50	\$1 86	\$3 50	\$2 09	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 89	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 85	2 85	1 85	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 37	1 94	2 35	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....
Connecticut.....	1 37	.....	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....
<b>MIDDLE STATES.</b>												
New York.....	1 52	2 39	2 17	3 15	1 65	2 25	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 06
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 95	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 59	2 06	1 33	2 50	1 35	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 75	2 01	2 28	1 34	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 50	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	.....	2 50	.....	2 00
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	.....	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 62	2 15	3 23	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 75	1 38	1 85	2 75
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 05	2 25	2 80	1 50	2 30	1 74	2 16	1 72	2 00	1 90	2 35
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 05	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 05	1 90	2 17	1 95	2 21
Illinois.....	1 95	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 33	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 25	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	.....	2 25	.....	1 69	.....	1 79	.....	1 79	.....	2 05	.....
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 86	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	.....	1 54	2 50	1 78	.....
Iowa.....	1 85	1 50	2 36	3 00	1 95	1 75	2 00	.....	1 58	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	.....	3 25	.....	3 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 17	.....	2 50	.....
Nebraska.....	3 00	.....	4 00	.....	2 75	.....	.....	.....	2 87	.....	2 88	.....
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 35	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 95	1 83	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 00
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 55	2 00	3 35	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 05
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 55	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 00
South Carolina.....	1 55	2 50	2 87	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	.....	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 00
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	.....	2 27	2 50	2 28	1 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 90	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	.....	2 50	2 38	2 50	2 50	1 00
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 75	1 92	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	2 00
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 05	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 00	1 90	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 33	2 53	3 42	2 03	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 85	2 50
<b>PACIFIC STATES.</b>												
California.....	3 85	.....	4 95	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 00
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 00
<b>TERRITORIES.</b>												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 00
Idaho.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	6 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	6 00
New Mexico.....	.....	2 50	3 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	3 25	.....	3 00
<b>AVERAGES.</b>												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 03	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 69	2 20	1 96	2 88	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 05	1 64	2 38	1 74	2 40
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 60	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 25	2 02	2 30	2 24	2 78
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 36	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 43
General average.....	1 76	2 25	2 35	3 26	1 62	2 57	1 87	2 32	1 67	2 55	1 99	2 50
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 67	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	4 20
Average.....	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 78	5 15

\* Piecework.

## PART V.

# Comparative American Farm-Wages in Different Localities.—The Rise in Wages of Farm-Labor under Republic- an Protection from 1860 to 1874.

Mr. John D. Dodge of the Department of Agriculture says (Feb 1884), with respect to the wages of the American farm-laborer:

There has been an increase of wages with the advance of manufacturing and other non-agricultural industries, as shown by investigation of former times compared with repeated and thorough investigation in the Department of Agriculture. Twenty years ago, at the commencement of the era of agricultural depression, the ascertained average of wages of farm-labor was about \$9 per month, with board. At that time the rate was but little higher than at the present time of the Government. From 1790 to 1830 there was a slow but appreciable advance. This was interrupted slowly with fluctuations incident to the depression of the succeeding period carried on by legislation and industrial prosperity, until the inflation of the succeeding period carried on by legislation and industrial prosperity, until the decline followed during the era of descent to a gold standard in 1873 the average was \$12.40. In 1879, when the national currency was at par, and industrial depression was at its lowest depth, the rate was \$10.54. The healthful development of industry that followed the average in 1882 was \$12.41, almost exactly the same as in 1875. This may be considered the normal rate of the present era, under normal conditions, an increase of 37 per cent over the wages of twenty years ago, the advance being made coincident with the principal development of the present status of agricultural industries.

The rate is the rate of wages "with board," the remainder when the laborer is given the remainder in board. As the cost of board has been increased during thirty years by reason of the rise in price which the farmer is able to obtain for his products, the real cost of labor is greater than is shown above, and a fairer exhibit would be the rate when wholly paid in cash, or "wages without board."

The rate of wages per month paid wholly in cash, twenty years ago, was approximately, \$13.25 per month. When currency was inflated and all prices high, the rate was \$26. During the monetary depression, in 1879, the average rate was \$16.16. In the present labor was in a normal condition and paid in cash at par, the average rate per month was an increase of 40 p. c. during the era of industrial development.

## Comparative Farm-wages in the States.

The following statement exhibits the rate of wages, without board:

Wages per month for the year.

### FIRST GROUP.

INDUSTRIES.	1882.		1879.	
	With- out Board.	With Board.	With- out Board.	With Board.
Assets.....	\$30 66	\$18 25	\$25 00	\$15 33
Land.....	27 75	17 00	23 00	13 25
.....	36 50	27 08	35 00	20 00
sey.....	24 25	14 20	20 22	11 53
cut.....	27 90	17 37	23 29	14 23
.....	23 63	15 36	20 61	13 19
.....	22 88	14 21	19 92	11 46
.....	38 25	23 45	41 00	26 27
.....	16 34	9 89	14 00	8 95
.....	24 14	15 10	21 31	13 10

### SECOND GROUP.

New Hampshire ...	\$25 25	\$16 72	\$19 75	\$12 30
Delaware .....	18 20	12 50	17 00	9 50
New Mexico .....	.....	.....	22 10	13 80
Maine.....	24 75	16 15	18 25	11 08
Utah.....	.....	.....	28 87	20 50
Ohio.....	24 55	16 30	20 72	13 34
Oregon.....	33 50	24 75	35 45	23 88
Michigan.....	25 76	17 27	22 88	14 64
Illinois.....	23 91	17 14	20 61	13 01
Wisconsin.....	26 21	17 90	21 07	13 81
Vermont.....	23 37	16 00	19 00	11 50
Dakota.....	.....	.....	28 56	16 57
Average.....	23 51	16 63	21 13	13 45

### THIRD GROUP.

Virginia.....	\$13 96	\$9 17	\$11 00	\$7 06
Missouri.....	22 39	13 95	17 59	11 84
Minnesota.....	26 36	17 75	24 55	15 62
Indiana.....	23 14	15 65	20 20	12 76
Louisiana.....	18 20	12 69	16 40	11 27
Iowa.....	26 21	17 95	22 09	13 90
Nebraska.....	24 45	16 20	23 04	14 86
West Virginia.....	19 16	12 46	16 98	10 94
Kentucky.....	18 20	11 75	15 17	10 00
Florida.....	16 64	10 20	13 80	8 73
Kansas.....	23 85	15 87	20 67	13 28
Tennessee.....	13 75	9 49	12 73	8 09
Texas.....	20 20	14 03	18 27	11 49
Average.....	19 51	13 04	16 84	11 03

### FOURTH GROUP.

Georgia.....	\$12 86	\$8 70	\$10 73	\$7 38
North Carolina.....	12 86	8 80	11 19	7 66
South Carolina.....	12 10	8 10	10 25	6 66
Alabama.....	13 15	9 09	12 20	8 30
Mississippi.....	15 10	10 09	13 31	9 28
Arkansas.....	18 50	12 25	17 12	11 31
Average.....	13 67	9 24	12 01	8 15

## Farm-wages highest amid other industries.

The influence of large industrial population on the rate of agricultural wages is very striking. Its effects are seen in different sections of the same State, according to the industrial development of each section. The State of Ohio, with only 40 per cent in agriculture, pays comparatively high wages for farm labor, because of its relative scarcity. Thus the northern part of the State, with Cleveland, Toledo, and other manufacturing cities, averaged, in 1882, \$25.96 per month. The western district, which is agricultural, with Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield, and other manufacturing towns, averages \$24.75. The eastern district has a larger agricultural element, and therefore a lower average, which is \$22.65.

Kentucky furnishes a fine contrast with Ohio. A river dividing, one State with four tenths in agriculture, the other with five eighths, and most of the remainder commercial and professional rather than industrial; the average has been as follows:

STATES.	1879.	1882.
Ohio.....	\$20 72	\$24 55
Kentucky.....	15 17	18 20

A part of this difference, a small part, it may be conceded, comes from a large portion of negro labor. Illinois has a large proportion of its non-agricultural population in the northern counties. Dividing the State by east and west lines into three belts, the same result is seen, with quite as much contrast as between Ohio and Kentucky.

Northern District .....	\$27 52
Central District .....	24 05
Southern District .....	19 87

Comparing Illinois, as a whole, with Missouri, separated only by the Mississippi, with somewhat less diversification in industry and smaller interests in manufactures, yet with vastly more than Kentucky, the rates are as follows:

STATES.	1879.	1882.
Illinois.....	\$20 61	\$23 91
Missouri.....	17 59	22 39
Kentucky.....	15 17	18 20

#### Farm-Wages affected in each State and District by the Presence of Factories.

In every State the rate of wages is affected favorably by the presence of manufactures, whatever other causes of difference may prevail.

The Middle States furnish an interesting illustration of local proximity of great populations within a large district which may be considered a prominent manufacturing section. New York extends from the sea to the lakes, and Pennsylvania beyond the mountains; while New Jersey has a smaller area, with New York and Brooklyn on the northern border, and Philadelphia, over the Delaware, on the west, and large industrial cities within her borders; therefore, a higher average rate of farm wages is found in the latter State, as follows:

STATES.	1869.	1879.	1882.
New York.....	\$29 28	\$20 61	\$23 63
New Jersey.....	32 11	20 22	24 25
Pennsylvania.....	28 68	19 92	22 88

Here are given the high wages of the period before resumption, the lowest rate attained after the monetary revolution, and the recuperation and healthy status of business in 1882. In the period of manufacturing depression, just prior to 1879, agricultural wages were greatly depressed, as is shown in the decline for 1869 in New Jersey. A large force of operatives, thrown out of employment, competed with agricultural laborers, intensifying the general decline toward a gold basis of values, and aiding in bringing down the general average from \$32.11 to \$20.22 in ten years.

#### Depression in Manufactures causes Decline in Farm-wages.

The effect of a period of depression in manufacture is almost immediately manifest in a decline in the rate of agricultural wages. If long continued, it depresses wages in every part of the country. The decline is greatest, however, in the immediate vicinity of the silent factories. The panic beginning in the autumn of 1873 soon caused a reduction in manufacturing activity, and began to tell on prices in 1875. The stagnation gradually deepened, and the lowest rate of wages was reached later. In 1879 an investigation disclosed the fact that all sections were feeling the

effects of industrial inactivity. The following figures will show the course of wages from 1869 to 1882, those of 1869 representing the inflated values incident to a depreciated currency. It should not be forgotten that two causes co-operated to reduce values during the ten years following,—the appreciation of currency value, and the stagnation of business after 1873. The showing is as follows:

STATES.	1869.	1875.	1879.	1882.
Eastern States. ....	\$32 08	\$28 96	\$20 21	\$26 61
Middle States.....	28 02	20 02	19 69	22 24
Southern States.....	17 21	16 22	13 31	15 30
Western States.....	27 01	23 60	20 38	23 63
California.....	46 38	44 50	41 00	38 25

The fact especially noteworthy is, that the greatest reduction in rural wages occurred in the manufacturing States, the Eastern and Middle groups, from \$32.08 to \$20.21, and from \$28.02 to \$19.69, respectively, in ten years. This is precisely what should be expected. The liberated artisans and operatives returned to the country, competing with farm laborers; some of them went West, reducing the rates of agricultural labor there, though in a less degree, as many became homesteaders rather than laborers.

The factory laborers and artisans of Massachusetts and Rhode Island came largely from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont (as well as from Canada), and hence in 1879 we find the depression in farm wages greater in those States than in Southern New England, as follows:

STATES.	1869.	1875.	1879.	1882.
Maine.....	\$26 25	\$25 40	\$18 25	\$24 75
New Hampshire....	32 66	28 57	19 75	25 25
Vermont.....	32 40	29 67	19 00	23 37
Massachusetts.....	35 95	31 87	25 00	30 66
Rhode Island.....	32 25	30 00	23 00	27 75
Connecticut.....	33 00	28 25	23 29	27 90

#### As manufactures prosper, farm-wages advance.

With the return of industrial activity comes general prosperity, and with it, as shown in the figures of 1882, a sharp advance in wages paid for farm-labor. Assertions have been plenty that labor on the farms is not affected unfavorably by manufacturing depression, but here are facts, in perfect accord with all similar records from time immemorial, which disprove that fallacy, and show that the farm-laborer is indissolubly bound up with the general prosperity of all the industries, and must share the good or ill fortune of workers in every legitimate line of human effort.

#### The rise in prices of farm-labor from 1860 to 1874.

The following table, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, will show the rise in farm-laboring wages from 1860, when the Democrats were in power, to 1874, when the Republicans exercised full power:

Table showing the average Daily Wages for Farm-Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced Hands. Summer.				Experienced Hands. Winter.				Ordinary Hands. Summer.			
	With Board.		Without Board.		With Board.		Without Board.		With Board.		Without Board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
<b>NEW ENGLAND STATES.</b>												
Maine.....	\$1 07	.....	\$1 49	.....	\$0 81	.....	\$1 09	.....	\$0 94	.....	\$1 10	.....
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	\$1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 09
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 02	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	75	.....	1 00	.....	42	.....	75	.....	50	.....	83	.....
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25	.....	1 50	75	1 00	.....	1 50	1 00	1 00	.....	1 50
<b>MIDDLE STATES.</b>												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	68	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 65	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 58
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	63	89	95	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00	.....	1 25	50	75	.....	1 00	50	88	.....	1 00
Maryland.....	38	.....	63	.....	25	.....	50	.....	38	.....	62	.....
West Virginia.....	77	1 03	95	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 26	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	96	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 33	1 32	1 68	75	97	1 00	1 39	78	1 06	1 06	1 45
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 05	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27	.....	1 66	.....	83	.....	1 20	.....	1 01	.....	1 41	.....
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	75	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34	.....	70	78	1 00	.....	76	70	1 01	.....
Kansas.....	1 25	.....	1 75	.....	1 15	.....	2 37	.....	1 08	.....	1 50	.....
Nebraska.....	1 00	.....	1 38	.....	75	.....	1 25	.....	1 00	.....	1 25	.....
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12	.....	69	1 00	99	.....	67	1 00	93	.....
Kentucky.....	77	.....	1 08	.....	60	.....	90	.....	64	.....	89	.....
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	69	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52	.....	33	.....	47	.....
South Carolina.....	53	1 09	73	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	58	1 50
Georgia.....	55	.....	81	.....	50	.....	71	.....	47	.....	68	.....
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	63	75	88	1 00	55	50	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52	.....	60	.....	48	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	.....	75	.....	1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75	.....	1 03	.....	63	.....	92	.....	55	.....	81	.....
Tennessee.....	74	.....	97	.....	55	.....	75	.....	51	.....	71	50
<b>PACIFIC STATES.</b>												
California.....	2 07	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 39	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 00
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 60
<b>TERRITORIES.</b>												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12	.....	2 25	1 50	3 00	.....	2 25	.....	2 75	.....
Colorado.....	2 17	.....	2 83	.....	1 50	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 75	.....
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25	.....	1 50	.....
Idaho.....	.....	1 50	.....	2 12	.....	1 12	.....	1 25	.....	1 25	.....	1 75
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 26	1 00	1 75
<b>AVERAGES.</b>												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 93	70	1 03	99	1 53	81	1 02	1 07	1 58
Middle States.....	74	1 26	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	88	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 58	77	93	1 17	1 35	83	88	1 12	.....
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	89	47	63	60	.....
General average.....	\$86	\$1 17	\$1 15	\$1 56	\$64	\$88	\$94	\$1 26	\$67	\$87	\$94	.....
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 53	2 13	1 58	3 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	.....
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	.....
Average.....	\$2 23	\$1 55	\$3 03	\$2 19	\$1 76	\$1 33	\$2 55	\$1 96	\$1 83	\$1 21	\$2 34	.....

For other points connected with the increase of wages of farm-labor, see Part VIII. of the chapter on "The Protected American Farmer."

## PART VI.

**Comparative Cost of the Laborer's Living in Great Britain and Massachusetts.**

Having shown by undeniable statistics that under the Republican protective tariff the workingman of Massachusetts as well as in other States of the Union is much better paid and earns more than his less favored brother in free-trade Great Britain; let us see further whether it does or does not—as has been frequently asserted by the English Democratic free-trade advocates—cost so much more for him to live in this country that even with his higher wages he is absolutely no better off than the English workman. And it may be well to continue the comparison between Massachusetts and Great Britain, touching the cost of living in each country. The items mainly comprised in the cost of living are groceries, provisions, fuel, dry goods, boots, clothing, rents, and, for those who prefer that mode of life, board and lodging. The report of Colonel Carroll D. Wright, then Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for the year 1884, pages 440-469, contains a number of valuable tables bearing on all these in detail, to secure the data for which 75 retail stores in 10 cities and towns were visited in Massachusetts, and 150 retail stores in 20 cities and towns in Great Britain, and in addition, "the printed price-lists of leading retail houses in Boston and the 'supply-books' of the large workingmen's stores in Great Britain were consulted and used for verifications and to complete the grading of prices."

**Analysis of tables of comparative cost of living for workingmen in Massachusetts and Great Britain.**

A careful analysis of these authoritative tables shows the following results for the year 1883.

**Groceries**—comprising flour, cornmeal, codfish, rice, beans, tea, coffee, sugar, syrup, soap, starch, and oil, were 16.18 per cent higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.

**Provisions**—comprising beef, veal, mutton, pork, sausages, lard, pickled mackerel, potatoes, butter, cheese, milk, and eggs, were 23.08 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

**Fuel**—comprising coal only, was 104.96 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

**Dry Goods**—comprising sheetings, shirtings, flannels, quilts and comforters, blankets, cretonnes, table-cloths, napkins, towels, towelling, ticking—making the comparison on the basis of all goods of the "medium" "medium low," and "low" grades, from

which three grades workingmen make their purchases—are .9 or less than one per cent higher in Massachusetts.

**Boots, Shoes, and Slippers**—comprising men's, women's, and children's, and comprising the same three grades in Massachusetts and Great Britain, are 42.75 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

**Clothing**—comprising silks, satins, muslins, fancy dress-goods, mourning goods, ladies' underwear, ladies' hose, laces, men's and boys' shirts, men's merino underwear, men's hose, men's collars and cuffs, gloves, handkerchiefs, sewing-silks, cottons, needles, and pins, elastics, and trimmings, are 27.36 per cent higher in Massachusetts if you compare the three grades, but only 18 per cent higher in prices if the comparison is made on "low" grades.

**Rents**—These were, in 1883, on the average, 89.62 per cent higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain, the investigation covering a wide field, from one, two, and three rooms in the most crowded parts of large cities, to six and eight-roomed houses in smaller manufacturing cities or with garden and fruit-trees in the suburbs of larger ones. It is shown that the average rent of one room in Massachusetts was 66 cents per week, \$2.86 per month, and \$34.38 per year, and in Great Britain 35 cents per week, \$1.51 per month, and \$18.02 per year, from which bases computations as to tenement prices can easily be made.

**Board and Lodging.**—It appears also that board and lodging together was 39.01 per cent higher in Massachusetts in 1883 than in Great Britain. "The average price for board and lodging in Massachusetts, in 1883, for men, per week, was \$4.79, for women \$3.19; per month, men \$20.76, women \$13.82; per year, men \$249.08, and women \$165.88. Considering board alone the average rates for men, per week, were \$3.84, for women \$2.56; per month, men \$16.68, women \$11.09; per year, men \$199.68, and women \$133.12. Taking lodging by itself, the average rates, per week, for men were \$2.20, for women \$1.46; per month, for men \$9.53, for women \$6.33; per year, for men \$114.40, and for women \$75.92. Comparative figures for board and lodging, in 1883, in Great Britain are as follows: per week, for men \$3.37, for women \$2.37; per month, men \$14.58, women \$10.23; per year, men \$174.96, and women \$123.41. Women pay about two thirds as much for board and lodging as men. Parties lodging in one house and boarding in another pay more than those who secure board and lodging together. For this reason the averages for board added to those for lodging make more than the averages given for board and lodging."

From the same report the following concise comparative summary of prices is given:

Summary, Prices in Massachusetts and Great Britain—1883.

ARTICLES.	PERCENTAGES.	
	Higher in Mass.	Higher in Gt. Britain.
Groceries .....	16.18	.....
Provisions .....	.....	23.08
Fuel .....	104.96	.....
Dry goods, all grades .....	13.26	.....
" three lower grades .....	.90	.....
Boots, shoes, and slippers, all grades .....	62.59	.....
" three lower grades .....	42.75	.....
Clothing, all grades .....	45.06	.....
" three lower grades .....	27.36	.....
" lowest grade .....	18.00	.....
" three highest grades .....	56.57	.....
Rents .....	89.82	.....
Board and lodging .....	39.01	.....

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics secured 19 "budgets," or annual accounts of itemized expenditures for living, in Massachusetts, and 16 such "budgets" in Great Britain—each such budget showing the number of persons in the family, the number at work, earnings of the head and of members of the family, and the annual surplus or debt, together with expense details covering rent, groceries, meat, fish, milk, fuel, clothing, boots and shoes, dry goods, and "sundry expenses"—as follows:

Workingmen's Budgets—Percentages of Expenditure—Massachusetts and Great Britain.

CLASSIFICATION.	MASS.		GT. BRITAIN.	
	Aver.	P. ct.	Aver.	P. ct.
Rent .....	\$148 95	19.74	\$68 55	13.48
Groceries .....	222 68	29.52	103 50	32.16
Meat .....	100 63	13.34	89 98	13.77
Fish .....	25 00	3.31	11 24	2.21
Milk .....	23 42	3.11	16 29	3.22
Fuel .....	32 42	4.30	17 81	3.50
Clothing .....	77 89	10.32	57 27	11.27
Boots and shoes .....	27 37	3.68	17 47	3.44
Dry goods .....	15 11	2.06	17 33	2.41
Sundry expenses .....	80 95	10.73	68 81	13.54

Workingmen's Budgets—Averages—Massachusetts and Great Britain.

CLASSIFICATION.	Massachusetts.		Great Britain.	
	Aver.	p. c.	Aver.	p. c.
Persons in family....	5.21	.....	6.06	.....
Adults .....	2.76	41.46	2.00	33.00
Children .....	3.05	58.54	4.06	67.00
Number at work .....	2.16	.....	2.56	.....
Adults .....	1.16	53.70	1.00	39.06
Children .....	1.00	46.30	1.56	60.94
Total earnings .....	\$803 47	.....	\$517 47	.....
Earnings head of family.....	558 68	69.53	309 84	59.88
Earnings members of family.....	244 79	30.47	207 63	40.12
Total expenses.....	754 42	93.89	508 35	98.24
Surplus .....	49 05	6.11	9 12	1.76

The results of the comparison in a nutshell—The American workman lives better and saves more than the British workman.

Here we find, by Table 2, that the average total earnings of a Massachusetts workingman's family are \$803.47; that the total expenses of living are \$754.42; leaving him with \$49.05 in bank at the end of the year. While the total earnings of the British workingman's family are only \$517.47, of which \$508.35 must be paid out in expenses of living, leaving him only \$9.12 clear at the end of the year. The net earnings of the Massachusetts workingman then are about five and a half times as great as the net earnings of the British workingman. In addition to this fact is the further one, that the Massachusetts workingman must expend 48.41 per cent more for the support of his family than what the British workingman must expend for his. But, as Col. Wright points out, of this 48.41 per cent only "5.80 per cent is paid extra for articles which could be purchased 5.80 per cent cheaper in Great Britain," while "11.49 per cent is paid extra to secure more and larger rooms and more air space than the workingman in Great Britain enjoys, while the remainder, 31.12 per cent, indicates also an extra amount expended by the Massachusetts workingman to secure better home surroundings and to maintain the same higher standard of living, as shown for rent, as regards other expenses, which standard is higher than that secured by the workingman in Great Britain."

The case then, in a nutshell, is this: the Massachusetts workingman earns more wages, expends more in keeping himself and family, and lives better in more healthful quarters and with more pleasing surroundings, than the British workingman; and, besides all this, can save five and a half times as much for a rainy day. Were the comparison made as between other parts of the United States, where the workingman's wages are higher and the expenses of living no greater than in Massachusetts, the benefits of the Republican protective tariff to American labor would stand out in as strong a light as compared with the results of the English free-trade policy, which grinds the laborer down, and keeps him down. And it is for the free American workingman, who gets such comparatively high wages, and who lives and enjoys life, in all respects, better, and who can save more money than the British workingman, to say, by voting the Democratic ticket, that he would prefer the Democratic English free-trade policy instead of the Republican American protective policy; that he would like lower wages, less expenses, less comforts, less healthful and pleasing surroundings, poorer clothes, less educational advantages, less savings; or, by voting the Republican ticket, that he wants to be protected in his present condition.



## PART VII.

## Prices of Food in European Countries and Cities compared with those in America.

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the several Countries, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Prices in New York and Chicago.

ARTICLES.	Belgium.		France.		Germany.		Italy.		Spain.		Switzer-land.		United Kingdom.			United States.	
	England.	Ire-land.	Scot-land.	New York.	Chicago.												
Bread..... per pound.	4-5	3	3-7	6	6-7	4	3-4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Flour..... do.	4	5	5	10	7	7	3-4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Beef:																	
Roasting, per pound.	20	22	22	20	30	30	22	22	22	22	22	22	12-16	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
Soup..... do.	16	16	14	12	18	18	15	15	15	15	15	15	6-8	5-8	5-8	5-8	5-8
Rumpsteak do.	20	20	20	20	30	30	26	26	26	26	26	26	14-16	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
Corned... do.	16	16	13	12	18	18	15	15	15	15	15	15	8-12	4-7	4-7	4-7	4-7
Veal:																	
Fore quarter, per pound.	16	16	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	8-10	6-10	6-10	6-10	6-10
Hind quarter, do.	18	20	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Cutlets.. do.	20	22	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	20-24	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15
Mutton:																	
Fore quarter, per pound.	16	16	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	9-10	5-12	5-12	5-12	5-12
Hind quarter, do.	18	20	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	12-14	5-15	5-15	5-15	5-15
Chops... do.	20	22	14	15	25	25	18	18	18	18	18	18	14-16	10-15	10-15	10-15	10-15
Pork:																	
Fresh... per pound.	16	14	17	13	24	18	16	10-12	13-16	8-10	4-6	8-10	4-6	8-10	4-6	8-10	4-6
Salted... do.	16	14	17	15	20	20	15	10-12	13-16	8-10	6-12	8-10	6-12	8-10	6-12	8-10	6-12
Bacon... do.	18	20	20	22	20	20	12-16	10-12	13-16	8-10	7-12	8-10	7-12	8-10	7-12	8-10	7-12
Ham..... do.	25	25	22	25	45	28	13-23	25	25	8-12	7-15	8-12	7-15	8-12	7-15	8-12	7-15
Shoulder do.	20	18	20	20	20	20	12	10-12	13-16	8-10	4-10	8-10	4-10	8-10	4-10	8-10	4-10
Sausage... do.	20	16	19	20	20	20	12	10-12	13-16	8-10	6-10	8-10	6-10	8-10	6-10	8-10	6-10
Lard..... do.	20	20	21	22	21	21	15-18	12	12	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10
Codfish... do.	20	20	21	22	21	21	15-18	12	12	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10
Butter.... do.	20	20	21	22	21	21	15-18	12	12	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10
Cheese.... do.	20	20	21	22	21	21	15-18	12	12	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10	10-12	6-10
Potatoes... per bush.	56	50	50	\$1 15	\$1 10	60	\$1 12-20	60	63	95	\$1 40-60	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80
Rice..... per pound.	9	6	6	6	6	6	3-4	8	5	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10
Beans.... per quart.	10	13	12	12	12	12	3-4	8	5	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10
Milk..... do.	4	7	7	7	7	7	3-4	8	5	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10
Eggs..... per dozen.	20-25	18	20	18	20-25	20	19-30	14	23	25-30	10-24	25-30	10-24	25-30	10-24	25-30	10-24
Oatmeal... per pound.	8	7	7	7	7	7	3-4	8	5	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10	8-10	5-10
Tea..... do.	75	75	75	75	75	75	43-88	80	70-80	50-60	25-100	50-60	25-100	50-60	25-100	50-60	25-100
Coffee.... do.	3-10	30	35	32	45	30	25-42	30	32-50	20-30	16-40	20-30	16-40	20-30	16-40	20-30	16-40
Sugar..... do.	13-20	11	11	11	11	11	5-9	8	10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10
Molasses. per gallon.	60	70	60	70	60	70	60	70	60	60	70	60	70	60	70	60	70
Soap..... per pound.	10	4	10	10	10	10	5-9	8	10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10
Starch.... do.	9	10	10	10	10	10	5-9	8	10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	7-10
Coal..... per ton.	\$4 25	\$11 00	\$9 00	\$3 20-4 10	\$2 65	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25	\$3 00-3 25

## Purchasing Power of One Dollar in England, France, Germany, and America.

The following tabulation shows at a glance the *present* purchasing power of \$1 (which is equal to 4s. 2d., English; 5 francs, French; and 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  marks, German), in England and France:

## One Dollar will Purchase:

IN	Bread. Lbs.	Flour. Lbs.	Beef. Lbs.	Mutton. Lbs.	Pork. Lbs.	Potatoes. Bush.	Coffee. Lbs.	Sugar. Lbs.
England .....	25	25	5	6	8	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
France .....	20	18	5	5	7	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
Germany .....	20	8	5	5	6	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
United States .....	25	25	10	12	16	1	3	10

\* Black (rye) bread.

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the principal Cities of Europe, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with same in New York and Chicago.

ARTICLES.	Belgium.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Spain.	Switzerland.	United Kingdom.	United States.	
	Brussels.	Bordeaux.	Dresden.	Rome.	Barcelona.	Geneva.	Liverpool.	New York.	Chicago.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Bread.....per pound.	4-5	3-4	7	6	6	4	3½-4	4-4½	4-4½
Flour.....do.	.....	.....	6	10	6½	7	3½-5	3-4	2½-4½
Beef:—									
Roasting.....per pound.	20	20	24	20	20	30	22	12-16	8-12½
Soup.....do.	16	16	18	12	15	18	16	6-8	5-8
Rump.....do.	18	18	19	15	18	25	18	14-16	8-12½
Corned.....do.	16	16	18	12	.....	18	16	8-12	4-7
Veal:—									
Fore quarter.....per pound.	16	16	12	15	15	.....	14	8-10	6-10
Hind quarter.....do.	18	20	18	20	18	18	20	10-12	10-12
Cutlets.....do.	20	22	18	22	22	20	20	20-24	12½-15
Mutton:—									
Fore quarter.....per pound.	16	16	12	15	12	.....	14	9-10	5-12½
Hind quarter.....do.	18	20	18	18	15	18	20	12-14	5-15½
Chops.....do.	20	20	18	18	18	.....	20	14-16	10-15
Pork:—									
Fresh.....per pound.	16	12	18	15	20	18	16	8-10	4-8
Salted.....do.	16	14	18	18	20	20	16	8-10	6-12
Bacon.....do.	18	20	30	25	30	.....	20	8-10	7-12
Ham.....do.	20	25	35	30	40	28	24	8-12	7-15
Shoulder.....do.	16	16	30	25	30	.....	16	8-10	4-10
Sausage.....do.	18	16	20	20	.....	.....	20	8-10	6-10
Lard.....do.	20	.....	20	25	19	.....	16	10-12	6-10
Codfish.....do.	.....	.....	.....	10	9	.....	.....	6-7	5-9
Butter.....do.	20-50	.....	16	30	40	36	24-36	25-32	16-40
Cheese.....do.	20-25	.....	33	28	25	23	12-20	12-15	5-16
Potatoes.....per bush.	56	60	48	\$1 20	\$1 00	60	\$1 20-1 50	\$1 40-1 60	60-80
Rice.....per pound.	.....	.....	10	5	6½	.....	4-10	8-10	5-10
Beans.....per quart.	.....	.....	14	15	12	.....	.....	7-10	5-9
Milk.....do.	.....	.....	4	12	5	.....	6-8	8-10	3-6
Eggs.....per dozen.	20-25	10-15	.....	20	20	20	14-18	25-30	10-24
Oatmeal.....per pound.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3½-4	4-5	4-5
Tea.....do.	.....	.....	75	.....	60	50	40-85	50-60	25-60
Coffee.....do.	30-40	.....	36	40	40	30	24-40	20-30	15-40
Sugar.....do.	15-20	.....	12	8	10	8	5-8	8-10	7-10
Molasses.....per gallon.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60-70	40-80
Soap.....per pound.	.....	.....	.....	4	9	.....	4-10	6-7	3-8
Starch.....do.	.....	.....	.....	10	9	.....	.....	8-10	5-10
Coal.....per ton.	.....	.....	\$3 10	\$11 00	\$9 00	.....	\$3 65-4 38	\$3 00-5 25	\$3 00-6 75

### Earnings of brain-workers in England— What a competent clerk earns, expends, and saves in one year at Bristol.

U. S. Consul Lathrop, in his report on the "condition of labor in Bristol," October 30, 1883, says:

There is reason for giving prominence and importance to the state of the manual laborer, but why his condition should interest, and why it should be a factor in political economy to the entire exclusion of the head-worker, I know not, and why the comparative condition of the joint head and hand workers, the clerks of the world, is not full of interest and instruction I fail to perceive.

Of the brain-workers of England, their position, their emoluments, I cannot here speak at length. The learned professions are hemmed in and around by a wall of expense insurmountable to most patient endeavor, unless it be aided by a ladder of gold.

As with the intellectual workman it is impossible, owing to the influence of individual abilities and character, to strike an average of income, so with the clerk it is difficult but not impracticable. The really competent man in Bristol, who has been in one employ ten years, will earn about £150 or £170 per annum. Of course, individual ability and employer's disposition makes great fluctuations, but this amount is near the average. The relationship this income bears to expense

may be discovered by an inspection of an account of yearly expenditure made by an acquaintance of mine, a clerk with an income of £150 per annum, who seems to be as methodical in his household as in his employer's office. His family consists of himself, wife, and two children aged respectively seven and three.

Rent and taxes,* £2 13s. 5d. or		
\$13 per month; per annum	£32 00s. or	\$156 00
Meat 1s. or 2d cents per day; per		
annum	18 05 or	88 80
Groceries and vegetables	18 05 or	88 80
Washing, 3s. 6d. or 84 cents per		
week; per annum	9 02 or	44 27
Fuel, one-half ton coal per month,		
at 14s. or \$3.40 per ton; per		
annum	4 04 or	20 43
Bread, 2-pound loaf daily, at 2½d.		
or 5 cents; per annum	5 10 or	26 76
Milk, 1 pint daily, at 2d. or 4 cents;		
per annum	3 05 or	15 80
Outside help twice a week to clean;		
per annum	2 12 or	12 64
Clothes	24 00 or	118 80
Gas, 2s. 8d. or 66 cents per M. ft.	3 00 or	14 60
Renewing furniture, household		
utensils, etc.	9 00 or	43 29
General expenses absorbed the		
entire balance †	20 17 or	101 50
	£150 00 or	\$729 60

\* Six-roomed house; fairly comfortable; neighborhood, medium; a fairly representative home for the money.

† Nothing saved this year, and nothing expected to be added to the savings-bank account (which had neither grown nor diminished since marriage) until an expected promotion should somewhat increase the annual income.

## PART VIII.

**General Harrison's one pregnant fact worth a bushel of figures to the protected American workman—"The Gates of Castle Garden Swing inward"—Representative McKinley on "Cheap Labor."**

On July 26, 1888, at Indianapolis, General Harrison made a speech to the Coal Miners' Club of Brazil, in which he said:

This demonstration has relation, I am sure, rather to principles than to men. You come here as representatives of the diversified interests of your country. You are fortunate in already possessing diversified industries. You have not only agriculture, but the mine and factory which provide home markets for the products of your farms. You come, as I understand, from all these pursuits to declare that in your opinion your interests as farmers, as miners, as mechanics, as tradesmen, are identified with the maintenance of the doctrine of protection to American industries and the preservation of the American market for American products. [Cheers.]

## A Pregnant Fact

Some resort to statistics to show that the condition of the American workman is better than that of the workman of any other country. I do not care now to deal with statistics. One fact is enough for me. The tide of immigration from all European countries has been, and is, toward our shores. The gates of Castle Garden swing inward. They do not swing outward to any American laborer seeking a better country than this. [Cries of "Never."]

My countrymen, these men, who have toiled at wages in other lands that barely sustained life, and opened no avenue of promise to them or their children, know the good land of hope, as well as the swallow knows the land of summer. [Applause.] They testify that here there are better conditions, wider and more hopeful prospects for workmen than in any other land. The next suggestion I have to make is this: That the more work there is to do in this country, the higher the wages that will be paid for the doing of it. [Applause.] I speak to men who know that when the product of their toil is in demand in the market, when buyers are seeking it, wages advance with the demand; but when the market for your product is depressed and the manufacturer is begging for buyers, then wages go down.

## The Republican Protective Policy compared with the Democratic Free-Trade Policy.

Is it not clear, then, that that policy which secures the largest amount of work to be done at home is the policy which will secure to our laboring-men steady employment at the best wages? [Cheers and cries of "That is right."] A policy which will transfer work from our mines and our factories to foreign mines and foreign factories inevitably tends to the depression of wages here. [Applause.] These are truths that do not require profound study. Having here a land that throws about the working-man, social and political conditions more favorable than are found elsewhere, if we can preserve also more favorable industrial conditions, we shall secure the highest interests of our working classes. [Great cheering.] What, after all, is the best evidence of a national prosperity and best guaranty of social order if it is not an intelligent, thrifty, contented working class? Can we look for contentment if the workman is only able to supply his daily necessities by his daily toil, but is not able in the vigor of youth to lay up a store against old age? A condition of things that compels the laborer to contemplate want as an incident of sickness or disability is one that tends to social disorder. [Applause and cries of "That's so."] You are called upon now to consider these problems. I will not debate them in detail; others will. I can only commend them to your thoughtful consideration. Think upon them; conclude for yourselves what policy as to our tariff legislation will best subserve your interests, the interests of your

families, and the greatness and glory of the nation of which you are citizens. [Cheers.]

**Representative McKinley declares that "Cheap Labor makes Cheap Men."**

In the course of his speech at Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 21, 1888, Major McKinley said:

Upon what terms can we adopt a revenue tariff system in this country? In one way only, by accepting European conditions, and submitting to all the discomforts and disadvantages of our commercial rivals. The chief obstruction in the way of a revenue tariff is the wages paid American workmen, and any return to that policy involves a reduction of the cost of labor. We cannot afford, Mr. President, to have cheap labor in the United States. Cheap labor means cheap men and dear money. I would rather elevate and improve the condition of my fellow-citizens than increase the value of money and the power of "money-bags." This is a Republic of free and equal citizenship. The Government is in the hands of the masses, and not of the few. This is our boast, and it is a proud one. The condition of the masses, their well-being, their intelligence, their preparation for the civil duties which rest upon them, depend largely upon the scale of industrial wages. It is essential, therefore, that the best possible wages attainable shall be secured and maintained. This is vital and fundamental. We cannot without grave danger and serious disturbance—we ought not under any circumstances—adopt a policy which would scale down the wages and diminish the comforts of the American workmen. Their welfare and independence, their progress and elevation, are closely related to the welfare and independence and progress of the Republic. We have got no pampered class in this country, and we want none. We want the field kept open. No narrowing of the avenues; no lowering of our standard. We want no barriers raised against a higher and better civilization. The gateway of opportunity must be open to all, to the end that they may be the first who deserve to be first, whether born in poverty or reared in luxury. We do not want the masses excluded from competing for the first rank among their countrymen and for the nation's greatest honors, and we do not mean they shall be.

Free trade, or a revenue tariff, will of necessity shut them out. It has no respect for labor. It holds it as the mere machinery of capital. It would have cheap men that it might have cheap merchandise. With all of its boasted love for the struggling millions, it is infinitely more interested in cutting down the wages of labor than in saving twenty-five cents on a blanket; more intent in reducing the purchasing power of a man's labor than the cost of his coat. Things are not always dearest when their price is nominally the highest. The price is not the only measure, but the wherewith to buy it is an essential factor. Few men before me but have found in the course of their lives more than once that that which was cheapest when measured by mere price was the dearest when they were without money and employment, or when their products could find no market, and, finding it, commanded no price at all commensurate with the labor required to produce them. Primarily, it is labor which is interested most in this question of protection. The man with money can seek other avenues of profit and investment, or can wait for his dividends, but the laborer cannot wait for his dinner, and the United States do not want the citizens who make Presidents and Senators and the House of Representatives to be in a condition of dependence and destitution. That is not the sort of citizenship we want.

## PART IX.

**Bank-Savings of the Protected American wage-worker contrasted with those of the British Free-Trade wage-worker—Mr. Blaine's Figures.**

On Aug. 23, 1888, at Bangor, Me., Mr. Blaine, in the course of a speech, said,—

In a brief speech which I made in the city of New York on the day of my arrival from abroad, I re-

marked, as illustrating the superior condition of laboring men in the United States, that the wage-workers in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland did not have in the savings banks of that country as large a sum to their credit as did the wage-workers of the comparatively small State of Massachusetts in the savings banks of that State. A day or two afterward this ponderous and most significant fact was violently contradicted by many Democratic papers. They one and all perverted my statement by imputing to me the declaration that there was a larger aggregation of money in the savings banks of Massachusetts than there was in the savings banks of the British Isles. As I happened to know quite as well as the gentlemen who contradicted me the exact figures in both cases, I was very careful in making my statement, and I confined myself strictly to the wage-workers in Great Britain and Ireland, and the amount to the credit of the wage-workers in Massachusetts. It will be shown by the report of my speech in the very papers that afterward misquoted it. It is really in that special feature of the deposits that the pith of the whole question lies. Let me now give the figures for Great Britain and Ireland, and in so doing I will use dollars instead of pounds, so as to make all comparisons the more quickly apprehended, and I will give the British depositors an advantage of 3 per cent in reckoning the pound as equivalent to five dollars.

The total amount at the close of last year in both the savings and postal banks of the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, \$520,000,000. But the whole of this sum was by no means to the credit of the wage-workers of the kingdom. Under the English law various other classes are permitted to make deposits, both in the savings and postal banks. From an authoritative British publication you may learn that persons of independent means, professional men and their wives, may deposit in these institutions; so also may policemen, letter-carriers, revenue officers, pensioners, and their wives; so also may minors having accounts in their own names; so also may "females described only as married women, widows, or spinsters;" so also may "trust accounts" be deposited, including all joint accounts, or principally for minors; so also may persons engaged in education, male and female, which includes professors in universities and colleges, and principals and teachers in all other schools. The limit for any one depositor is \$150 per year, and the amount cannot exceed \$1,000 with interest.

#### Further proofs that savings of British Free-Trade wage-workers are less than those of the protected wage-workers of Massachusetts alone.

What proportion the deposits of wage-workers bear to the whole is not officially reported, but, as in this country, is simply estimated. I found in England that the amount belonging to actual wage-workers was variously stated—some putting it as low as ten per cent of the total deposits, while most of those from whom I sought information put it at about twenty-five per cent. For the sake of being just and even liberal in the comparisons, let us estimate at thirty-five per cent, or more than one-third of the total deposits, a sum equivalent to one hundred and eighty-two millions of dollars (\$182,000,000) as belonging to actual wage-workers in the kingdom. That is an estimate many millions higher than was made me by an Englishman of whom I made inquiry.

Let us now turn to Massachusetts for the other side of this comparison. At the close of last year the total amount of deposits in the savings banks of that Commonwealth was more than three hundred and seventeen millions of dollars (\$317,000,000)—and this in addition to fifty-eight millions (\$58,000,000) in trust companies and co-operative banks, which also receive deposits from wage-workers, but of which I shall take no note, confining myself to the savings banks proper, as in England there is no official statement as to the occupation of depositors, but at the Treasury office of Massachusetts it is estimated that 75 per cent of the whole amount, or \$237,000,000, belong to the wage-workers of the State. In the case of the British depositors, I assigned them 10 per cent more than any estimate which I received in England. So let us reduce the estimate of the Treasury of Massachusetts by 10 per cent and assign only 65 per

cent to the credit of the wage-workers of that State, and the amount will be found to be \$206,000,000, or \$24,000,000 more than the amount to the credit of the wage-workers of the United Kingdom.

I beg you, gentlemen, to take in the full force of this statement. I am making comparison between the savings of the wage-workers of a Kingdom accounted the wealthiest of Europe, with a population of 38,000,000, on the one hand, and on the other hand the savings of the wage-workers in one of the smallest State territorially of the American Union, with a population of the last census of a million and three-quarters (1,783,085), and only a little more, perhaps, than two millions to-day—the British artisan working under a system of absolute free trade, the Massachusetts workman working under a well-organized system of protection. The figures have such portentous meaning that it is no wonder the free-trade Democratic papers fly from them and reject their conclusions.

But they cannot escape, for I am willing, after vindicating as I have the correctness of my own statement as made in New York, to take the statement which they imputed to me and ask them to publish the figures and the comparisons which are so readily reduced. Admit, for the argument, that the whole sum of five hundred and twenty millions (\$520,000,000) in the savings banks belongs to the wage-workers of the United Kingdom, and that on the other hand the entire \$317,000,000 in the savings banks of Massachusetts belong to the wage-workers of that State. What, then, is the inference? That the wage-workers among thirty-eight millions of people have saved the one sum, while the wage-workers among two millions of people have saved the other; or that nineteen wage-workers in England have saved \$260, while one wage-worker in Massachusetts has saved \$158.50, or that one wage-worker in Massachusetts has saved as much as twelve wage-workers in England.

#### British wage-workers' savings contrasted with those of the protected wage-workers of New York and all the New England States with like result.

But I anticipate the fling from the Democratic editors that these startling statistics are in Massachusetts, and that she has always been especially favored in the accumulation of wealth by the protective tariff, and has grown rich at the expense of other States of the Union. Let them, then, turn to New York, whose electoral vote transferred the National Administration to the Democratic party. New York has to-day about six millions of people, or perhaps somewhat less than one-sixth of the population of the United Kingdom. Their savings banks contained, at the beginning of this year, five hundred and five millions of dollars—within a small fraction—or, if the exchange be correctly made, the full equivalent of all the deposits in the savings and postal banks of the whole United Kingdom. If the United Kingdom had the same proportional amount of deposits in her savings and postal banks as New York, the sum total would exceed three thousand millions of dollars (\$3,000,000,000), and would almost offset her gigantic national debt.

Or, if you please, take another State which helped to give the country a Democratic Administration—Connecticut. With only a little over six hundred thousand people at the last census, she has one hundred and two millions of dollars (\$102,000,000) deposited in her savings banks.

Or, if you choose, without further considering individual States, let us group New York with the six New-England States, and you will find that the aggregate amount in the savings banks of the seven States to-day is \$1,100,000,000. The amount in these respective States belonging to the wage-workers, in every State except Connecticut, is reckoned at seventy-five per cent. Connecticut estimates sixty-five, while in New York the estimates exceed eighty per cent. But to make the statement abundantly safe, take sixty-five per cent for the whole, and you have over \$715,000,000 in the savings banks of the seven States credited to wage-workers. To state the fact in other words, you find an American population of 11,000,000, in which the present savings of the wage-workers are four times as great as the savings of the wage-workers among the 38,000,000 people of Great Britain and Ireland.

At this point the Democratic advocate of free trade answers that these great gains to the wage-workers came from their industry and thrift, and were not in the least helped by a protective tariff. Let us see. For twenty years preceding the enactment of a protective tariff in 1861, with the exception of a short period of between three and four years in 1842-46, the country was under a low revenue tariff, precisely of the kind now recommended by President Cleveland and approved by the Democratic party in Congress. At the end of that period, the savings banks of New York and New England had total deposits of \$149,000,000. Allowing the wage-workers of that day to have the same proportion of the total deposits as they now have, their share would be \$97,000,000. We are now in the twenty-eighth year of a protective tariff, enacted by a Republican Congress, and made more effective from year to year as industrial experience enabled Congress from time to time to correct and adjust its workings. How, then, stands the matter at the end of twenty-eight years of protection? The wage-workers of New York and New England have \$715,000,000 to their credit, or nearly eight times the amount gained under twenty-eight years of free trade in the same States.

The population of the seven States at the close of the long era of free-trade was 7,250,000, and their population in this twenty-eighth year of protection is presumed to be 11,000,000. The wage-workers of these States, tolling under a revenue tariff such as is recommended by the President, had earned a surplus amounting to \$13.50 for each person of the entire population, while the wage-workers for the later period under a protective tariff have earned \$65 per head for the total population; or, in other words, the average wage-worker under a protective tariff in the United States has been enabled to save five times as much as the average wage-worker under a mere revenue tariff.

## PART X.

### Does "the Mills Bill more than cover the difference in Wages between this and other countries"?

In the course of several searching articles on "Wages and the Tariff," the *New York Tribune*, Aug. 1888, says:

The audacity of the claim that duties averaging 40 per cent will "more than cover" the difference in wages between this and other countries will be better appreciated if the wages of workers in certain industries be compared with the present or proposed duties. The following table shows by industries the average weekly wages of the persons in the ninety-three occupations in Great Britain and the United States, as given in Census Volume No. 20, with the percentage of excess in the United States:

	Great Britain.	United States.	Per ct. higher.
Boots and shoes.....	\$6 17	\$14 20	130.2
Gas.....	7 86	11 70	48.9
Hats.....	3 79	8 45	123.2
Iron furnaces.....	6 68	10 40	55.6
Iron foundries.....	7 42	13 55	82.5
Machinery.....	7 69	14 56	89.3
Rolling mills.....	8 15	14 45	77.2
Coal mining.....	5 56	11 57	107.9
Iron mining.....	5 52	11 70	111.9
Paper.....	4 72	8 55	81.3
Potteries.....	8 80	18 30	110.4
Carpets.....	6 45	10 19	58.0
Cotton.....	4 91	9 01	83.6
Silk.....	6 26	11 72	87.0
Woolen.....	6 95	8 29	67.3
Cars.....	6 85	10 87	54.7
Carpenters.....	6 94	11 84	70.6
Smiths.....	6 98	16 48	136.1
Masons.....	7 45	16 33	119.2
Tinners.....	7 32	14 76	101.6

	Great Britain.	United States.	Per ct. higher.
Engineers.....	7 47	15 24	104.0
Mechanics.....	6 95	13 85	99.3
Painters.....	6 33	11 71	85.0
Coppersmiths.....	7 74	15 00	93.8
Laborers.....	4 37	7 70	76.2
Average weekly.....	\$6 27	\$12 05	92.2

Beginning with the potteries, which are especially important to many voters in New Jersey, it should be said that a complete table of wages in thirteen kinds of work in that State and Great Britain has been quoted from the census volume, as to this industry, in preference to other statistics which are less complete as to male workers. But the latter give wages of women, lads, and girls, who are about one-third of the workers in this industry, and will therefore be separately examined hereafter. The Mills bill cuts down duties from 60 to 50 per cent on decorated ware, from 55 to 40 per cent on plain china, and from 55 to 35 per cent on common crockery. Yet it is pretended that the proposed duties will "more than cover a difference in wages" which exceeds 110 per cent, according to the New Jersey quotations.

The paper manufacture is another which reduced duties would affect. The Mills bill would cut down duties from 25 to 20 per cent on paper hangings, from 20 to 15 per cent on sized, and from 15 to 12 per cent on unsized paper. Yet the difference in wages between this country and Great Britain is 81.3 per cent. To the mind of a Democratic statesman a duty of 12 to 20 per cent "more than covers" a difference of over 80 per cent in wages. In cotton goods average duties of 40 per cent are proposed, and ad valorem duties that evasion and fraud may be more easy; the difference in wages in the principal occupations of this manufacture is 83.6 per cent. In the silk manufacture the duties are only 50 per cent; the difference in wages is 87 per cent in the occupations which can be compared. The ear-makers see it proposed to cut down duties on earriages of all kinds from 35 to 30 per cent, but their wages are 58.7 per cent higher than in England. The carpet-workers in this State, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut will be especially interested to see that Mr. Mills cuts down duties on foreign carpets from 47.64 to 40 per cent, pretending that 40 per cent is enough to "cover the difference in wages," which appears from official tables to be 58 per cent.

The Mills bill does not put iron ore on the free list, only because Mr. Cleveland's friends did not dare to treat producers in Southern States as they treated producers of copper in Michigan, or of lumber in that State and Wisconsin, or of salt in New York. The duty on ore is but 41 per cent, while the difference in wages of miners between this country and Great Britain is 111.9 per cent. The bill reduces the duty on pig iron, now 56.6 per cent, to about 50 per cent, while the difference in wages in iron furnaces is 55.6 per cent, so that the advantage offered to foreign producers is not large. But producers of pig iron cannot live unless the manufacture thrives, and the bill reduces about one-eighth the duties on bar iron, now only 50.79 per cent, although the difference in wages between this country and Great Britain is 77.2 per cent. A still more ugly blow is intended in placing tin plates on the free list, of which the imports are already over 635,000,000 pounds, and in reducing from 84.33 to 55 per cent the duty on steel rails, the difference in wages in these as in other rolling mills being 77.2 per cent.

These comparisons suffice to show that the Mills bill does not "more than cover the difference in wages" between this country and Great Britain, as Free Traders pretend. It was deliberately intended not to protect, and therefore it gives the foreign producer the advantage in every industry of which wages have been examined. With wages in 102 occupations 92 per cent higher in this country than in Great Britain, as official records show, could there be a more impudent pretence than that duties averaging 40 per cent on dutiable articles, with several hundred articles placed on the free list, will "more than cover the difference in wages" between this and other countries?

## CHAPTER VII.

## Condition of Unprotected Labor in Europe.

*"The gates of Castle Garden swing inward; . . . these men who have toiled at wages in other lands that barely sustained life, and opened no avenue of promise to them or their children, know the good land of hope as well as the swallow knows the land of summer. They testify that here there are better conditions, wider and more hopeful prospects for workmen than in any other land."* — Benjamin Harrison, at Indianapolis, July 26, 1888.

*"Should we not also, as Americans, in our legislation consider first the interests of our people?"* — Ibid.

*"I have always believed that no man's wages should be so low that he cannot make provision in his days of vigor for the feebleness of old age."* — Ibid.

## PART I.

## Senator Frye's visit to Europe in 1887

— His personal investigation of the condition of labor in Italy, Belgium, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere in Europe.

In his speech in the United States Senate, Jan. 23, 1888, Senator Frye, of Maine, said:

During the year, the opportunity offering, I investigated as thoroughly as I could the condition of labor in Europe. My information was gathered largely from European investigators and from the men and women who worked. I found that to obtain it from the employers was difficult; and, when obtained, it was unreliable, wages being generally exaggerated. They were fond of dealing in averages. They arrived at these by disregarding numbers. For instance, in a cotton mill nearly all of the employees are women, a few skilled men being required to look after the machinery, to whom fair wages are paid. The superintendent, in answer to your inquiry, would reply, "We pay from \$2 a week to \$8, the average being \$4 or \$5." He never volunteered the information, that, while one hundred of his employees earned \$2 a week, only two were paid \$8. Our consuls are entitled to great credit for their unceasing efforts to arrive at the facts; but their sources of information have generally necessarily been the employers, and some of it, I know, has been incorrect. I visited personally factories, furnaces, forges, ship-yards, iron and coal mines, and talked, whenever I could, with the workmen, and in my conclusions, as to facts, do not think I can be mistaken.

## Italy.

Italy is not, I admit, a serious competitor of ours to-day, but, if I mistake not her spirit, means soon to be. She is not a power to be ignored in the great struggle of the nations for commercial and manufacturing supremacy. She has nearly 30,000,000 of people, an army of 500,000 men, a navy greatly superior to ours, powerful coast defence, supports and encourages her merchant marine by bounties and subsidies. King Humbert is one of the most sagacious rulers in all Europe, and understanding thoroughly that to make his country prosperous and powerful the people must be employed, he is doing his utmost to encourage manufacturing enterprises, with a success, too, which is little known outside his own borders. During ten years the increase shipment of cotton from India to Italy has been 175 per cent, while that to England for

the same period shows a decided decrease. What are the wages? In a government lace factory employing hundreds of women and girls, making the finest thread laces in the world, the earnings were from 8 to 12 cents a day. One woman, who had worked there for forty years, the most skilled in the factory, succeeded in earning 12 cents a day, as I saw by the pay-roll of the mill. The superintendent of a cotton mill near Naples, employing mostly women, told me that they were excellent workmen, willing, contented, and cheerful; that their wages averaged 20 cents a day, while the men worked for 40. In a marble yard I found the earnings to be from 40 to 60 cents a day. Forty cents a day was regarded as good pay for an able-bodied man. In the silk mills 20 cents for women and from 40 to 50 for men would secure all the laborers wanted. The farming was done almost entirely by women at from 16 to 20 cents a day. I never saw there any improved farm implements. Should they be furnished, four out of five of these women could be relieved from outdoor work and go into the mills. Indeed, there seems to be no end to the men and women willing to work for the lowest wages and yet with nothing to do. It is difficult to conceive of a progress in manufacturing which shall create in twenty years a demand for labor sufficient to increase to any great extent the wages.

## Belgium.

Belgium is a competitor, and to England a most alarming one. It is a perfect bee-hive. The women make the land blossom like a rose at daily wages from 20 to 25 cents. In the lace factories at Brussels the skilled women, who in Italy were earning 12 cents a day, could command 20. In the cotton mills 25 cents a day was regarded as satisfactory wages for women, from 40 to 50 for men. In the iron and steel works \$4 a week would furnish an ample supply of common laborers, while skilled labor seldom averaged more than \$5 or \$6. Miners of iron and coal received from \$3.75 to \$4 a week.

## Germany.

My conclusion was that the wages in Germany were hardly as high as in Belgium. Agricultural laborers seemed to be plenty at 20 cents a day, while women wood-sawyers in the streets of Munich were content with the same. I was told by a German statistician, an investigator of the labor problem, that the cotton-mills, employing mostly women, could hire them for any thing they pleased to pay, and that some corporations without soul were taking advantage of this condition and paying wages "atrocious in their meagerness." To test the influence of their tariff on wages, a call was made upon 233 establishments, engineering, iron and steel, where presumably, the highest wages are paid,

for returns for the years 1879 and 1886. The responses show that the average wages paid before were about 15 shillings a week, and 16 shillings 6 pence in 1886, while the increase of workmen in these industries was 30,000. The supply of labor still exceeded the demand, and the rise had been small. I see that one of our consuls reports the average wages of women employed in the German factories to be \$2.38 a week. I am clearly of opinion that he is deceived, that he procured these figures from the employers and not from the employed. I am entirely confident that one can employ all the women he requires at 25 cents a day to do any kind of work.

At Stuttgart, an important manufacturing point, there is an immense corset factory, and the wages actually paid were not one-third of those in a like concern in the United States. The entire product was shipped to this country and invoiced at one-half of its market price. Hon. Charles P. Kimball, formerly Democratic candidate for governor of Maine, received the appointment from Mr. Cleveland to the consulship at this city. Three months after his arrival he wrote to me: "I came here a free-trader; I am now a high protectionist. With present wages in America the attempt to compete with these Germans is absurd. Why, the wages are a mere bagatelle. Our party should be looking to an increase rather than to a decrease in duties." I am quoting this letter from memory, but the substance is correctly given. Mr. Kimball paid a first-class coachman 2 marks (48 cents) a day, and he boarded himself. From careful inquiries addressed to our consuls, to gentlemen investigating the labor problem, to employers and employed, I am entirely satisfied that the average annual earnings of able-bodied men in Germany will not exceed \$116, and of women \$65, while the agricultural laborers and the women employed in out-of-door work earn still less.

#### England.

But England is the free-trader's paradise, and her scale of wages, higher than in any continental country, is cited as proof positive that a tariff is no protector of wage-workers, forgetting that this scale was largely influenced by the highest kind of protection, rigorously enforced by England until she believed that her wealth, her machinery, and her skilled workmen could control the markets of the world. Neither her manufacturers nor her laborers to-day participate in this admiration of her fiscal policy. Wages all over Great Britain are low and decreasing. Eighty thousand women are working in her cotton-mills at Manchester for from 30 to 35 cents a day, while the manufacturers are insisting upon a decrease, to enable them to compete with Germany and Belgium. Two shillings, and in favored localities two and sixpence, a day are the highest wages paid to common men laborers, while hundreds of thousands cannot get work at that. I saw, on the magnificent docks at Liverpool, thousands of men, hungry-looking men, daily asking for work, work at any price, work if only an hour, so that they might buy bread for their children. The streets of the great cities are full of idle men, not willingly so, but from necessity, and great armies of police are required to preserve the peace. She is to-day supporting in her poorhouses more than a million of people, and how many more receive out-door relief no man can tell. Her silk industry is almost destroyed, her cotton is suffering, her iron and steel being supplanted by that of Germany and Belgium, her ship-building not employing one-half of the usual complement of men.

I heard Mr. Bradlaugh declare in a speech in Parliament that agriculture was ruined; that half of the farm laborers could get no work; that those employed received the pittance of a shilling or a shilling and sixpence a day. If I should describe the condition of English laborers in his words, I should be charged with gross exaggeration. This being England's condition to-day, what utter nonsense to talk about high wages there! I say that men and women there will to-day work for what they can get, and that the wages actually paid are not more than one-half of those paid in our Northern States.

#### Scotland.

Scotland is in no better condition. In Glasgow, where Mr. Bright said forty-one thousand families out of every one hundred thousand lived each in one room, the army of the unemployed is perfectly immense, the evidences of pinching poverty horrible.

The great works on and near that marvellous river, the Clyde, are painfully slack in business, ship-building greatly depressed, the most of the iron used, until recently mined and worked at home, is now imported from Spain, and wages are adjusted by the employers. While I was there all the ship-yards, furnaces, forges, and factories in and for ten miles around the city shut down for an entire week on account of a two-days' fair.

The Langloan iron works, located here, do an immense business, cover 35 acres of land, run 7 furnaces, produce 300 tons of iron daily, consume in its production 500 tons of coal. The average haul of the coal is only 2 miles, and the cost delivered 5s. The average wages illustrate the highest paid labor. Skilled workmen are paid from 3s. to 7s. a day, the large majority not over 4s.; their coal miners from \$5.59 a week to \$5.88, iron-miners from \$5.34 to \$5.59 per hand, foremen from \$6.25 to \$6.32 a week, common laborers from 54 cents to 62 a day. I had a curiosity to visit Paisley, knowing that the enormous thread mills had their duplicates in our own country, at Newark and Pawtucket, run by the same owners. The hands employed there and here are nearly all women. The business is such as to require careful selection. The operatives were neat in appearance, active, attentive to their work, and satisfactory to their employers. Their earnings at the Paisley mills averaged about \$2.80 a week. A month or two since I was at Pawtucket; found the average weekly wages of the same class of workers, on precisely the same work and for the same owners, to be nearly \$8 a week. Mr. Coates, of the firm, told me that the help in Paisley were as active, efficient, and attended to as many machines or spindles as at Pawtucket. It is impossible to find a more reliable and faithful illustration of the difference in wages in Great Britain and America than this.

#### Ireland.

It is hard for me to understand how any moderately decent rate of wages can prevail in this afflicted country. More than half of the people, men and women, seemed to be entirely out of work. As you ride through the country hundreds will follow your carriage, some of them for miles, begging for a penny. Agriculture seems practically dead. Out of the 250,000 tenants of small holdings, 5 acres and less, many, if not the most, formerly worked on the farms in England and Scotland during each summer, earning and saving enough to pay their rents, while their wives and children cared for the home lot. But now the farmers of England and Scotland cannot employ more than two-thirds of their own, so that resource is cut off. In some counties almost half of the inhabitants are now receiving help. Pauperism is fearfully increasing. They raise an abundance of wool, are willing to work for the lowest wages, and nearly all their mills are idle. What little cotton manufacturing they had seems to have disappeared, and even the linen industry has greatly declined. I hardly see how any rate of wages could be fixed.

They might depend upon the greed of the manufacturer and the hunger of the worker. The very best of house servants could be obtained for \$1 a week. Flax breakers asked about \$4 a week, hacklers about the same, spinners and weavers \$2 to \$2.50. The women at work on the farms, I was told by good authority, were glad of 20 cents a day. Of the countries I visited, the wages in Switzerland and Italy were the lowest, Germany next, then Belgium, then France, while those in England were highest.

## PART II.

### Condition of Labor in England—What Representative Kelley saw in 1883—Testimony of the London Congregational Union.

Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania, during 1883, travelled extensively in Europe with his daughter, Miss Kelley. Together they visited manufacturing towns in England, and their observations of the condition

of labor in England are very interesting. In his speech in the House, April 15, 1884, Mr. Kelley said of the poor of England:

**The poor of London as badly conditioned as the Sans Culottes of France.**

It did not surprise me to learn that distinguished prelates of the Established Church had in a church congress warned those to whom they had a right to speak with authority that the condition of the poor of England, as they had found it upon personal inspection within a short distance from the palaces of the Queen and of the Prince of Wales, was as bad as that of the French *sans culottes* in the years immediately preceding the sanguinary revolution of 1793.

**A family of nine living in a cellar near Bloomsbury Square no larger than the area of six church-pews.**

A dissenting clergyman, the eloquent and devoted pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel, which stands but a few hundred feet from Bloomsbury Square and the solid middle-class mansions around it, said to his congregation that he had found but a short distance from the pulpit from which he spoke, a family of nine, including father, mother, sons and daughters, who occupied a cellar not larger than the space marked by six of the pews his hearers occupied. "*This was not,*" he said, "*a peculiar case, but one of many thousands.*"

**Another wretched family near Westminster Abbey — A full-grown girl devoured by vermin.**

Within a week we have read, at least those who watch the papers for such indications of the condition of the British people, of a family found by the coroner near Westminster's grand old abbey, and in one of the most aristocratic quarters of London, in a cellar without a window, one member of which, a girl of full age, had just died, but whose flesh had been largely consumed by vermin before death came to her relief. *These are said to be familiar chapters in the lives of tens of thousands who, though able and willing to work, can find no place among the wage-earners of free-trade England, who our Democratic friends present as a national exemplar from whom they would have us accept as indisputable truths dogmas the prevalence of which has produced in that country these terrible results.*

**Trace-chains made by English women at 25 cents per day minus the cost of fuel and forge and rods.**

"Yes," I think I hear some of you reply to me, "you studied the poverty of London, which is, we are ready to admit, unparalleled." No; I spent ten days, unknown to everybody but my daughter, who was my companion, in Birmingham, and in visiting the manufacturing towns around that rich and beautiful city. We visited so much of the overcrowded precincts of the city itself as a lady might ride into, and in charge of a policeman I went beyond these limits. Our visits embraced Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley, where we found women making nails, trace-chains, heavy fire-bricks, and galvanizing hollow-ware. I observe among those who do me the honor to be present, my friend from Kentucky [Mr. Turner], who comes to each succeeding Congress on the doctrine of free trace-chains, a bill to transfer which article to the free list he never fails to introduce. The introduction of the bill does nobody any harm, and I shall continue to welcome him as long as I shall be returned and a Democrat comes from that district.

Mr. TURNER of Kentucky. I never weary in well doing, and I hope that after a while you will grant us that reasonable request.

Mr. KELLEY. Oh, yes; you ought to have free trace-chains, for we learned that the women who make them, if they are quick and good hands, can realize 25 cents a day. [Applause on the Republican side.] And all that they have to pay out of their weekly wage of 6s. 1s 1d. 6d. for the forge and fuel, and another 6d. for having the rods out of which to make the chains

brought to the forge. Free trace-chains! God forbid that any Kentucky girl or woman should ever work at such unwomanly employment for such starvation wages, even though it be to furnish free trace-chains to my friend and his constituents. [Applause.]

**The forges of Halesowen — Two nail-makers earn \$1.25 between them in a week — Women brick-makers at \$1.50 a week.**

In one of the smallest and dingiest of the forges of Halesowen we found two men at work making light nails, such as girls are put to making when at fourteen years of age the British law will allow them to leave school and enter upon their lives of unwomanly toil. One of these men was a cripple, and the other was evidently suffering from pulmonary disease. One of them by expending his force for full time could earn 3s., per week and the other 4s., from each of which sums are deducted weekly 1s. for fuel and furnace rent, so that at the close of the week they had as a net result of their joint toil \$1.25. In the villages I have named, all of which are appendages of Birmingham, we also saw English girls and matrons making large fire-bricks; one carrying against her breast or stomach heavy lumps of wet clay, out of which her co-worker, it may be her sister or mother, molded the immense bricks which she who had brought the clay carried to a heated space near to where she was to pick up her next load of wet clay. Why, you ask, do these girls engage in such work? The answer is a simple one: they prefer to make bricks because they can make 6s., or a dollar and a half, net, per week, while their sisters who make nails or chains cannot assuredly earn so much, and are, as I have said, subject to a charge of 1s. 6d. per week for fuel and rent of forge.

**The deadly galvanizing rooms of Cradley — Girl galvanizers at \$1.75 per week.**

The chief specialties of Cradley are chains and hollow-ware. There we saw girls galvanizing stew-pans, boilers, bath-tubs, and other articles of like nature. The desperate struggle for life imposed on British toilers by cheap goods and low wages is well illustrated at Cradley. The assured receipt of \$1.50 a week will tempt women from the nail or chain-maker's forge to the brick-shed. The pay of a galvanizer is \$1.75 per week; and for this additional shilling girls will pass the forge and the brick-shed to engage in a galvanizing room, although the strongest of them knows that in less than six months the gases generated by the process will vitally impair her health.

**The villages around Birmingham — Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley.**

In this connection I submit a brief extract from one of Miss Kelley's published letters:

"It is characteristic of the neighborhood of Birmingham that each village has one industry; thus nailers and chainmakers are as thoroughly separated as though their work differed radically, and separation were needed. But the difference between Lye-Waste and Cradley is slight. There are the same forges, the same hovels, the same dusty roads, and the same industrious people. To tell the story of the chainmakers whom we watched at their forges, is merely to repeat the picture of Stocking Lane, and this I have no wish to do. Here and there, however, the forges are interspersed with factories and 'works,' and the facts as to these works illustrate some of the ills to which the nailers eagerly fly in their efforts to escape from their peculiar slavery."

"In one establishment we were shown young women at work on galvanizing pails, and our guide (who had come over from Lye-Waste for a benefit) observed privately concerning them, 'They'm flyin' from nailin', and they thinks it's a fine thing to get seven shillin' a week. But they gets poorly, and then they gets sick, and then their parents has to keep 'em, and they don't earn nothin' for a long time till they'm well again.' This we are prepared to believe, for we found difficulty in breathing in the first room to which an intelligent foreman showed us. This was a large, dusky room with a high ceiling and arrangements for ventilation with which we could find no fault. But in the middle of the room stood a seething cauldron of a



steaming fluid. Back of this stood a man dipping pails in the cauldron and handing them to young girls, who swiftly rolled each pail in a heap of sawdust, then deftly brushed the fluid over the metal surface, assuring an equal coating to every part. A few moments of breathing the fumes from the cauldron made our retreat to the sultry out-door air very refreshing, and sufficed to convince us of the unwholesome nature of this work, even before we noticed long rows of carboys of vitriol, which furnish one ingredient of the galvanizing fluid. "The inspection is severe," observed the foreman. "The works are closely watched, and if a girl works a half-hour over time we're brought up roundly. It's very unwholesome work."

This brief extract will convince you that I do not speak of things of which I have merely read. *No, gentlemen, I speak of incidents that I saw, and of people with whom and whose employers I conversed.* Sir, I do not want American goods to become so cheap that, as my distinguished friend, the chairman of the committee on Ways and Means (Mr. Morrison), said, we can sell to other people. God forbid that American labor shall ever be embodied in any production that shall be cheap enough to be sold at Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, Cradley, and other manufacturing villages that surround Birmingham. [Applause.]

### 30,000 Canal Children Untaught—Families crowded into Cramped Sleeping Rooms.

It will hardly be regarded as possible that other classes of British laborers are housed with less consideration than the facts I have presented indicate; but the London "Echo," of Monday, Oct. 8, 1883, says: "The paper read by Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, before the Social Science Congress, on Saturday, gives a lamentable account of the condition of large numbers of canal children. Mr. Smith tells us that there are close upon 30,000 of these children of school age, who never enter a school. Many of the cabins in which they live are so small that a man can neither stand upright, nor lie out straight on the bed on which he and his wife and his children have to lie.

"A house in any of the villages referred to, as small or smaller than these, of similar construction, with three rooms, the lower one a living-room, parlor, kitchen, and sitting-room, with broken stone floor, and chambers above, furnishes sleeping accommodations to the parents, the sons and daughters, and their children, all of whom are thus crowded into two little sleeping rooms.

"Yet it is of these sets of three apartments, contracted, dark, undrained, and unventilated, that those apostles of falsehood, Professors Sumner of Yale and Perry of Williams College, speak when they compare their rental with that of the homes of American artisans to prove the superior condition of the working people of Great Britain to that of those of the United States."

### The terrible mysteries and miseries of London—British Statements.

Representative Chace of Rhode Island, in his speech on the Morrison Tariff Bill, April, 1884, after stating that there is in England a standing army of 922,000 paupers, and that in London alone there have been as many as 500,000 in a hard season, who have received outdoor aid, quotes from a pamphlet called "Outcast London," published in the fall of 1883, by the Congregational Union in London. That pamphlet says of these miserable people:

Two cautions it is important to bear in mind. First, the information given does not refer to select cases. It simply reveals a state of things which is found in house after house, court after court, street after street. Secondly, there has been absolutely no exaggeration. It is a plain recital of plain facts. Indeed, no respectable printer would print, and certainly no decent family would admit even the driest statement of the horrors and infamies discovered in one brief visitation from house to house. So far from making the worst of our facts for the purpose of appealing to emotion, we have been compelled to tone down everything, and

wholly to omit what most needs to be known, or the ears and eyes of our readers would have been insufferably outraged.

### The condition in which they live.

"We do not say the condition of their homes, for how can those places be called homes, compared with which the lair of a wild beast would be a comfortable and healthy spot? Few who will read these pages have any conception of what these pestilential human rookeries are, where tens of thousands are crowded together amidst horrors which call to mind what we have heard of the middle passage of the slave-ship. To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air, and which rarely know the virtues of a drop of cleansing water. You have to ascend rotten staircases, which threaten to give way beneath every step, and which, in some places, have already broken down, leaving gaps that imperil the limbs and lives of the unwary. You have to grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin. Then, if you are not driven back by the intolerable stench, you may gain admittance to the dens in which these thousands of beings who belong, as much as you, to the race for whom Christ died, herd together. Have you pitied the poor creatures who sleep under railway arches, in carts or casks, or under any shelter which they can find in the open air? You will see that they are to be envied in comparison with those whose lot it is to seek refuge here. Eight feet square—that is about the average size of very many of these rooms.

"Every room in these rotten and reeking tenement-houses has a family, often two. In one cellar a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs! In another room a missionary found a man ill with small-pox, his wife just recovering from her eighth confinement, and the children running about half naked and covered with dirt. Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child who had been dead thirteen days. Her husband, who was a cabman, had shortly before committed suicide. Here lives a widow and her six children, including one daughter of 29, another of 21, and a son of 27. Another apartment contains father, mother, and six children, two of whom are ill with scarlet fever. In another, nine brothers and sisters, from 29 years of age downwards, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening, because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere. Where there are beds they are simply heaps of dirty rags, shavings, or straw, but for the most part these miserable beings find rest only upon the filthy boards. The tenant of this room is a widow, who herself occupies the only bed, and lets the floor to a married couple for 2s. 6d. per week. In many cases matters are made worse by the unhealthy occupations followed by those who dwell in these habitations. Here you are choked as you enter by the air laden with particles of the superfluous fur pulled from the skins of rabbits, rats, dogs, and other animals in their preparation for the furrier. Here the smell of paste or of drying match-boxes mingling with other sickly odors, overpowers you; or it may be the fragrance of stale fish or vegetables, not sold on the previous day, and kept in the room overnight. Even when it is possible to do so, the people seldom open their windows; but if they did, it is questionable whether much would be gained, for the external is scarcely less heavily charged with poison than the atmosphere within.

### Poverty.

The poverty, we mean, of those who try to live honestly; for, notwithstanding the sickening revelations of immorality which have been disclosed to us, those who endeavor to earn their bread by honest work far outnumber the dishonest. And it is to their infinite credit that it should be so, considering that

they are daily face to face with the contrast between their wretched earnings and those which are the produce of sin. A child seven years old is known easily to make 10s. 6d. a week by thieving; but what can he earn by such work as match-box making, for which 2½d. a gross is paid, the maker having to find his own fire for drying the boxes, and his own paste and string? Before he can gain as much as the young thief, he must make 56 gross of match-boxes a week, or 1,296 a day. It is needless to say that this is impossible, for even adults can rarely make more than an average of half that number. How long, then, must the little hands toil before they can earn the price of the scantiest meal! Women, for the work of trousers' finishing (i.e., sewing in linings, making button-holes, and stitching on the buttons), receive 2½d. a pair, and have to find their own thread.

We ask a woman who is making tweed trousers how much she can earn in a day, and are told 1s. But what does a day mean to this poor soul? Seventeen hours! From five in the morning to ten at night: no pause for meals. She eats her crust and drinks a little tea as she works, making, in very truth, with her needle and thread, not her living only, but her shroud. For making men's shirts, these women are paid 10d. a dozen; lawn-tennis aprons, 3d. a dozen; and babies' hoods, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a dozen. In St. George's-in-the-East large numbers of women and children, some of the latter only seven years old, are employed in sack-making, for which they get a farthing each. In one house was found a widow and her half-idiot daughter making palliasses at 1½d. each. Here is a woman who has a sick husband and a little child to look after. She is employed at shirt-finishing at 3d. a dozen, and by the utmost effort can only earn 6d. a day, out of which she has to find her own thread. Another, with a crippled hand, malunates herself and a blind husband by match-box making, for which she is remunerated on the liberal scale mentioned above; and, out of her 2½d. a gross, she has to pay a girl a penny a gross to help her. Others obtain at Covent Garden, in the season, 1d. or 2d. a peck for shelling peas, or 6d. a basket for walnuts; and they do well if their labor brings them 10d. or 1s. a day. With men it is, comparatively speaking, no better.

"My master," says one man visited by a recent writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, "gets a pound for what he gives me 3s. for making." And this it is easy to believe, when we know that for a pair of fishing boots which will be sold at three guineas the poor workman receives 5s. 3d. If they are made to order, or 4s. 6d. if made for stock. An old tailor and his wife are employed in making policemen's overcoats. They have to make, finish, hot-press, put on the buttons, and find their own thread, and for all this they receive 2s. 10d. for each coat. This old couple work from half-past six in the morning until ten at night, and between them can just manage to make a coat in two days. Here is a mother who has taken away whatever articles of clothing she can strip from her four little children without leaving them absolutely naked. She has pawned them not for drink, but for coals and food. A shilling is all she can procure, and with this she has bought seven pounds of coals and a loaf of bread. We might fill page after page with these dreary details, but they would become sadly monotonous, for it is the same everywhere.

Professor Huxley says that in his voyage around the world and in all his studies of savage life he found no people so miserable, wretched, and degraded as those who exist in the poorer quarters of London.

#### Further British testimony as to the degraded condition of the British laborer.

Mr. Chace gave further English testimony on the condition of labor in Great Britain and Ireland as follows:

Lord Salisbury, the great Tory leader of Great Britain, one of the most prominent men in England, last fall published the following:

"Thousands of families have only a single room to live in. It is difficult to exaggerate the misery which such conditions of life must cause, or the impulses which they must give to vice. Three schools were taken and the condition of the children was ascertained. They came from 1,129 families. Of these

871 families had only one room to live in. In a majority of these cases the families living in one room contained five or more persons; in some cases as many as nine."

In the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* the following advertisement appears:

"WANTED—Strong humble girl to assist in minding children and go of messages; age, 15; 8 shillings per quarter. Apply at 59 Harcourt Street, 11 o'clock to 2, Monday."

For minding the children and running on errands the "strong humble girl" will receive \$8 per year, or 67 cents a month. Happy land!

The *Glasgow Herald* last month stated that there are in the city of Glasgow 45,000 families each living in a single room. These are among the worst of the pictures in Great Britain.

But there are millions upon millions of people employed in her industrial pursuits who fare but little better. In Manchester, in Oldham, in Birmingham, in Bradford, where these worsted goods are made to which I have referred, if a man (or woman) leaves his work or loses his place, hundreds are ready to step in. The wages they earn are but barely sufficient to support life. Their flagging energies are kept up by constant draughts of beer. There is but one great river in England, and that is not laid down in the map. It is a river of beer, running down the throats of her people, in which they drown their sorrows.

The *London Times* says of the agricultural laborer in England: "His condition is hopeless; once a peasant, always a peasant."

Joseph Arch said: "The agricultural laborers of England look with envy upon the beasts of burden."

#### Comfortless condition of the laboring classes in Manchester, England.

Mr. Robert Porter, late Secretary of the Tariff Commission, writes of the condition of the laboring classes in Manchester:

Some of the houses had bare wooden floors, some had red brick floors, some had bare flag-stones. Hardly one had a vestige of carpet. By far the largest proportion of the operatives live from hand to mouth, generally in one room, in which a few chairs, a deal table, a bedstead, four or five cups and saucers, a few dishes and plates, a wash-tub, a sauce-pan, and a kettle comprise the chief articles of furniture. Every thing in many cases, including the sleeping and family washing, is done in the general room. An old shawl and a dirty print gown, and wooden shoes which clatter on the sidewalk, form their toilet.

#### The wretched working people of Dundee—They live in one and two roomed "nurseries of disease."

Mr. Porter writes also of the spinning and weaving districts of Dundee:

The wages are not over \$2.25 per week, and the best of the workmen only live from hand to mouth and in squalid misery. In some districts the operatives live in houses totally unfit for human habitations; they are low one-story buildings with but one room on a floor and windows about two feet square. I actually found in some whole families living like animals on the bare ground, and in one the mother of a family lay dying literally of starvation! The children were poor, pinched, half-starved little creatures. I visited, says he, at least a dozen houses in this part of Dundee and found the inmates almost all in the same state of misery and want. In one district alone 50,000 operatives were receiving alms annually. They lived principally on bread.

The American consul at Dundee, Mr. Wells, in his report to the State Department of November, 1883, writes:

The average wages of the working people in this town is for skilled artisans \$6.87 per week of 54 hours' work in the case of ironworkers, and 51 hours for tradesmen connected with house-building. Laborers get \$4.75 per week of 57 hours. There are workmen that make more money weekly. For instance, iron

shipbuilders, some of whom at piece-work are paid from \$11 to \$15, and several others, such as boiler-makers, who have about \$8.50. The earnings stated, however, as the average, are considered very near the mark. In the jute and linen works women in the spinning-mill departments make about \$2.50, and in the weaving factories \$3.50 of wages per week for 56 hours' labor. These working people on the whole are but poorly provided for in the way of house accommodation. There are in Dundee 8,620 houses of only one room each, in which there is a population of 23,670, and 18,187 houses of two rooms, into which are crowded 74,374 men, women, and children. If to these be added the three-roomed houses with the people living in them, it shows that 118,000 of the 140,000 inhabitants of this community live in houses of one to three rooms. The rent per year of these houses, which are in flats, is, for a house of three rooms, including all taxes and convenience of water therein, but not upholding gas, \$77.50, and for one of two rooms, \$48. These houses are engaged for the year, and rents are payable half-yearly. Rents for single-roomed houses are from 60 to 75 cents per week and payable weekly. As shown, a large portion of the population of this manufacturing centre live in houses of one room and two rooms each, and especially upon these densens the devastation of infectious diseases almost entirely falls; statistics proving that amongst them nine-tenths of the deaths from fever in this town take place.

Of the whole population this year 187 per 10,000 were attacked by infectious diseases, of whom rather more than 12 per 10,000 died. But among the population living in one and two rooms 183 persons per 10,000 were smitten, and rather more than 16 per 10,000 died, while among the whole of the rest of the population, including the people in the three-roomed houses, 101 per 10,000 were attacked, and only 4 per 10,000 died, showing clearly that the one and two roomed houses are great nurseries of disease. Many of these single-roomed habitations are wretched in the extreme, containing little furniture, and occasionally are without even a bed. In some of these hovels five or six human beings are sheltered, with nothing to lie on but the floor, and covering themselves, when they have the opportunity, with jute burlaps, which they take in to make into hand-sewed bags. The sanitary authorities of this town do a great deal to cleanse and purify the entrances to, and vicinity of, these vile dens, so that they may be kept healthy, but without success, as they continually prove to be prolific sources of all sorts of contagion, which sometimes spreads with virulence throughout the whole community.

#### **The Miners' Families of Lanarkshire, Scotland, "huddle" together in one Room.**

U. S. Vice-Consul Gibson, of Glasgow, in his report to the State Department, writes:

I have ascertained that a great many of the miners' houses in Lanarkshire and the west of Scotland are of a very poor kind, and many of them have only one apartment. They are generally arranged either in confined squares or closely-built rows, and in some cases the people are literally huddled together in them. It is no uncommon thing to find a family of six or seven persons living together in one room, and who yet consider they have accommodations to spare for one or two lodgers.

### **PART III.**

#### **Report of the Parliamentary Commission on the Condition of Labor in England—Consular Reports as to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.**

A Parliamentary Commission in England a few years since brought out some terrible details of the condition to which the English coal-miner is reduced. In the coal-mines, men, women, and children of both sexes worked together in an almost nude condition! Says the report of that commission:

#### **Terrible Condition of the English Coal Miner.**

In the Lancashire coal-fields, lying to the north and west of Manchester, females are regularly employed in underground labor, and the brutal conduct of the men and the abasement of the women are well described by some of the witnesses examined by them.

Peter Garkel, collier, testified that he

Prefers women to boys as drawers; they are better to manage, and keep time better; they will fight and shriek, and do every thing but let anybody pass them.

Betty Harris, aged 37, a drawer in a coal-pit, testified:

*I have a belt around my waist and a chain between my legs to the truck, and I go on my hands and feet; the road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and when there is no rope, by any thing we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys or girls in the pit I work in; it is very wet, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; my clothes are always wet.*

Patience Kershaw, aged 17, testified:

I work in the clothes I now have on (trousers and ragged jacket); the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the cones; the gitters I work for are naked, except their caps; they pull off their clothes; all the men are naked.

Margaret Hibbs, aged 18, testified:

My employment after reaching the wall-face is to fill my bagie or stype with two and a half or three hundredweight of coal; I then hook it on to my chain and drag it through the seam, which is from twenty-six to twenty-eight inches high, till I get to the main road, a good distance, probably two hundred to four hundred yards; the pavement I drag over is wet, and I am obliged at all times to crawl on my hands and feet with my bagie hung to the chain and robes. It is sad, sweating, sore, and fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women."

R. Bald, Government coal viewer, testified:

In surveying the workings of an extensive colliery under ground, a married woman came forward groaning under an excessive weight of coals, trembling in every nerve, and almost unable to keep her knees from sinking under her. On coming up, she said, in a plaintive and melancholy voice, "Oh, sir, this is sore, sore, sore work."

Said a Sub-Commissioner:

It is almost incredible that human beings can submit to such employment—crawling on hands and knees, harnessed like horses, over soft, slushy floors, more difficult than dragging the same weight through our lowest sewers.

The United States consular reports of 1878 give the following details as to labor in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales:

**In Ireland—Women laboring in fields—Miserable food—Cold water and yellow meal—Living in a shed.**

In a large number of cases the agricultural laborers of Ireland supplement their wages by the produce of small plots of ground attached to their cabins. As a general thing, a fair share of the field work is performed by women.—*Official Report.*

The consul at Cork says of the workman's food:

The food is made up of a selection from tea, bread, oatmeal, potatoes, dried fish, and, among the poorer classes, a coarse Indian meal instead of oatmeal, at an average expense to each person of fourteen cents per day. The mechanic pays something more for his lodging, but in other respects his living is the same as the laborer.

The consul at Londonderry states that—

The food of all laborers here is Indian meal (principally), oatmeal, potatoes, and bacon next. Tea may be said to be in universal use.

In his speech in the Senate, Feb. 6, 1888, Senator Platt said:

Now I want to see what free-traders say. I take this same Consul Schoenhof, because he is an avowed free-trader. Writing from Ireland, in the very last number of the Consular Reports, No. 86, November, 1887, on page 307, he says:

"It is useless for me to dwell much on the linen industry of Ulster. It is well known that in Ulster they are foremost in this branch in the whole world. Still I find that the earnings of the people employed in the linen mills in Ulster are far below those of any class employed in the textile branches in England. Mill regulations and working of time of course are the same for the whole kingdom. Flax-breakers, men who have to do very exhausting work, earn from 15s. to 20s. per week; hacklers, from 18s. to 23s.; spinners and girls, from 8s. to 10s.; half-timers, boys 5s. and girls 4s.; and weavers, mostly women, tending two looms, from 12s. to 15s. By others I was told that the earnings were only, for weavers, 8s. to 10s., and up to 15s. only for the finer goods."

A shilling is 25 cents. At 10 shillings they have \$2.50 a week, or practically that. Then he comes to the woollen mills of Ireland, and says:

"The wages I have noted down are: For men, from 12s. to 14s., 14s. being about the limit of the best men."

Three dollars and a half per week for the best men in the woollen mills of Ireland!

"Spinner girls, 8s. to 10s.; children, 5s. to 6s.; and weavers earn from 10s. to 12s. The mill"—

And I commend this to free-traders—

"The mill, employing about 750 hands, pays out about £400 per week in wages. This includes overseers, etc., which is a trifle over 10s. per head."

There might be some occasion to attack the manufacturers of the country if they were paying these wages in the United States. But I go along a little further. I want to come to their method of living. He found a man who was a hand-loom weaver, and he says:

"He was a cheery old fellow; in fact, like most of the poor people of Ireland whom I met. In his younger years he was a bricklayer in England; now he has returned to Ireland, and is well satisfied if he can ply his old trade and earn enough to keep him in bodily repair. Work, however, only lasts for him from summer until after Christmas, and very little work can be found for the first six months of the year, which is the case with all hand-loom weavers. Most of them, however, as said above, have a little land to keep them supplied with the merest necessities for these dull months in the weaving trade, and don't entirely depend on their looms for a living, as this old man does. I asked about his diet, and he gave me a piece of bread made of yellow meal, which I have been shown by nearly all the poor people and small farmers whom I visited."

Then he quotes from him:

"As to tea, coffee, or beer, and meat [he said], we know nothing at all of that. Cold water is what we drink, and yellow meal we eat. If I have 2 ounces of tobacco a week I am very happy."

He pays no rent, as his neighbors, also very poor people, gave him the little shed which he occupies free of charge.

**In Scotland—Women laborers—Mush, potatoes, and milk—"Hard lines."**

The consul at Leith reports:

Some women employed by the day at field work get about twenty-four cents per day. . . . There is little variety in the food of the Scottish peasant; it is plain but substantial, consisting almost wholly of oatmeal in various forms, potatoes, and milk, with a little meat and beer added in harvest. . . . Strikes are of frequent occurrence in all trades, but as a rule they result in impoverishing the workman, who has in the end to return to his previous wage, or accept the employer's terms.

**In Wales—Women as bread-winners.**

Consul Wirt Sikes reports from Cardiff that—

. . . The wives of laboring men here fill a more active place in the bread-winning scheme than women do in America. Many go off to their work as regularly as their husbands every morning of their lives. They are also very frequently the treasurers of their marital firm, and help to keep the weekly outlay for jollification as near the minimum as possible. Among the occupations followed by women in this district are some which I think women nowhere else in Great Britain engage in, such as letter-carriers (in lieu of postmen), mussel-diggers, oyster-pedlers, etc.

## PART IV.

### Condition of Labor in Continental Europe—Consular Reports.

In Senator Platt's speech before the Senate, Feb. 6, 1888, he quotes the following extracts from the latest consular report of Consul Neuer at Gera, Germany, touching the

**Sad condition of the laborer in Gera, Germany.**

Gera is a very large manufacturing center in Germany. Consul Neuer says:

"Though the city of Gera has only 35,000 inhabitants, it is one of the most prominent manufacturing places in Germany. Of its industries, the manufacture of worsted goods stands in the front rank, embracing about thirty factories, some employing as many as 1,000 steam looms."

There is where our worsted goods come from.

Besides, it contains 5 dyeing and finishing establishments, 3 worsted-yarn spinning mills, 7 carpet factories, 4 tobacco mills, 7 accordion factories, 5 iron foundries and engine works, 3 horse-hair spinning mills, 4 piano factories, 31 tanneries, aside from a considerable number of manufacturing establishments of smaller importance."

It may fairly be taken, then, to be a representative manufacturing center. Then he says:

"Under these circumstances it is extremely difficult for the workman to make both ends meet, and there is no question that the position of the American workman is eminently superior in all that pertains to the happiness and well-being of himself and family and in his ability to save for the future."

I like to get this kind of testimony once in a while from Democratic sources, which as I understand the term is synonymous with free-trade sources.

"The fare of the factory hands in this region is of simple kind. Their principal food consists of bread and potatoes. On rising in the morning they will have a cup of common coffee and some white or black bread and butter or cheese; their dinner will consist of some cheap vegetables, mostly potatoes, and a small piece of meat, but very often without the latter; at 4 o'clock they have one or two cups of poor coffee again, with some black bread and butter, and in the evening a supper of cheese or sausage with black bread and a glass of beer. There may be a change to this diet in some cases, but they are to be considered as exceptional."

"The married workman takes his meals partly in the factory and partly at home; the single one either with the family of a fellow-laborer or in a cheap restaurant. For the support of a family the wages of the husband are generally inadequate, and therefore the wife and elder children have to contribute a share to their sustenance."

"The lodgings of the laboring classes are of a very poor kind. In most cases they are two or three comfortable rooms. Owing to the large and constant increase of the population rents are steadily rising, and range from 150 marks (\$35.70) to 180 marks (\$42.84) per year, according to location and condition of the premises."

I will put into the Record a table which Consul Neuer furnishes, giving the amount of the weekly factory wages and the corresponding hours of labor at Gera. It embraces the employment in weaving mills, dye-houses, finishing works, accordion factories, iron foundries and engine works, tanneries, tobacco mills, flour mills, carpet factories, chinaware, horse-hair spinning mills, and worsted-yarn spinning mills.

#### Weekly Wages and Hours of Labor at Gera.

Description of Employment.	Lowest Wages.	Highest Wages.	Average Wages.	Hours of Labor per Day.
<b>Weaving mills:</b>				
Overseers	\$4.32	\$7.20	\$5.76	11
Shearers	3.88	6.00	4.44	11
Weavers, men	3.60	7.20	5.40	11
Weavers, women	1.44	3.60	2.52	11
Glueers	2.88	5.28	4.08	11
Fasteners	1.88	4.80	3.84	11
Pickers, women	1.44	3.46	1.92	11
Winders, women	1.92	3.48	2.20	11
<b>Dye-houses:</b>				
Dyers	2.40	3.60	3.00	11
Washers	2.40	3.36	2.88	11
Female hands	1.68	1.92	1.80	11
Apprentices	1.56	1.80	1.68	10
<b>Finishing works:</b>				
Shearers	2.40	3.60	3.00	11
Fullers	2.40	3.60	3.00	11
Finishers	4.80	7.20	6.00	11
Assistants	3.36	4.08	3.60	11
Apprentices	1.56	1.80	1.68	10
<b>Accordion factories:</b>				
Joiners	3.36	4.32	3.60	11
Tuners	4.80	7.20	6.00	11
Journymen	2.40	2.88	2.64	11
Apprentices	.96	2.16	1.44	11
Children	.36	.60	.48	6
<b>Iron foundries and engine-works:</b>				
Turners	3.60	4.32	3.84	10
Founders	3.60	4.32	3.84	10
Journymen			1.68	10
<b>Tanneries:</b>				
Tanners	3.60	4.32	3.84	11
Journymen			3.36	11
<b>Tobacco-mills:</b>				
Twisters	3.84	4.80	4.32	11
Journymen			2.88	11
Female hands	1.56	1.80	1.68	11
Children			.42	6
Apprentices	.72	1.08	.96	11
<b>Flour mills:</b>				
Millers	3.60	4.32	3.84	11
Journymen	2.76	3.00	2.88	11
<b>Carpet factories:</b>				
Weavers	3.60	7.20	5.40	11
Shearers	4.32	4.80	4.56	11
Journymen	2.88	3.60	3.24	11
Female hands	1.44	2.88	2.16	11
<b>China-ware:</b>				
Apprentices	1.44	2.16	1.80	11
Painters	2.40	5.76	4.08	11
Turners	2.40	6.00	4.20	11
Finishers	3.60	6.00	4.80	11
Journymen	2.16	3.60	2.88	11
Female hands	1.44	1.92	1.68	11
<b>Horse-hair spinning-mills:</b>				
Spinners	3.60	4.32	3.96	11
Journymen	2.52	3.24	2.88	11
Female hands	1.68	2.16	1.92	11
<b>Worsted-yarn spinning mills:</b>				
Spinners	3.60	4.80	4.20	11
Carders, overseers	3.60	4.00	3.80	11
Carders, common hands	1.92	2.40	2.16	11
Washers	2.88	3.60	3.24	11
Sorters	3.60	4.80	4.20	11
Winders	1.92	2.16	2.04	11
Engineers			4.32	11

It will be seen that the hours of labor are generally

eleven hours per day, and the highest average weekly wage is \$5.76.

Mr. FRYE. For a man?

Mr. PLATT. For a man, and from that down, for other men and for women and children. As to the cost of living Consul Neuer says:

As to the cost of living, I can give no better statement than to quote the retail prices of the principal articles usually classed among the necessities of life:

#### Retail prices of necessities of life at Gera.

<b>Bread:—</b>		
White .....	per pound..	\$0.03
Black .....	do.....	.02½
<b>Beef:—</b>		
Steaks .....	do.....	\$0.20 to .24
Roast .....	do.....	.17 to .20
Common .....	do.....	.14½
Chickens .....	each...	.36 to .60
Mutton .....	per pound..	.14½
Pork .....	do.....	.15½
Veal .....	do.....	.13
Eggs .....	per dozen..	.14½ to .20
Butter .....	per pound..	.24 to .36
Cheese, Swiss .....	do.....	.24 to .28
Coffee .....	do.....	.30 to .48
Tea .....	do.....	.96 to 1.20
Sugar .....	do.....	.07 to .10
Potatoes .....	per 100 pounds..	.72
Cabbages .....	apiece...	.02½ to .06
Flour .....	per pound..	.04½ to .05½
Kerosene oil .....	per liter...	.06
Milk .....	do.....	.05

Can anybody find that the necessities of life where the highest average weekly wage is \$5.76 are not fully up to the net price of the necessities of life in America? I have quoted this somewhat, I fear, to the weariness of the Senate, because I wanted to put on record this Democratic free-trade testimony upon this question.

#### Miserable wages throughout Germany.

A report upon German wages, very carefully prepared by the Statistical Society, Concordia, is quoted by Mr. Schoenhof, an official especially employed by President Cleveland's Free Trade Administration to collect Free Trade data, at page 115 of his work on "The Industrial Situation." It shows the average wages of workmen, in trades and factories in the various German provinces, to be as follows:

Silesia .....	\$2.32
East Prussia .....	2.85
Posen .....	2.90
Pomerania .....	2.68
Brandenburg .....	2.90
Saxony, Kingdom .....	2.74
Anhalt .....	2.98
Saxony, Prussia .....	3.04
Hesse-Nassau .....	3.15
Braunschweig .....	3.28
Bavaria .....	3.22
Hanover .....	3.20
Baden .....	3.38
Alsace-Lorraine .....	3.62
Wurtemberg .....	3.60
Westphalia .....	3.65
Rhenish Prussia .....	3.70

Average .....

Commenting upon these figures the N. Y. "Tribune" pithily says:

The average of these quotations is only \$3.12 per week, against \$6.27 in Great Britain for 102 occupations named already, and \$12.05 for the United States. The "Annuaire Statistique" for 1884, also quoted by Mr. Schoenhof (page 124), makes French wages average \$6.36 in Paris for men and \$3.73 in the Departments outside of Paris, only \$3.36 for women in Paris, and only \$1.88 outside of Paris. Comparing these wages with an average of \$12.05 weekly for 102 occupations in the United States, of which ten were filled by

women or girls, and five by boys, the wage-earner will be prepared to appreciate the amazing falseness of the Democratic assertion that the Mills bill "more than covers the difference in wages between this and other countries."

#### Distressing Conditions of the Laborer's Life in Germany.

From the consular reports on "Labor in Europe," made in 1878, to our State Department, the following items are taken, representing the condition of labor then. It is hardly to be supposed that that condition has since improved in any marked degree.

**Barmen.**—The condition of the laboring classes of the mining and iron industries is very distressing; the price of iron is so low that nothing can be earned, and coal is 40 per cent below the average of the last twenty-five years. Wages are reduced, and many hands discharged. In this district it is at present difficult, if not impossible, for a workman to earn more than enough for his individual support; and every member of the family must contribute to the general fund; hence, from their earliest years, each member is inured to incessant toil and privation. — *From the report of Consul Stanton.*

**Bremen.**—In order to make life possible at this rate, women in the country raise garden produce, and work in the fields; in the towns, they keep shops, peddle, wash, sew, etc. — *From the report of Consul King.*

**Brunswick.**—With steady work, and the assistance of each member of the household, the workman can "make both ends meet." — *From the report of Consul Fox.*

**Dresden.**—The laborers are really part and parcel of the estate. Wages in money are often merely nominal. — *Consul at Dresden.*

**Leipzig.**—Females are largely employed in business houses, and a person travelling through the country receives the impression that all the work in the fields is done by women. — *From the report of Consul Stewart.*

**Chemnitz.**—At the present time large numbers are unable to obtain employment; the country is full of tramps, both honest and vagabondish; and almost every dwelling in this city is visited daily by at least half-a-dozen beggars, although begging is prohibited by law. In this district (Saxony) labor is subdivided, giving one man's work to two, in order to employ the largest possible number. As the husband's earnings are not sufficient for the support of his family, the wife and older children must contribute their share of the weekly earnings. This is a general rule, and applies to all families whose support is dependent on labor. — *From the report of Consul Griggs.*

**Frankfort-on-the-Main.**—The condition of the laborer is not enviable; his opportunities are few; luxuries are almost unknown to him; and he is even obliged to use frugally the necessities of life in order to live upon what he can earn. Butter and meat are luxuries. The American people would consider such a life bitterly hard and joyless. — *From the report of Consul-General Lee.*

**Sonneberg.**—The workman rarely eats meat at all in any other form than sausage, and his wife and children scarcely know its taste, so little do they get of it. There is poverty in superabundance in the workman's home, often verging upon squalor; his children are generally barefooted, and his wife looks haggard and weary of her lot.

It may be easily imagined from the foregoing figures, showing the wages of the laboring classes of Thuringia, that their daily fare is of the simplest sort, and that their life is, at best, a struggle for existence for themselves and families. Their principal food is rye-bread and potatoes. — *Consul at Sonneberg.*

**Mannheim.**—The wages paid hardly cover the necessities of life; many seldom taste meat more than once a week. — *Consul at Mannheim.*

#### Condition of the laboring classes in Belgium, "an unceasing battle."

Their lives are continual struggles for meagre subsistence, and nothing but that spirit of patience, kind-

ness, and fortitude which enables them to practise the severest economy makes it possible for them to subvert themselves and supply the necessities of life to their families. At the very best, the lot of the workmen of Belgium is hard and unremitting toil, an unceasing battle with most adverse circumstances. — *Official Report.*

#### In France "the wife and children must also labor to make ends meet."

##### The consul at Nice writes:

The laboring man's food consists principally of Indian meal, vegetables, bread and wine. Meat he seldom eats.

Not only must the (French) husband labor for the support of his family, but the wife and children must also labor for the general fund in order to make ends meet. — *Official Report.*

#### In Italy—Miserable fare—Meat only "on great festivals and holidays."

**Genoa.**—The fare of the Italian laborer is usually very simple, consisting of bread, boiled chestnuts, mush, and minestrone, a substantial soup made of vegetables, olive oil, and macaroni. Twice, with an occasional bottle of ordinary wine, a relish of stockfish or cheese, and, at rare intervals, on great festivals and holidays, a dinner of fresh meat, constitutes the homely fare of the Italian peasant. — *From the report of Consul Spencer.*

**Rome.**—The ordinary laborer's fare is coarse bread and cheese and raw onions in the morning; at midday, a substantial soup of vegetables and macaroni, with fat pork or olive oil, or a dish of polenta (mush); in the evening, bread and cheese, with onions or salad, as the case may be, sometimes varied with stockfish. On very rare occasions mutton or goat's meat and wine are indulged in. — *From the report of Consul-General McMillan.*

**Turin.**—The agriculturist, both farmer and laborer, lives very economically, hardly knows what fresh meat is, except half a dozen times a year, on state and church festivals. Sometimes he eats a little sausage, but his daily food consists of corn-meal mush, rice-bread, soup of wheat flour paste, rice, and sometimes a little lard in the soup by way of luxury, cheese, greens, and chestnuts in their season. — *From the report of Consul Noble.*

**Messina.**—The laboring classes are frugal and industrious. Contented with little, and living on what our workmen would despise, there is very little destitution among them. — *From the report of Consul Owen.*

#### In Switzerland—Pernicious anemia common among the poor.

Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania, in his speech in the House (1884) on the Morrison Tariff Bill, said:

In a recent letter from Zurich, my daughter, Miss Florence Kelley, says: "Our countryman, Dr. —, informed us last evening, that though for fifteen years he had been official physician to the poor in some of the worst wards of New York, he had never seen in America a case of pernicious anemia — which is the shrinking and decay of the bones of a human being as the result of insufficient food during childhood and youth—a disease which, when it has once attacked the system, cannot be eradicated by any diet that may subsequently be taken. 'Unfamiliar as this disease is at home,' said the doctor, 'it is so common here that the frequent cases exposed at the clinics attract no special attention.'"

Are our Democratic associates in their mad pursuit of cheap goods willing to add pernicious anemia to the list of diseases with which our working people are already familiar?

#### In the Netherlands—Fresh meat a luxury—Hard work to live.

The consul at Rotterdam, speaking of the food of Dutch laborers says:

Meat, excepting sausage and chipped beef, is regarded by the mechanic and laboring man as a luxury, and is rarely indulged in. Bread, rice, fish, potatoes and other vegetables, constitute the staple articles of food for the laboring classes of the Netherlands. . . . With all his patient frugality and practised economy, the Dutch workingman has all he can do to maintain himself and family.

**In Spain — Rarity of meat — A miserable mess to live on!**

The consul at Barcelona reports that:

The Catalonia working people live mostly on greens, beans, potatoes, onions, garlic, codfish (dried), and wine. . . . Boots or shoes are very seldom seen worn by laborers (men), the sandal (made of twine or grass) being the common foot cover.

The consul at Cadiz says:

The farm laborers of Andalusia, fed by their employers, are allowed daily three pounds of bread, some oil, and a little vinegar. A portion of the bread is set aside, with the oil and vinegar, to form the two meals of the *gaspacho* served to the farm hands. It consists of bread soaked in water, to which the oil and vinegar are added. It is served hot in winter and cold in summer. Any additions, generally of vegetables, are supplied by the laborer at his own cost. This cheap ration is generally adopted by the working classes that pay their own board.

The consul at Malaga says:

. . . The laborer in the south of Spain is the most frugal of beings. He rarely or never eats meat. Indeed, it would be impossible for him to do so and live on his earnings, as meat is extremely dear; common fresh meat being worth twenty cents and beefsteak thirty cents per pound. The laborer here generally subsists on fish, rice, beans and other vegetables. . . .

## CHAPTER VIII.

### The Chinese Question.

*The Democratic Record for nearly Forty Years, showing the Friendship of Democratic Leaders for the Cheap Labor of the Asiatic Coolie. — The falsity of their charges against General Harrison.*

#### PART I.

##### Koopmanschap Servile-Labor Contracts — The Morey Letter — The Early History in California of Democratic Love for the Chinese Coolie Laborer.

Of late years the Democratic party has made strenuous efforts to have it appear that theirs is the party that favors the free laborer, and in his interest is opposed to coolie labor. The reverse is the case. Democratic statements are notoriously unworthy of credence. It is not very many years ago that certain Democrats of the South made contracts through Koopmanschap & Co. for Chinese labor. Hundreds of Chinese coolies were imported for them, and, but for the fact that the Chinese ran away, and they could not hold them to their servile-labor contracts, the Southern States would to-day be overrun by the Mongolian cheap laborers, and no cordon could have kept them out of the Northern States. Nor is it long ago since the following base forgery was indorsed by Democratic leaders as true, although "its stupid and brutal sentiments" were denounced as a "bold forgery" by the lamented Garfield:

[Personal and Confidential.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., January 23, 1880.

Dear Sir, — Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

I take it that the question of employees is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

We have a treaty with the Chinese Government, which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the General Government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

H. L. MOREY, Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass.

**Democratic record in California in 1852 — Democracy enforcing and encouraging Chinese labor contracts and opposing Chinese taxation.**

To understand the true relations of Democracy to the Chinese question a period of over thirty years must be traversed. It was in California in 1852 that the Chinese problem first obtruded itself, and a brief review of its history from that time down will show clearly that the Democratic Party was always the open friend of Chinese cheap labor until quite recently, when it finds itself forced to disguise its real love for the Asiatic. Here are some "facts and figures" crystallized into history — for the American workingman to ponder over, and see who is his friend and who is his enemy:

In March, 1852, a bill was introduced in the California Legislature (Democratic) to legalize contracts for labor made in China, which provided that such contracts should

be good for five years and might be made assignable. Any laborer brought under contract who should attempt to leave his master could be arrested and then compelled to work out his term of service. This measure, known as the Peachy bill, passed the lower House. It was supported by the author, Mr. Peachy, and by Mr. Roach and Mr. Hager, all distinguished Democrats.

Shortly after this a bill was introduced into the California legislature taxing Chinamen. This the Democratic majority refused to pass.

Mr. Hager also introduced the following resolution:

*Whereas, California is nearer China than any other State, and a valuable commerce has been opened up:*  
*Resolved, That a commission be appointed to go to China.*

An amendment to substitute South America was defeated, and the Hager resolution passed by 16 to 3.

In 1852 a Whig member of the California legislature offered a bill known as the miner's tax, imposing a head-tax on all aliens working mining claims. *It was laid on the table by the Democratic majority.* At that time there were 25,000 Chinese in the State.

**In 1856 Democracy rebukes white labor and pats John Chinaman on the back.**

In 1856 there were 30,000 Chinese in California. Labor demanded their exclusion. The Democratic legislature appointed a Democratic committee of inquiry, which reported as follows:

*"We say the tendency is not toward corruption. WE THINK THEY HAVE DONE US NO HARM."*

In 1859 Mr. Weller, a Democratic governor of California, declared that—

*"We have cause to rejoice that this great nation (China) has been subjected to the law of nations."*

The cause of this rejoicing was the treaty with China, concluded a year previous by Mr. Reed, a Democratic minister to China, ratified by a Democratic Senate, and proclaimed by Buchanan, a Democratic President.

**In 1862 and 1869 Democracy refuses to protect white labor, embraces the Celestial Embassy, but is blind to white distress.**

In 1862 the first Republican governor of California, in his first annual message, said:

*"Asia, with her immense population, is sending her people here, and I will be glad to co-operate with any movement having for its object the prohibition of Chinese immigration."*

Mr. W. H. Sears, a leading Republican, offered a bill to protect white labor. A bill was substituted to levy a miner's tax. This measure a Democratic supreme court subsequently declared unconstitutional.

A bill to levy a tax on all Chinese in the State was also defeated by Democratic votes.

The Burlingame treaty was negotiated during Andrew Johnson's term, and a Democratic governor of California (Haight) welcomed the embassy to our shores in terms of extravagant eulogy.

In 1869, when labor in California was dis-

tressed, there was pending before the Democratic legislature of the State a bill granting a large body of tide lands to a railroad corporation. To this an amendment was offered prohibiting the employment of Chinese by the beneficiary. *Of the forty-two votes recorded against that amendment thirty-two were cast by Democrats.*

## PART II.

**In Congress—Republican anti-Coolie Legislation of 1861, 1867, 1868, and 1870—Democratic Obstruction in 1871—Subsequent Republican Legislation—President Grant's Anti-Coolie Message—Democracy Deaf to an Anti-Coolie Appeal.**

In 1861 (December) Mr. Thomas D. Elliott, of Massachusetts (Republican), offered in the House of Representatives a bill prohibiting the importation of coolies, Mr. A. A. Sargent (Republican) speaking at length against Chinese immigration. The bill passed both Houses (Republican), and was approved by President Lincoln February 15, 1862.

On January 16, 1867, Senator Charles Sumner (Republican) secured the passage of a resolution asking other nations to join us in attempts to suppress the coolie traffic, and in May, 1868, he secured the passage of a bill extending the provisions of the Elliott act to all Oriental nations.

In 1870 Mr. Henry Wilson (Republican), introduced into the Senate a bill to prohibit the introduction of coolie labor.

In July, 1870, Senator Stewart of Nevada (Republican), secured the passage of a resolution calling for further information on the coolie traffic.

In the House, the same year, Mr. Sargent offered a bill aimed at contracts for servile labor.

In 1871, in the House, Mr. Cogan (Republican) offered a bill prohibiting the migration and employment of coolies, which was defeated by the action of Mr. Beck of Kentucky, then a Democratic member of the House.

**Republican Legislation from 1873 to 1875—President Grant's Message on the Coolie Traffic.**

In December, 1873, Representative Page of California (Republican) offered a bill prohibiting the importation of Chinese coolies and prostitutes, which bill passed a Republican House and Senate, and became a law March 3, 1875.

In 1874, in the House, Mr. Page offered a resolution of inquiry, following the President's message on the subject. In that paper (December 7, 1874) President Grant urged the passage of measures to suppress the importation of coolies. He said:

I call the attention of Congress to a generally conceded fact, that the greater proportion of Chinese



immigrants . . . do not come voluntarily, . . . but come under contracts with head-men who own them almost absolutely. In a worse form does this apply to Chinese women. . . . *If this evil practice can be legislated against, it will be my pleasure as well as duty to enforce any regulations to secure so desirable an end.*

In the following year President Grant again referred to the subject.

On January 16, 1874, Representative Page, of California, offered a joint resolution *abrogating the Burlingame treaty.*

January 13, 1874, Senator Sargent offered a bill *excluding the Chinese from naturalization*; and in April, 1876, offered a resolution providing for a *modification of the treaty with China.* In 1878, through the exertions of Senator Sargent, aided by others of the Pacific coast delegations in Congress, a resolution *was passed calling upon the Executive to open negotiations at once for such modifications of the Burlingame treaty as would exclude Chinese immigrants.*

Mr. Sargent offered bills in 1876 *to check Chinese immigration*; Mr. Page also, in 1874, to protect persons against forcible restraint and involuntary servitude. He also offered bills in 1878 *forbidding the carrying of Chinese passengers on vessels paid for carrying the United States mails*; also *levying a per capita tax on each passenger of an amount sufficient to be prohibitory.*

Representative Davis, of California (Republican), in 1878, offered a bill *restricting the Chinese immigrant traffic, by not allowing more than ten persons on any one vessel.*

On July 6, 1876, Senator Sargent offered a resolution calling for the opening of negotiations for the *modification of the Burlingame treaty*, and Senator Morton of Indiana (Republican) offered a substitute providing for sending a committee of inquiry to the Pacific Coast. This was accepted by Mr. Sargent and adopted.

#### A Democratic Congress deaf to a legislative appeal!

The first memorial to Congress from California was a resolution of its legislature sent in May, 1879, *asking that the State be granted the right to tax Chinese immigrants.* Congress was strongly Democratic, and paid no attention to it whatever.

### PART III.

#### In National Politics in 1876—Republican Declaration against the importation of Mongolians—The Democracy Forced to Follow—Republican Investigation.

June 15, 1876, owing to the efforts of Senators Jones of Nevada, Sargent of California, Representative Page, and other influential Pacific Coast Republicans, the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati adopted as a plank in the National Republican platform the following:

*"It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country."*

This was the first declaration ever made on the subject of Chinese immigration in a national platform of either of the two great political parties.

Subsequently, when the Democratic National Convention of 1876 met, it adopted (June 28) the following plank, which was at the time thoroughly understood as a mere demagogical bid for votes—"seeing the Republican hand, and going one better, so to speak:"

"Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which . . . have exposed our brethren of the Pacific Coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and, in fact, now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus . . . tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile-labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese empire or such legislation within constitutional limitations as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race."

*The brazen effrontery of Democratic assertion was never more palpable than in this plank.* From 1852 down to 1876, a period of twenty-four years, as the above record shows, the Republican party had done all that had been done, both in State and National Legislation, to abate the Chinese evil, while the Democratic party had, in the State Legislature of California, favored Chinese immigration, and in Congress had treated the memorial of a California Legislature praying relief from the Chinese curse with the contempt of tabling it.

#### A Republican Committee of Investigation.

But the Republican party was acting upon principle. It wanted, first, an investigation of the facts; and, second, action upon the facts thus brought out. That plank in its platform had been adopted by a convention vote of 532 to 215—more than two to one—on June 15, 1876. The Republican party in Congress immediately responded, and a joint special committee to investigate Chinese immigration, consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, was immediately formed, and at once proceeded to the Pacific Coast to investigate. How thoroughly and well it performed its labors the able and voluminous report (Sen. Rep. 680, second session, Forty-fourth Congress) presented to the Senate February, 1877, by Senator Sargent, can tell.

## PART IV.

**The "Fifteen-Passenger Act"—Presidential Veto—The Second National Republican Declaration—Democracy again Follows—The Treaty Commission and Treaty.**

In 1879, Mr. Sargent in the Senate and Mr. Page in the House succeeded in securing the passage of a bill *prohibiting* the owner or master of any vessel from *landing in the United States more than fifteen Chinese passengers on one voyage*. This bill was vetoed by President Hayes on the ground that Congress had no authority to abrogate at will a treaty entered into with a foreign nation; that the proposed law would contravene the sixth article of the Burlingame treaty, "by whose reciprocal engagements the citizens and subjects of the two governments, respectively visiting or residing in the country of the other, are secured the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions there enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations;" that the denunciation of one part of the treaty necessarily liberates the other party from the whole treaty; and that, consequently, the immediate withdrawal of our treaty protection of the Chinese already in this country would expose our citizens in China, merchants, missionaries, and visitors, to the tender mercies of the people of China, with no treaty obligations to afford them any protection whatever to person or property.

**The Second National Republican Convention declaration—The Pecksniffian Democracy again boldly follow.**

June 5, 1880, the Republican National Convention—now thoroughly enlightened by the investigation which its convention of 1876 had demanded, and the views of Congress and the Executive thereon—adopted the following plank in its platform:

Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, *the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both of these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.*

The Republicans of the nation therein declared for the enactment of treaties and laws to "limit and restrict" Chinese immigration—but they must be "just, humane, and reasonable."

Thereupon—after waiting as usual to "see how the cat jumped"—the Democratic National Convention of 1880 subsequently (June 23) adopted the following plank:

Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

**The Republican Treaty Commission and the treaty with China making effective legislation possible.**

With the Republicans, promise and performance are never far apart. In 1880, therefore, a joint resolution was passed by Congress authorizing such action, and President Hayes appointed a commission, consisting of James B. Angell of Michigan, John F. Swift of California, and William H. Trescott of South Carolina (all *Republicans*), with full powers to negotiate a treaty with China in modification of the Burlingame treaty; and Nov. 5, 1880, a treaty was agreed upon, as follows:

ARTICLE I. Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subjected to personal maltreatment or abuse.

ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States, shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, and immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

ART. III. If Chinese laborers or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States, meet with ill treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

ART. IV. The high contracting powers having agreed upon the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance therewith, such measures will be communicated to the Government of China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hardships upon the subjects of China, the Chinese Minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States, who will consider the subject with him, and the Chinese Foreign Office may also bring the matter to the notice of the United States Minister at Peking, and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result.

This was duly ratified by both powers, together with another treaty which prohibited the opium traffic between the two countries, regulated the tonnage dues and duties for imports on the basis of similar dues or duties imposed on the vessels and goods of other nations, and provided that controversies arising in China between citizens of the United States and Chinese subjects should be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant.

## PART V.

**Chinese-Exclusion Legislation of 1882—  
The Twenty-Year Bill Passes both  
Houses—President Arthur's Veto—  
The Ten-Year Bill Passes and is Ap-  
proved.**

March 9, 1882, the Senate, after amending it, passed a bill introduced by Mr. Miller (Republican), of California, and reported by a Republican committee, suspending for twenty years the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, construing the words "Chinese laborers" to mean "both skilled and unskilled laborers," and prohibiting the admission of Chinese to citizenship. The unanswerable speeches of Senator Jones, of Nevada, and Miller, of California, secured the passage of this bill in the Senate. In the House Mr. Page managed the bill through a long debate to success, the main opposition springing from a repugnance to the twenty-year term of exclusion, when ten years, in the opinion of many Republicans, was within the definition of a "just, humane, and reasonable law." The Democrats, learning that the President thought twenty years an "unreasonable" term for an experimental law of this character, voted strongly for it in both Houses. They thus voted to pass a bill likely to be vetoed, in the hope that political capital for their party might be made out of the probable veto, but without the slightest idea that any other bill could be put through at this session, and that is why they voted almost solidly in both houses against inserting "ten" years for "twenty," and for the passage of the bill.

**Main Provisions of the Bill as Passed.**

The preamble and first section of this bill as it was passed read as follows:

*Whereas*, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: therefore,

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of twenty years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

Sections 16 and 17 were as follows:

SEC. 16. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship: and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 17. That the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

The other sections relate to the proper execution of the provisions of the first section, and the imposition of penalties for its violation, one section providing for the registration of such Chinese as are entitled to enter, or remain in the United States, by the terms of the bill.

**The President's veto—His principal objection the twenty-year clause.**

The bill, which passed the House March 23, was vetoed by President Arthur, as anticipated. His principal objection to the bill was as follows:

The examination which I have made of the treaty, and of the declarations which its negotiators have left on record of the meaning of its language, leaves no doubt in my mind that neither contracting party, in concluding the treaty of 1880, contemplated the passage of an act prohibiting immigration for twenty years, which is nearly a generation, or thought that such a period would be a reasonable suspension or limitation, or intended to change the provisions of the Burlingame treaty to that extent. I regard this provision of the act as a breach of our national faith; and being unable to bring myself in harmony with the views of Congress on this vital point, the honor of the country constrains me to return the act with this objection to its passage.

**Republican ten-years' Chinese exclusion bill passes both Houses and signed by a Republican President.**

Mr. Page immediately introduced another bill in the House to obviate the objections of the President and other Republicans, and it was reported back by him at once favorably by the Republican Committee on Education and Labor. On April 17 he moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill. The Democrats at first talked of voting it down, if possible, so as to leave the onus of no anti-Chinese legislation upon the Republicans; but they soon perceived that the people would not swallow any whale of that size, and that Democratic chicanery had again gotten itself into a trap of its own making. So they concluded to vote almost solidly for it, and accordingly the rules were suspended and the bill passed by a two-thirds vote—the Republican vote being nearly two to one for this bill, while upon the other it was equally divided. The Senate subsequently amended and passed the bill. The amendments were concurred in, in the House, May 2d, without division, and the bill was approved by the President at once.

**Chief provisions of this Republican anti-coolie importation act.**

The chief provisions of this Republican anti-coolie act are as follows:

An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese.

*Whereas*, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: therefore,

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

SEC. 4. That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the

passage of this act, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States of their free will and accord, as provided by the treaty between the United States and China, dated November seventeenth, eighteen hundred and eighty, the collector of customs of the districts from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer, and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers, which shall be entered in registry-books to be kept for that purpose, in which shall be stated the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, physical marks or peculiarities, and all facts necessary for the identification of each of such Chinese laborers, which books shall be safely kept in the custom-house; and every such Chinese laborer so departing from the United States shall be entitled to, and shall receive, free of any charge or cost, upon application therefor, from the collector or his deputy, at the time such list is taken, a certificate, signed by the collector or his deputy, and attested by his seal of office in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, which certificate shall contain a statement of the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, personal description, and facts of identification of the Chinese laborer to whom the certificate is issued, corresponding with the said list and registry in all particulars. In case any Chinese laborer after having received such certificate shall leave such vessel before her departure, he shall deliver his certificate to the master of the vessel, and if such Chinese laborer shall fail to return to such vessel before her departure from port the certificate shall be delivered by the master to the collector of customs for cancellation. The certificate herein provided for shall entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter; and upon delivery of such certificate by such Chinese laborer to the collector of customs at the time of re-entry in the United States, said collector shall cause the same to be filed in the custom-house and duly cancelled.

SEC. 5. That any Chinese laborer mentioned in section four of this act being in the United States, and desiring to depart from the United States by land, shall have the right to demand and receive, free of charge or cost, a certificate of identification similar to that provided for in section four of this act to be issued to such Chinese laborers as may desire to leave the United States by water; and it is hereby made the duty of the collector of customs of the district next adjoining the foreign country to which said Chinese laborer desires to go to issue such certificate, free of charge or cost, upon application by such Chinese laborer, and to enter the same upon registry-books to be kept by him for the purpose, as provided for in section four of this act.

SEC. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of articles one and two of the treaty in this act before mentioned, every Chinese person other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall be identified as so entitled by the Chinese government in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate issued under the authority of said government, which certificate shall be in the English language or (if not in the English language) accompanied by a translation into English, stating such right to come and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States. Such certificate shall be *prima facie* evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs, or his deputy, of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive.

SEC. 14. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 15. That the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Approved May 6, 1882.

#### A Democratic Supreme Court Justice's partiality for the Chinese.

It was but a few months after the approval of this law that the San Francisco *Post* charged that United States Supreme Justice Field (Democrat) found it "convenient to come out here on circuit duty purposely to 'interpret' the Chinese restriction law;" that there is "*not one instance in which*, when a case concerning the Chinese has been before him, *Field has not shown a marked partiality for the Chinese*;" and that the exclusion law will be repealed in less than five years, "when we have a Democratic majority in Congress and Field in the Presidential chair." It also asked and challenged a square answer to this significant question:

If there are not more prominent Democratic politicians who employ and patronize Chinese than there are Republicans who do the same, and if there are not *several candidates on the Democratic ticket who have for years been employers of Chinese, to the exclusion of white labor, at even the same rate of wages.*

#### Text of the supplementary Chinese Immigration Act of 1884—Votes in Senate and House on its passage—Approved by President Arthur.

On the 3d of May, 1884, the House bill (H. R. 1798) which had previously been agreed on by the Pacific Coast delegations in both Houses, and had come up in the House for consideration, was passed by 184 yeas to 13 nays. It is in these words:

An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved May sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That section one of the Act entitled "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved May sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: therefore,

*"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That from and after the passage of this Act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this Act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended, and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come from any foreign port or place, or having so come to remain within the United States."

Section two of said Act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land, or attempt to land, or permit to be landed, any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year."

Section three of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days after the

passage of the act to which this act is amendatory, nor shall said sections apply to Chinese laborers, who shall produce to such master before going on board such vessel, and shall produce to the collector of the port in the United States at which such vessel shall arrive, the evidence hereinafter in this act required of his being one of the laborers in this section mentioned; nor shall the two foregoing sections apply to the case of any master whose vessel, being bound to a port not within the United States, shall come within the jurisdiction of the United States by reason of being in distress or in stress of weather, or touching at any port of the United States on its voyage to any foreign port or place: *Provided*, That all Chinese laborers brought on said vessel shall not be permitted to land except in case of absolute necessity, and must depart with the vessel on leaving port."

Section four of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 4. That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of the act to which this act is amendatory, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States as provided by the said act and the treaty between the United States and China dated November seventeenth, eighteen hundred and eighty, the collector of customs of the district from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer, and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers, which shall be entered in registry-books, to be kept for that purpose, in which shall be stated the individual, family, and tribal name in full, the age, occupation, when and where followed, last place of residence, physical marks or peculiarities, and all facts necessary for the identification of each of such Chinese laborers, which books shall be safely kept in the custom house; and every such Chinese laborer so departing from the United States shall be entitled to and shall receive, free of any charge or cost, upon application therefor, from the collector or his deputy, in the name of said collector and attested by said collector's seal of office, at the time such list is taken, a certificate, signed by the collector or his deputy and attested by his seal of office, in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, which certificate shall contain a statement of the individual, family, and tribal name in full, age, occupation, when and where followed, of the Chinese laborer to whom the certificate is issued, corresponding with the said list and registry in all particulars. In case any Chinese laborer, after having received such certificate, shall leave such vessel before her departure, he shall deliver his certificate to the master of the vessel; and if such Chinese laborer shall fail to return to such vessel before her departure from port, the certificate shall be delivered by the master to the collector of customs for cancellation. The certificate herein provided for shall entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter, and said certificate shall be the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry; and upon delivering of such certificate by such Chinese laborer to the collector of customs at the time of re-entry in the United States, said collector shall cause the same to be filed in the custom house and duly cancelled."

Section six of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of the provisions of this act, every Chinese person, other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty or this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government, or of such other foreign government of which at the time such Chinese person shall be a subject, in each case to be evidenced by a certificate issued by such Government, which certificate shall be in the English language, and shall show such permission, with the name of the permitted person in his or her proper signature, and which cer-

tificate shall state the individual, family, and tribal name in full, title or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, when and where and how long pursued, and place of residence of the person to whom the certificate is issued, and that such person is entitled by this act to come within the United States. If the person so applying for a certificate shall be a merchant, said certificate shall, in addition to above requirements, state the nature, character, and estimated value of the business carried on by him prior to and at the time of his application as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing in this act nor in said treaty shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word 'merchant,' hucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation. If the certificate be sought for the purposes of travel for curiosity, it shall also state whether the applicant intends to pass through or travel within the United States, together with his financial standing in the country from which such certificate is desired. The certificate provided for in this act, and the identity of the person named therein, shall, before such person goes on board any vessel to proceed to the United States, be viced by the indorsement of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the foreign country from which said certificates issues, or of the consular representative of the United States at the port or place from which the person named in the certificate is about to depart; and such diplomatic representative or consular representative whose indorsement is so required is hereby empowered, and it shall be his duty, before indorsing such certificate as aforesaid, to examine into the truth of the statements set forth in said certificate, and if he shall find upon examination that said or any of the statements therein contained are untrue it shall be his duty to refuse to indorse the same. Such certificate viced as aforesaid shall be prima facie evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive, and afterward produced to the proper authorities of the United States whenever lawfully demanded, and shall be the sole evidence permissible on the part of the person so producing the same to establish a right of entry into the United States; but said certificate may be controverted and the facts therein stated disproved by the United States authorities."

Section eight of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 8. That the master of any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place shall, at the same time he delivers a manifest of the cargo, and if there be no cargo, then at the time of making a report of the entry of the vessel pursuant to law, in addition to the other matter required to be reported, and before landing, or permitting to land, any Chinese passengers, deliver and report to the collector of customs of the district in which such vessels shall have arrived, a separate list of all Chinese passengers taken on board his vessel at any foreign port or place, and all such passengers on board the vessel at that time. Such list shall show the names of such passengers (and if accredited officers of the Chinese or of any other foreign government, travelling on the business of that government, or their servants, with a note of such facts), and the names and other particulars as shown by their respective certificates; and such list shall be sworn to by the master in the manner required by law in relation to the manifest of the cargo. Any refusal or wilful neglect of any such master to comply with the provisions of this section shall incur the same penalties and forfeiture as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo."

Section ten of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 10. That every vessel whose master shall knowingly violate any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to seizure and condemnation in any district of the United States into which such vessel may enter or in which she may be found."

Section eleven of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 11. That any person who shall knowingly bring into or cause to be brought into the United

States by land, or who shall aid or abet the same, or aid or abet the landing in the United States from any vessel, of any Chinese person not lawfully entitled to enter the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year."

Section twelve of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 12. That no Chinese person shall be permitted to enter the United States by land without producing to the proper officer of customs the certificate in this act required of Chinese persons seeking to land from a vessel. And any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States shall be caused to be removed therefrom to the country from whence he came, and at the cost of the United States, after being brought before some justice, judge, or commissioner of a court of the United States, and found to be one not lawfully entitled to be or to remain in the United States; and in all such cases the person who brought or aided in bringing such person to the United States shall be liable to the Government of the United States for all necessary expenses incurred in such investigation and removal; and all peace officers of the several States and Territories of the United States are hereby invested with the same authority as a marshal or United States marshal in reference to carrying out the provisions of this act or the act of which this is amendatory, as a marshal or deputy marshal of the United States, and shall be entitled to like compensation, to be audited and paid by the same officers. And the United States shall pay all costs and charges for the maintenance and return of any Chinese person having the certificate prescribed by law as entitling such Chinese person to come into the United States, who may not have been permitted to land from any vessel by reason of any of the provisions of this act."

Section thirteen of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 13. That this act shall not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese or other Governments travelling upon the business of that Government, whose credentials shall be taken as equivalent to the certificate in this act mentioned, and shall exempt them and their body and household servants from the provisions of this act as to other Chinese persons."

Section fifteen of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 15. That the provisions of this act shall apply to all subjects of China, and Chinese, whether subjects of China or any other foreign power; and the words 'Chinese laborers,' wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

"SEC. 16. That any violation of any of the provisions of this act, or of the act of which this act is amendatory, the punishment of which is not otherwise herein provided for, shall be deemed a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment."

"SEC. 27. That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to effect any prosecution or other proceeding, criminal or civil, begun under the act of which this is amendatory; but such prosecution or other proceeding, criminal or civil, shall proceed as if this act had not been passed."

Following is the detailed vote on the passage of the bill:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Atkinson, Bagley, Barkdale, Bayne, Beach, Blanchard, Bland, Boyle, Brainerd, Breckinridge, W. W. Brown, Brumm, Buchanan, Buckner, Budd, Burnes, A. J. Caldwell, J. M. Campbell, A. D. Candler, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Connolly, Converse, J. C. Cook, Congrove, S. S. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, Dargan, G. R. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dowd, Dunham, Dunn, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, J. H. Evans, Ferrell, Fiedler, Finerty, Follett, Foran, Foreney, Fyan, Garrison, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Guenther, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hilscock, Holman, Holmes, Hop-

kins, Horr, Houk, Houseman, Iurd, Jeffords, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, King, Lacey, Lumb, Latham, Lawrence, Le Fevre, J. H. Lewis, Lovering, Lowry, McAdoo, McCold, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, S. H. Miller, Millikin, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Murphy, Murray, Neece, Nutting, Oates, J. J. O'Neill, D. E. Paige, Patton, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, S. J. Peelle, Pettibone, Post, Pryor, Pusey, Randall, Rankin, Reese, T. A. Robertson, J. S. Robinson, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Rosecrans, Rowell, Scales, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, A. H. Smith, Springer, Steele, Stephenson, C. Stewart, Stocklager, Strait, Struble, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, J. M. Taylor, Thockmorton, Tillman, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Van Delsyne, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, E. Warner, Weaver, Wellborn, Weller, Wemple, M. White, Whiting, Wilkins, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, John Winans, G. D. Wise, Wolford, Worthington, Yaple—184.

**NAYS**—Messrs. G. E. Adams, F. B. Brewer, T. M. Browne, Everhart, T. J. Henderson, Hilt, Kean, LYMAN, Price, W. W. Rice, C. K. Skinner, Smalls, Spooner—13.

On the 3d of July, 1884, this bill also passed the Senate without amendment, by 41 yeas to 12 nays, as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Allison, Bayard, Beck, Blair, Butler, Call, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Cockrell, Coke, Conger, Cullom, Dolph, Fair, Farley, Garland, Groome, Hale, Hampton, Harris, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Logan, Manderson, Maxey, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morgan, Palmer, Pendleton, Pike, Plumb, Pugh, Ransom, Sawyer, Sherman, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vent, Voorhees—43.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Aldrich, Broten, Dawes, Edmunds, Hawley, Hoar, Lapham, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Platt, Wilson—12.

It was subsequently approved by President Arthur.

## PART VI.

### Anti-Coolie Legislation of 1884 upset by the Supreme Court—Further Republican efforts in Congress, and Democratic obstruction.

The Act of 1882 had provided that the return certificate of a departing Chinaman would "entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter." And the Act of 1884 had amended this provision by adding the words, "And said certificate shall be the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry." But in the case of *Chew Heong vs. United States*, the United States Supreme Court held that: "The fourth section of the act of Congress approved May 6, 1882, as amended by the act of July 5, 1884, prescribing the certificate which shall be produced by a Chinese laborer, as the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry into the United States, is not applicable to Chinese laborers who, residing in this country at the date of the treaty of November 17, 1880, departed by sea before May 6, 1882, and remained out of the United States until after July 5, 1884." This decision practically destroyed the value of the

legislation of 1884, and the Chinese continued to pour into the United States with perfect facility under the claim of "prior residence." In 1885, on this claim, supported by perjury, as many as 9,049 landed at San Francisco alone. San Francisco was aroused. Its people without distinction of party demanded that the evil be stopped. Her leading men met and formulated a bill to meet the emergency, which, among other things, provided that Chinese laborers who, having been in the United States, had departed therefrom and remained absent from the United States for a period of two years, should be deemed, taken, and held to have elected to remain permanently out of the United States and to have waived and abandoned their right to return thereto; and which also provided that Chinamen with return certificates should not enter the United States in greater number than one Chinaman to each fifty tons of the registered tonnage of the vessel bringing them. This bill was introduced into the Democratic House, Dec. 21, 1885, and referred to the committee on Foreign Affairs. A counterpart of this (Morrow) bill was introduced in the Republican Senate by Senator Fair of Nevada, March 29, 1886, and referred to the committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Sherman reported the bill favorably, April 29, 1886, and June 1, 1886, it passed the Senate without a dissenting vote. On June 3, 1886, this Senate bill reached the House, and was referred to the committee on Foreign Affairs—but was never reported back to the House, although the House bill with minor amendments was so reported—and the Forty-ninth Congress died, March 4, 1887, without passing either of these bills.

The reason alleged by Mr. Belmont, the chairman of the Democratic Foreign Affairs committee, why the Democrats did not propose to pass the Senate bill, was [see *Cong. Record*, Feb. 8, 1887], that his committee was officially assured . . . that the Chinese Government does not desire to embarrass the relations with this country by a continuance of the immigration, and that there is a disposition to modify the treaty to bring about results *much more effective than can possibly be brought about by legislation.*

Representative Morrow (Republican) of California, was not satisfied with the statement of the Democratic chairman, and the following colloquy ensued.

Mr. MORROW. I would like to ask the gentleman what the House is to infer from what he has said respecting an agreement between this Government and China in regard to immigration.

Mr. BELMONT. I would be very careful not to overstep what I consider a proper statement. I can not assure the gentleman that negotiations have been completed, but he must himself know from observation and from the interest he has taken in the question that there is every reason to suppose that negotiations are pending and will be successful.

Mr. MORROW. This has been the promise for years; it has been so ever since this question has been under discussion.

Mr. BELMONT. I think, Mr. Chairman, the House will appreciate the gentleman's remarks. He intimates that there have been assurances and negotiations for

some time past without performance. But undoubtedly one of the main difficulties in the way of a modification of the treaty has been the constant legislation, ineffective legislation, upon the subject, and the attempts at legislation in violation of the treaty, which must always receive the veto of the President, and which have for their principal result the embarrassment of the treaty-making power.

Mr. MORROW. The difficulty, Mr. Chairman—  
Mr. BELMONT. I do not think I can yield any further. I will reserve the remainder of my time.

In 1887, the condition of things had increased in seriousness. No less than 11,572 coolies had landed during that year at San Francisco. The fiftieth Congress met Dec. 5, 1887, and bills were early introduced in both Houses to absolutely repeal all treaties with China, touching immigration, and prohibit any further Chinese immigration whatsoever. The Pacific Coast Representatives called the attention of President Cleveland's Administration to this serious state of affairs, but were again met with assurances that a new treaty was in course of negotiation with China, that would be satisfactory to the people of the Pacific Coast. At last the Pacific Coast Representatives in both Senate and House decided to adopt other means to secure action. Accordingly, March 1, 1888, the Democratic House at last adopted a resolution that was submitted by Representative Morrow, in these words:

*Resolved*, That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to communicate to this House, if in his opinion not incompatible with the public interests, what, if any, steps have been taken in the direction of treaty stipulations or otherwise to prevent the continued immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States, notwithstanding the provisions of the treaty of November 17, 1880, between the United States and the Empire of China, and the laws of the United States passed in pursuance thereof suspending such immigration.

On the very same day the Republican Senate adopted the following:

*Resolved by the Senate of the United States*, That in view of the difficulties and embarrassments that have attended the regulation of the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States under the limitations of our treaties with China, the President of the United States be requested to negotiate a treaty with the Emperor of China containing a provision that no Chinese laborer shall enter the United States

On the 16th March, 1888, President Cleveland transmitted the draft of a treaty with the Chinese Government, which, but for the importunities of Republican senators and representatives from the Pacific Coast, would probably never have been negotiated at all; which, after all, did not meet their wants, and therefore had to be amended by the Republican Senate, and the preliminary negotiations for which did not commence [see Speech of Representative Morrow in House, Aug. 29, 1888] until April 11, 1887 although two months before they had commenced, the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House had prevented Congressional legislation on the subject, on the pretense that such negotiations were then "pending," and would "be successful."

## PART VII.

**Text of the new Chinese Treaty as sent to the Republican Senate by President Cleveland.**

Following is the text of the articles of the Chinese Treaty sent to the Senate by President Cleveland, March 16, 1888:

Whereas on the 17th day of November, A.D. 1880, a treaty was concluded between the United States and China for the purpose of regulating, limiting, or suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to, and their residence in, the United States; and

Whereas the Government of China, in view of the antagonism and much deprecated and serious disorders to which the presence of Chinese laborers has given rise in certain parts of the United States, desires to prohibit the emigration of such laborers from China to the United States; and

Whereas the Government of the United States and the Government of China desire to co-operate in prohibiting such emigration, and to strengthen in other ways the bonds of friendship between the two countries: Now, therefore, the President of the United States has appointed Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States, as his plenipotentiary; and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China has appointed Chang Yen Hoon, minister of the third rank of the imperial court, civil president of the board of imperial cavalry and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, as his plenipotentiary; and the said plenipotentiaries, having exhibited their respective full powers found to be in due and good form, have agreed upon the following articles:

**Article I.**

The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited.

**Article II.**

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs, a full description in writing of his family, or property, or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to return under this treaty as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false, the right of return thereunder, or of continued residence after return, shall in each case be forfeited. And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period, not to exceed one year, in cases where by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return — which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure, and by him certified, to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States.

**Article III.**

The provisions of this convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein. To entitle such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission into the United States they may produce a certificate from their government or the government where they last resided, viced by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port whence they depart.

It is also agreed that Chinese laborers shall continue to enjoy the privilege of transit across the territory of the United States in the course of their journey to or from other countries, subject to such regulations by the Government of the United States as may be necessary to prevent said privilege of transit from being abused.

**Article IV.**

In pursuance of Article III of the immigration treaty between the United States and China, signed at Peking on the 17th day of November, 1880, it is hereby understood and agreed that Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, either permanently or temporarily residing in the United States, shall have for the protection of their persons and property all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation, excepting the right to become naturalized citizens. And the Government of the United States reaffirms its obligation, as stated in said Article III, to exert all its power to secure protection to the persons and property of all Chinese subjects in the United States.

**Article V.**

Whereas Chinese subjects, being in remote and unsettled regions of the United States, have been the victims of injuries in their persons and property at the hands of wicked and lawless men, which unexpected events the Chinese Government regrets, and for which it has claimed an indemnity the legal obligation of which the Government of the United States denies; and whereas the Government of the United States, humanely, considering these injuries and bearing in mind the firm and ancient friendship between the United States and China, which the high contracting parties wish to cement, is desirous of alleviating the exceptional and deplorable sufferings and losses to which the aforesaid Chinese have been subjected; therefore, the United States, without reference to the question of liability therefor (which as a legal obligation it denies), agrees to pay on or before the 1st day of March, 1888, the sum of \$276,619.75 to the Chinese minister at this capital, who shall accept the same, on behalf of his government, as full indemnity for all losses and injuries sustained by Chinese subjects as aforesaid, and shall distribute the said money among the said sufferers and their relatives.

**Article VI.**

This convention shall remain in force for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications; and if, six months before the expiration of the said period of twenty years, neither government shall formally have given notice of its termination to the other, it shall remain in full force for another like period of twenty years.

## PART VIII.

**Representative Morrow's letter to the Senate Committee showing the Inefficiency of President Cleveland's Treaty.**

Upon the publication of the new Chinese Treaty, Representative Morrow, of California, addressed to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, a luminous letter, explaining that it failed to meet the difficulties of the case, as laid down in decisions of the Supreme Court. The letter is in these words:

**Chinese Immigration.**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., Apr. 10, 1888.

SIR: Assuming that the full text of the new treaty with China has been published, I venture to call your attention to the fact that it is fatally defective in not providing in positive terms against the return of a class of Chinese former residents who are not now in the United States, but who will certainly continue, either in person or by proxy, to assert the claim of a right to return, if such a claim can be made available under the new treaty as it has been under the present



treaty. To point out distinctly the probable effect of this omission, permit me to call your attention to the real difficulties encountered in enforcing the provisions of exclusion contained in the treaty of November 17, 1880, and the laws of Congress passed in pursuance thereof. The treaty of November 17, 1880, was negotiated for the purpose of suspending Chinese immigration. It had no other object in view. It was the response of the Government to the urgent and often repeated demand of the Pacific coast that an effective barrier should be raised against the imminent peril of an overwhelming Chinese invasion of the Pacific coast. But unfortunately the treaty was not as comprehensive in its execution as it was in purpose.

In the second article of this treaty it was provided among other things that—

"Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord."

If there had been some means for the immediate identification of the Chinese laborers then in the United States, or if the proper return certificates of identification could have been immediately issued to all those who should thereafter depart from the United States, the treaty would perhaps have been of some value as a measure of exclusion, but unfortunately it was not until May 6, 1882, that Congress passed the Act carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty, and even then the law did not go into operation until ninety days thereafter, or Aug. 5, 1882. During this period of nearly two years, between the date of the treaty and the law of Congress, the Chinese swarmed into the country from every direction. The steamships from China were crowded to their utmost capacity by an eager mob hurrying to get in before the gate should be closed against them. The arrivals at San Francisco from Hong-Kong from November 18, 1880 to August 5, 1882, were 43,952. The average previous immigration for a like period was less than 16,000, so that here was an excess of immigration over the previous average of 30,000 in twenty months.

This was one of the unfortunate results of the effort to secure an exclusion that did not at once exclude, and for the time being the purpose of the treaty was not only defeated, but its negotiation caused a large increase in Chinese immigration. But bad as was this defect in the proceedings, it was by no means the worst feature of the situation. The bringing of Chinese into the United States during this period was a rich harvest for the steamship companies, and on the return trips of their vessels they were able to offer cheap transportation to those who could find it convenient to return to China. The result was that during the same period the records show that 12,816 Chinamen left the port of San Francisco for Hong-Kong. No one supposed at the time that these departing Chinamen would be the cause of breaking down the restrictions of the treaty, but in the practical working of its provisions such came to be the actual result.

As before stated, the treaty provides that Chinese laborers who were in the United States should be "allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord." Those who departed after August 5, 1882, took with them return certificates, as provided for under the law; but the 12,000 who departed after the treaty and before the law, took no certificate; yet under the decisions of the Supreme Court they are as much entitled to return to the United States as those who are provided with and produce the return certificate. Now the point is that Chinamen who were never in the United States are coming into the country on the claim that they were here at the date of the treaty, and our courts are now overrun with cases of habeas corpus involving this claim. It is manifestly impossible to prove in many cases that the Chinamen were not in the country on the 17th day of November, 1880, since persons having knowledge of their presence elsewhere would nearly always be beyond the process of the court.

The practical effect of leaving our doors open to Chinamen who will assert and prove this claim of prior residence is to defeat the whole purpose of treaty stipulations and legislation on this subject, since it can be easily demonstrated that the immigration will be continued under the disguise of the privileged class. The fact that we close our doors is proof positive to the excluded Chinaman that there is some advantage or benefit to be obtained by getting into the country, and he is so further informed and persuaded by those who would profit by his immigration. He is instructed to purchase a return certificate or assume the character of a prior resident, and with proper drilling he crawls through the meshes of the law as a privileged person.

The statistics of Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco will prove interesting in this connection. From the year 1852 to November 17, 1880 (the date of the treaty), the total Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco was 253,035, or an annual average of 8,725 for the twenty-nine years when there were no restrictions whatever. It was to stop this immigration that the treaty of November 17, 1880, was negotiated, and it was to protect the people of the Pacific coast from the evils arising from the continuance of such an immigration that Congress passed the act of May 6, 1882, carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty. Now, what has been the result? The following is a statement of the arrivals of Chinese at San Francisco \* since August 5, 1882:

From Aug. 5, 1882, to Dec. 31, 1882 . . . . .	30
For year ending Dec. 31, 1883 . . . . .	3,014
1884 . . . . .	6,802
1885 . . . . .	9,040
1886 . . . . .	6,714
1887 . . . . .	11,572
Total . . . . .	36,990

It will be seen that the average annual arrivals for the whole period since the restriction act went into effect is but little less than it was before the act, while for the last year (1887) the arrivals are greatly in excess of the former average, showing a steady increase, until the immigration has again reached proportions of the most dangerous and threatening character. It is not claimed of course that this increase of arrivals is made up wholly of those who are landed on the claim of prior residence. The greater number are in fact provided with the return certificates issued under the act of May 6, 1882, but here again the purpose of the law has been defeated by the fraudulent issue of certificates to Chinamen who did not leave the country, but who merely acted as dummies that the certificates might be procured, sent to China, and sold to immigrants.

Again, certificates are issued to departing Chinamen, who may sell the certificates in China, and on their return without a certificate they are landed on the claim of prior residence, which they are perfectly qualified to assert and prove by satisfactory evidence. There are other methods of defeating the law, but enough has been stated to show the necessity for an absolute exclusion to effect the purpose in view when the Government sets out in earnest to exclude Chinese immigration. It is no longer a question as to the policy of closing our doors against Chinese cheap labor. That question has been determined by the present treaty on more than one principle of protection to our people and our form of civilization. The doors must be closed, and the only problem remaining is how to do it. The new treaty will not accomplish that purpose if the text, as published, is correct. But I note that Mr. Bayard, in his letter to the President transmitting the treaty, referring to the first article, says,—

"This precludes the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in this country, and forbids the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers from any quarter whatsoever."

This is precisely the character of an exclusion for which we have been contending these many years, and if the treaty only contained this paragraph in appro-

\* The following tabulation shows the very large number of Chinese arrivals at San Francisco prior to, as well as since, the Burlingame treaty:

Arrivals prior to Burlingame treaty . . . . .	141,800
Arrivals between date of Burlingame treaty and treaty of November 17, 1880 . . . . .	121,233
Arrivals between November 17, 1880, and August 5, 1882 . . . . .	45,952
Arrivals between August 5, 1882, and December 31, 1887 . . . . .	36,990
Total arrivals . . . . .	345,977

prate and comprehensive terms it would have been a very decided step in the direction of solving this difficult problem. Now, the question is, what can be done to cure this defect? If the Secretary of State has correctly interpreted the purpose of the convention in the paragraph just quoted, then the treaty simply fails to express that purpose, and it seems to me that it would be entirely proper for the Senate to so advise the President and propose such amendments as would accomplish that purpose. I would not make this matter a subject of political controversy, but co-operate with the Executive in improving the opportunity to secure some decided and practical results. From what has been said, I think it must be apparent that the object to be obtained in any treaty stipulations that may be agreed upon is to secure entire exclusion, or, failing in this, to limit, as far as possible, the classes of Chinese persons who shall be entitled to come into the United States, expressing such restriction in terms so plain as to prevent any evasion.

The Secretary of State, in his letter referring to the terms of the new treaty, says:

"Existing treaty privileges of travel and sojourn in the United States to Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers for curiosity and pleasure remained undisturbed, as well as the transit of laborers, strictly to be exercised under United States regulations."

The admission of so-called "merchants" and the privilege of coming into the country accorded to Chinese laborers claiming to be in transit across the territory of the United States, have been much abused privileges under the present treaty. The first effort to break the barrier of exclusion was upon the claim that the immigrants were all "merchants." This led to an amendment of the law (Act of July 5, 1884), providing "that nothing in this Act nor in said treaty shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word 'merchant' hucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation." This amendment had the effect of transferring the pressure to other weak points.

The records of the Treasury Department show that many Chinese laborers have been landed in the United States on the claim of being in transit who have not taken their departure, or, if they have, their identity has been so completely lost that, with an eye to profit, they have been able to carry off return certificates for sale or future use. It would have been well if some further provision had been made against an immigration under the disguise of merchants and persons in transit; but perhaps these two points may be covered by proper legislation and regulations; and in view of the great necessity for further security at other points this feature of the new treaty may be dismissed without further comment.

The most serious complaint made against the present treaty is the clause providing that Chinese laborers who were here at the date of the treaty should be permitted to come and go at pleasure. As I have before explained, with this door open we find ourselves, at the end of nearly eight years, without any practical relief from this troublesome question; and the new treaty absolutely ignores this important point about which so much controversy has been had in court and before Congress in appeals for further legislation. The new treaty attempts to limit the number of Chinese laborers who shall be entitled to return, but the difficulty is that the courts may hold that this restriction only applies to those who shall hereafter depart, leaving the door open without this restriction to those who are now absent, but who may claim the right to return on their present certificates, or on prior residence, without such certificates. Assuming that Congress may provide such a form of certificate under the new treaty as will properly identify those hereafter departing and who shall be entitled to return, there still remains a necessity for providing against the return of those now absent, which I repeat is for the purpose of preventing the immigration of Chinese laborers who were never in the country. To accomplish this object, which is the real point at issue, I would suggest the following amendments to the new treaty:

"Amend Article I, as follows:

"Add to the end of the article the following: 'And this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether

holding return certificates under existing laws or not.'"

The article would then read as follows:

"ARTICLE I. The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States of America shall be prohibited. And this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not."

The article thus amended would terminate the life of several thousand return certificates, but in view of their fraudulent use, their destruction is not only proper, but necessary to secure the enforcement of the terms of exclusion proposed in the new treaty. It would also put an end to the claim of prior residence, or residence here at the date of the treaty of 1880 which would give to the new treaty its chief value as a measure of exclusion. Furthermore the article, if so amended, would then provide for the terms of exclusion mentioned in the letter of the Secretary of State.

The next difficulty will occur in the identification of the privileged class of laborers who will be entitled to return under the new treaty; that is to say, "the identification of the Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States of America, or property therein of the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement."

I do not think much of the restriction contained in this qualification, for it will probably be developed that all who want to return to the United States will be thus qualified by the aid of the company to which the Chinaman belongs, but there will be a decided advantage in even restricting immigration to such persons as may hereafter depart from the United States; and to make such restriction effective I would suggest that it would be well to make it perfectly plain that Chinese laborers not provided with the return certificate, authorized by Article II., shall not be entitled to return or re-enter the United States. To do this an amendment in harmony with the recent decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Jung Ah Lung, would be required, as follows:

"Add to the end of Article II. the following:

"Provided, That no Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required."

The next point to which I invite your attention is the failure to provide protection against the abuse of the privilege accorded to certain persons in Article III.

What, for instance, is to prevent any Chinese person from procuring the necessary certificate, and coming into the United States under the claim of being either an official, teacher, student, merchant, or traveller? If the doors are closed elsewhere, I am afraid this one will be forced open; but to provide as far as possible against such a proceeding, I would suggest the following amendment:

"Amend Article III. as follows:

"Add after the word 'depart,' in the fourteenth line (as published in the 'New York Times'), the following:

"And should the description of the person, or the representations as to the character, profession, or business of the person to whom such certificate is issued, fail to correspond with the character, profession, or business of the person producing such certificate, or if said certificate is proven to be false, the right to enter the United States thereunder, or of continued residence therein, shall in each case be forfeited, and no Chinese subjects, whether officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travellers, shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the certificate required herein to identify such person as privileged under this treaty to enter the United States."

With these amendments incorporated into the treaty, and proper legislation by Congress carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect, I think we may reasonably hope for a much better condition of affairs on the Pacific Coast, in dealing with this difficult and troublesome question; but I must say, in justice to myself, that I have not changed the views I have heretofore expressed in urging legislation terminating all

treaty stipulations, and absolutely prohibiting all Chinese immigration.

This, in my judgment, is still the better course; and every thing I have written is secondary and subordinate to such judgment. I am now only indicating the acceptance of a situation not by any means satisfactory, but out of which some practical, beneficial results may possibly be obtained. I therefore make these suggestions with the fullest reservation to urge measures of total exclusion, not only as the better, but the only effective course.

Very truly yours,

WM. M. MORROW.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
United States Senate.

## PART IX.

### The Republican Senate's amendments to President Cleveland's Treaty — Pending anti-coolie legislation.

In accordance with the suggestions of Mr. Morrow, Articles I. and II. of the Chinese Treaty were amended by the Senate, and now stand as follows:

#### Article I.

The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited; and this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not.

#### Article II.

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein to the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs, a full description in writing of his family, or property, or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to return under this treaty, as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false the right of return thereunder, or of continued residence after return, shall in each case be forfeited.

And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period not to exceed one year in cases where, by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return, which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure and by him certified to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States. And no such Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required.

Without the words, in italics, inserted by the Republican Senate, the Treaty negotiated by the Democratic Administration would have proven ineffective in excluding the Chinese laborer.

### Further Republican Efforts at Anti-Coolie Legislation.

Not resting, however, with amending the Chinese treaty in the manner indicated, the Republican Senate, August, 1888, at the instance of Senator Stewart of Nevada, passed a Senate bill (S. 3304) "to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States." Its provisions are in harmony with the amended treaty, and conform to the restrictions thereof. It provides additional safeguards for personal identification of returning Chinamen; requires that they shall be admitted only at the American port from which they departed; provides that "no Chinese person except diplomatic or consular officers and their attendants shall be permitted to enter the United States, except at the ports of San Francisco, Portland (Ore.), Boston, New York, New Orleans, Port Townsend, or such other ports as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury;" and prescribes that "the collector shall in person decide all questions in dispute with regard to the right of any Chinese passenger to enter the United States, and his decision shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury, and not otherwise."

Subsequently the Senate bill — after some further delay, induced by the Democrats in the hope of making party capital — passed the House of Representatives without a division.

## PART X.

### Falsity of Democratic charges against Senator Harrison — His remarks in the Senate, 1882 — Statements of Senators Dolph, Mitchell, Stewart, and Allison.

For lack of any thing else to say against the Republican candidate for the Presidency, certain Democrats have not hesitated to falsely charge General Harrison with being opposed to the restriction of Chinese immigration. The charge is ridiculous, as will be seen by the following:

#### What Senator Harrison said when the Anti-Chinese Bill of 1882 was before the Senate.

In the United States Senate, April 22, 1882, the Anti-Chinese Bill being up for consideration —

Mr. Harrison said, "I only want to make a suggestion. In the treaty the word 'laborers' is used. I take it that it is not in the power of Congress to enlarge the meaning of that word. Whatever it meant in the treaty, it would mean the same thing as used in the law. We cannot make it mean more than that. Therefore, why not let it stand in the law as in the treaty, and let the use of that word include what it will?"

Mr. Grover objected to this proposition, for the reason, he said, that the word can be defined in different ways; and, if it is left to be construed by those who administer the law, they will have to determine it either one way or the other.

Mr. Harrison replied to this in the following: "It is possible that the senator is right in saying that the word may be construed differently; but can we enlarge the meaning of it as it is used in the treaty? That

the question I present. If we use the same word in the law that is used in the treaty, we are going as far as we can go, for we cannot enlarge the word as it is used in the treaty."

Mr. Grover proposed to put a legislative interpretation upon it, and Mr. Miller of California remarked, "We start out with the presumption that Congress will not legislate to violate a treaty; so that, in fact, it is probable that the words of the treaty would govern, unless there was a plain intent manifest that Congress intended to violate the treaty or legislate in conflict with it. If any one can show a good reason or apprehension that skilled labor, so called, would come into this country under this bill unless this section were adopted, I should certainly desire to have it adopted."

Mr. Grover read an extract from the *Daily Record Union* of California, of April 22, which discussed the amendment made by the Senate committee, criticising the effect of leaving out the provision of the fifteenth section.

Mr. Harrison replied to Mr. Grover as follows: "Will the Senator from Oregon allow me to make a suggestion to him? He reads an extract from a paper to the effect that the word 'laborers,' as used in the treaty, or as used in the law, may be limited, by meaning applied to those who are unskilled. If the court should so decide, giving that meaning to the word 'laborers,' as used in the treaty, would the Senator from Oregon be in favor of going beyond what we are authorized to do by our treaty?"

Mr. Grover answered, "The commissioners on the part of the United States, who negotiated this treaty, are unanimous in their expression that this clause is properly in the bill."

Mr. Harrison replied, "It reminds me of a will case that I was once trying, when the lawyer who drew the will was on the other side. There was a great deal of controversy about the meaning, and he undertook to settle it by saying that he wrote the will, and knew what it meant. It seems to me that is a parallel case with our commissioners undertaking to say what the word means."

Mr. Grover again answered, "The President of the United States, after considering the protest of the Chinese ambassador, and reading what the American commissioner said, decided that this clause was correctly in the bill. If any court should decide that there is a conflict between the law and the treaty, I think the treaty will go to the wall."

Mr. HARRISON.—That does not answer my question. Is the Senator from Oregon in favor of driving the treaty to the wall by legislation here?

Mr. GROVER.—I think I have answered that sufficiently in stating that the commissioners and the President have given their construction of the treaty. That is the American view of it, and I follow that.

Mr. HARRISON.—That does not answer the question at all. The question I asked the senator is whether, if the treaty and the law in the section to which he has referred are in conflict, he still believes in passing the law and driving the treaty to the wall, or, in other words, trampling upon our treaty obligations?

This branch of the debate closed by Mr. Grover declaring that he would stand by the authorities he had cited, and the bill, after the debate, went over for the day (*Record*, vol. 13, pt. 4, pp. 1351 to 1360).

#### Senator Dolph's Testimony.

The following remarks were made in the U. S. Senate, Aug. 15, 1888, on the subject of Senator Harrison's attitude on the Chinese question [see *Congl. Record*]:

Mr. DOLPH.—But, sir, I deny that the record of General Harrison in Congress will show that he ever was in favor of the admission of Chinese laborers into the United States, or that he was ever opposed to the restriction of the immigration of Chinese laborers to this country.

By the representations of leading citizens of the Pacific coast of both parties the Government was induced to take action, and a Republican administration negotiated a new treaty modifying the treaty of 1868 so as to permit Congress, without a violation of the treaty, to enact laws for the restriction of Chinese immigration. I repeat, it was a Republican measure; and all that has ever been done until the recent treaty, which is not yet ratified, looking to the

exclusion of Chinese laborers from this country, or the restriction of Chinese immigration, has been done by the Republican party.

That treaty, negotiated under a Republican administration, authorized the United States for a limited time to restrict but not to wholly prohibit Chinese immigration. A bill was introduced—it was a Senate bill, I think; at least it was pending before the Senate—which provided that for twenty years the coming of Chinese laborers to our shores should be prohibited. Mr. Harrison, it appears, was opposed to the period of twenty years, and thought the time of seclusion, to conform to the treaty, should be less. Whether he had any intimation from the President, that according to his judgment that was too long a period or not, is not known, but the action he took upon that bill shows that he was in favor of restriction. The senior Senator from Texas, upon the passage of the bill, got up in his place in the Senate and said substantially—I have not the *Record* before me—"I have received a letter from Mr. Harrison, in which he states that if this amendment is not adopted"—that is, the amendment reducing the time to ten years—"he will vote against the bill." That leaves the fair inference that if the amendment had been adopted he would have favored and voted for the bill, does it not? Is not that logical?

Mr. BECK. But the bill came in—

Mr. DOLPH. I will get to that in a moment.

Mr. COKE. The senator alludes to my former colleague, Senator Maxey, I suppose.

Mr. DOLPH. Yes. I said the senior senator from Texas. I meant Senator Maxey, who was the senator who was paired with Mr. Harrison, and who stated on the floor of the Senate that he had received a letter from Senator Harrison, who was detained from the Senate on business of the Senate, in which he said that if the amendment was not adopted he would vote against the bill. I think I state it too strongly, but let it stand as I have stated it. The letter will speak for itself.

I say the fair inference from the statement was, that if the amendment had been adopted Senator Harrison would have favored the bill, and it shows that he favored the restriction of Chinese immigration; and that cannot be denied.

Well, the bill passed—passed without the vote of Senator Harrison for or against it, and went to the President. He vetoed it, and vetoed it upon the very ground upon which Senator Harrison had opposed the bill, and I say if the rest of the Senate had been as wise and acted as judiciously as Senator Harrison did, and had adopted his views in regard to that amendment, it would have saved all the subsequent trouble of passing a new bill.

After the veto of the bill by the President another bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by a Republican member, Mr. Page, and largely by his efforts passed through the House. It came into the Senate, and came up for consideration. It contained two provisions which Senator Harrison objected to—the fourteenth and fifteenth sections, which have been referred to by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Vest]. One of those sections provided in substance that no court should have the power or authority to naturalize Chinese subjects. Senator Harrison opposed that provision, and so would I have opposed it if I had been here, and I think that every other man who knew what the law was, and was not willing to legislate for political purposes, would have opposed it, too. Everybody knew that a Chinese subject could not be naturalized in the United States, and although it had been attempted by some judge up in Boston—I forget whether it was the United States circuit or United States district judge up there—the judges on the Pacific coast, one or more of them—I am not sure but the district judge and the circuit judge and Associate Justice Field—had all decided that a Chinese subject could not be naturalized.

Now, what would have been the effect of Congress saying the courts should not have that power to naturalize Chinese, assuming by legislation that they already had the power to naturalize Chinese subjects? It would have thrown a doubt, at least, upon the action which had already been taken by the courts. The attempted naturalization of Chinese was illegal. Even the record of such a proceeding would not have entitled a Chinese subject to citizenship, and Senator Harrison knew it, and as a lawyer he was bound to vote against that provision.

As to the other provision referred to which was opposed by Senator Harrison, the provision undertaking to construe the word "laborer" as used in the treaty, the senator from Missouri rightly says that Senator Harrison was too good a lawyer not to know that the treaty itself could be set aside by a law of Congress. That is not what Senator Harrison was discussing. He said that the word "laborer" had a fixed meaning, and it was used in the treaty with reference to this meaning, which the courts could determine, and that we could not make the word laborer, as used in the treaty, mean more or less by an act of Congress. Of course, if we wished to go beyond the treaty, if we wished to violate the treaty, if we wished to exclude classes of Chinese by the law that were not excluded by the treaty, that could be done; but that was not what General Harrison was talking about. He was talking about enlarging the definition of the word "laborer" as used in the treaty by an act of Congress, and a very sensible remark he made about it, too, and his action in that matter shows, just as his action upon the previous bill showed, that he favored the restriction of Chinese immigration.

But suppose that that were not so. Is a man to be held forever to a position that he has taken at a particular time or to his views upon a question at a given time? Is there no room for change? Why, sir, it is only a fool or a bigot who never changes his opinions.

Senator Harrison was a member of the Senate in 1884, when an amendatory Chinese restriction bill was passed, and there is not a line or a scratch of a pen to show that he was opposed to it, and was not in favor of it. I do not think the roll was called upon it. I do not know that Senator Harrison was present.

Mr. MITCHELL. In 1886?

Mr. DOLPH. In 1884 the bill was passed; 1886 I will come to in a moment.

I say there was a bill passed amending the act of 1882, more stringent in its provisions in regard to the main thing which was sought to be accomplished by it, the restriction of Chinese immigration, than the law of 1882, and Senator Harrison, for all there is in the record, appears to have been in favor of the bill; at least there was no sign, no word, no vote, and no action showing any opposition to it.

Well, sir, we come down to 1886, when a bill was reported from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the distinguished senator from the State of Ohio [Mr. Sherman]. Mr. Harrison was then a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. That bill reported in 1886 was an excellent bill. It would have cured the defects which had been discovered in previous legislation; it would have gone far to prevent the evasion of the laws of 1882 and 1884 by Chinese coming to this country. Mr. Harrison as a member of the committee joined in the report of the committee, was present when the bill was considered, made a friendly suggestion in answer to an inquiry by the honorable senator who now occupies the chair [Mr. Ingalls], as to some objection that had been made by Senator McMillan from Minnesota. Mr. Harrison stated that the senator from Minnesota had withdrawn his objection, thus showing his friendly interest in the bill and in the measure, and that he favored the bill, which was passed without a call of the yeas and nays.

Now, let us trace that bill a little farther. As I have said, that was an important bill to the Pacific Coast,—a bill that we were demanding, a bill that would have gone far to relieve the United States courts of the City of San Francisco, which were being overwhelmed with Chinese *habeas corpus* cases to the detriment of the public business. It went into the House of Representatives, and was placed in the tomb of the Capulets to sleep its last sleep, and no attention was ever paid to it.

Mr. HOAR. What House of Representatives?

Mr. DOLPH. A Democratic House of Representatives. Therefore, Mr. President, I assert again that Mr. Harrison was in favor of Chinese restriction. The record shows that he favored and supported two bills for that purpose which have passed the Senate of the United States,—one of which afterwards became a law, and one of which was pigeon-holed by a Democratic House of Representatives. The record does not show that he was ever opposed to the principle, that he was opposed to the general proposition, and his opposition to the bill of 1882 was placed on other and perfectly defensible grounds. I shall be very much surprised, indeed, if an examination does not show

that the statement which has been to-day made by the senator from Missouri, and subsequently reiterated by the senator from Kentucky, concerning the naturalization of Chinese in Indiana, is a mistake, an entire and total mistake on their part, and something far worse than a mistake on the part of others.

#### Senator Mitchell's Testimony.

On the same day Senator Mitchell of Oregon added his testimony as follows:

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, it is conceded, I believe, by all, that General Harrison was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of this body in 1886. I hold in my hand a bill looking to the restriction of Chinese immigration, reported from that committee by the senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman], and agreed to unanimously by every member of that committee, as I understand, Republican and Democrat. That bill was reported to the Senate, and passed the Senate by a unanimous vote. The record shows, as has been already stated, that General Harrison was present in the Senate removing obstacles that seemed to arise, first one and then another, in regard to getting the bill up. There was no roll-call. The bill was passed unanimously, and this is the bill; and I ask to have it incorporated as part of my remarks in the record.

I desire to say in this connection that in my judgment it is the best bill on the subject of Chinese restriction that has ever been reported from any committee of either House of Congress or has ever been passed by either House of Congress.

This bill, the Democrats of the Senate must admit, received the approval of General Harrison. Whatever may have been his notions years before, this shows what his record was two years and over two years ago on this subject.

Mr. TELLER. What became of that bill?

Mr. MITCHELL. That bill was passed, as stated by my colleague, by the Senate—a Republican Senate—and was sent to the House of Representatives—a Democratic House—and there it was suffered to die; it never was reported, no action was taken on it.

That is the record of General Harrison on the Chinese question over two years ago, and all the amendments which have been referred to by my honorable friend from Missouri [Mr. Vest], in which Senator Harrison declined to vote for certain amendments proposed and in favor of others that were proposed, were simply not because he was opposed to legislation restricting Chinese immigration to this country, but because he desired to keep within the provisions of the treaty. The record shows that all the way through, as was stated by my colleague clearly and distinctly in the correspondence he had with the then senior senator from Texas, Mr. Maxey, that he was not opposed to a bill restricting Chinese immigration, but he was opposed to one that would prohibit Chinese immigration at that time solely because it was a violation of the then existing treaty between the two countries.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Oregon permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MITCHELL. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. Does he mean to say that the passage of the bill which he holds in his hands was indicative of the approval of its provisions by every member of the Senate? It passed unanimously and without the yeas and nays.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. VEST. I should like to know if the Senators from Massachusetts approved that bill. They stand exactly in the same position that the senator from Indiana, General Harrison, did. I do not think the senators from Massachusetts will say they would have voted for it on a yea-and-nay call.

Mr. MITCHELL. General Harrison was on the committee, and the report was unanimous.

Mr. VEST. There is a record of that committee, and we all know how those reports are made and what they are worth so far as testing the opinions or making the record of any public man.

Mr. MITCHELL. The record shows that he not only joined in the report, but that he aided in bringing the bill to a vote when it was brought to a vote in the Senate.

Mr. VEST. I leave General Harrison to speak for

himself. In the letter which the senator from Nevada was kind enough to put in the *Record* the other day, to Rev. Mr. Brant, of St. Louis, he gives two reasons for his action in 1882. One is, that the two acts violated the treaty—for he voted against both. The second one is, that he could not divest himself of the old idea that this country was a free place of refuge to all comers. I leave him to answer for himself.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have nothing further to say—I said I would only occupy a minute—except that the only Chinese restrictive legislation that has ever been approved in this country, two bills that have become laws, were approved by the Republican candidate for President.

#### Senator Allison's Testimony.

On the same day, in the Senate, the following remarks were made:

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, a few moments ago I sought the floor for the purpose of moving an adjournment, and I should renew that motion now without making a single observation but for the fact that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Vest] sought to emphasize the action of the Republican party in former years as in favor of the Immigration of Chinese into this country, and claimed that the Democratic party was a party opposed to Chinese immigration, thus endeavoring to draw a distinction upon that subject between the two great political parties in this country. As the Senator has made that attempt, and sought to emphasize it, I wish, before this Senate adjourns, to put in my own emphatic protest against any such claim. . . . So then in 1884, with General Harrison sitting in this Chamber, a more rigid bill than was even suggested or thought of in 1882 was passed by the unanimous vote of this body, reported, as the Senator from Nevada has stated, by the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which General Harrison was an able and strong and active member.

I have referred to what occurred here in 1884. Then we come to 1886, General Harrison still a member of this Chamber, and a still more stringent bill was reported in 1886 by a Republican Committee on Foreign Relations and passed again in this Chamber without a single hostile voice or hostile vote, and yet the Senator from Missouri takes pains now in the very beginning of this canvass to arraign the Republican candidate for the Presidency on the idea that he and the Republican party stand in a hostile attitude to the prohibition of the Chinese coming into this country, when he ought to know, and when every other man does know who investigates the subject, that upon that question the Republican party is as vigorous and as strong as is the Democratic party.

Mr. President, I make these statements not for my own vindication, although my own votes have been somewhat arraigned. I voted then, as I always try to do in this Chamber, from the light I had at the time. I voted as I did then because the lawyers of this Chamber convinced me that, with the ink scarcely dry upon the treaty of 1880, we were by legislation seeking to infract it.

Mr. VEST. I think the Senator from Iowa is a fair disputant, and that he does not want to do any injustice intentionally.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. VEST. But I make this statement, and every intelligent man in this country will corroborate it. After the contest of 1882 and the signing by President Arthur of the second bill we passed, which was a

House bill, the Chinese question was considered practically settled. The public sentiment of the country has crystallized in so large a majority in favor of that legislation that even the stringent opponents of the bill which had passed ceased their opposition.

Now, Mr. President, I make this assertion—and that is the test of the accuracy of the conclusions at least drawn by the Senator from Iowa—

Mr. ALLISON. I have not yet concluded.

Mr. VEST. He says that the acts of 1884 and 1886, that were passed here *sem. con.* and without the yeas and nays, show that every member of the Senate approved that legislation. I say now that the Senators from Massachusetts will neither of them say that they approved those laws, in my judgment, unless I am greatly mistaken in their opinions then and now.

Mr. ALLISON. Well, Mr. President, I leave the Senator from Missouri and the Senators from Massachusetts to settle that question. I want to say that if I am present here in my seat in this Chamber, and a bill is read by the Secretary and I make no objection to it, and it passes, and I neither explain my vote nor my situation respecting it, I am bound by that record as one who did not oppose that bill.

Mr. President, I do not rest General Harrison's record upon that statement, I rest it upon the fact that he was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which consisted of Democrats and Republicans, five of them Republicans and four of them Democrats. They are the proper witnesses, and I challenge here and now any Democrat or Republican, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee at that time, to say that Senator Harrison there or here did not give his hearty approval and concurrence to those two bills. If I intended to be hypercritical—indeed, I could do so without being hypercritical—I could say that the bill of 1886, which passed this Chamber with absolute and practical unanimity, went to the Democratic House of Representatives and there slept the sleep of death.

Mr. MITCHELL. Senator Harrison was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1886.

Mr. ALLISON. I am corrected by saying that General Harrison was not a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1884, but he was in 1886. Then I am invigorated, I am strengthened, by the fact that General Harrison was a member of this committee in 1886, when this most stringent legislation was passed.

Mr. STEWART. And the chairman of the committee said in his report that the bill was unanimously agreed to by the committee.

Mr. ALLISON. I thank the Senator from Nevada for calling my attention to that.

That bill went to the House of Representatives. If the Democratic party were so vigorous and so ready to secure some stringent prohibitory legislation, they had the Speaker of the House, they had the committees of the House, they had the control of the floor; and why is it that they did not exercise that great power which they had? Because in that Congress they had more than forty majority, while in this one they only have sixteen, and there might be some excuse for saying that the majority was so small that they could not bring this up; but here they were in the vigor of their power, in the plenitude of their influence, and yet they allowed that bill to die.

In view of these facts I say that it does not lie in the pathway of any proper or just criticism of any Republican for any Democrat to stand in this Chamber and arraign the Republican party or any member of it for hostility to the principle of prohibition of Chinese immigration.

## CHAPTER IX.

## The Homestead Question.

*"We re-affirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican Party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. . . . We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretence of exposing frauds and vindicating the law."* — Republican National Platform, 1888.

## PART I.

**The Great Question of 1858 — Started by Free Soilers in 1852 — Reasserted by Republicans in 1856 — Land for the landless.**

In 1852 the Free Soilers in their convention declared "that the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers." This plank was substantially reasserted in the Republican platform of 1856, and in addition the Republicans declared in favor of land aid to secure the construction of Pacific railways. A fierce political battle ensued which did not cease until the passage of the Homestead bill of 1862, after the Republicans had obtained control of all the departments of the government. During all the time, from 1854 to the passage of the bill, the demand of the settlers was incessant and constant for the passage of a law that should confine locators to small tracts, and require actual occupation, improvement, and cultivation.

In 1858 it was estimated that there were within the States and Territories 1,000,000,000 acres of the public lands unentered. The great question of the day was, "What shall be done with this immense domain? Shall it be open to monopoly by speculators, be used to build up a landed aristocracy, or shall it be reserved to actual settlers at a nominal price, or without price?" The Republicans proposed to solve the problem by practical legislation in favor of our landless people.

The Republican attempt to secure to the poor settler ten years to pay for his farm from proceeds of soil is defeated by the Democracy.

At the first session of Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a member of the House, introduced into that body the following bill for the protection of actual settlers on the public domains:

**The Grow bill — The vote defeating it.**

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That from and after the first day of September, A.D. 1858, no public lands shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President until the same shall have been surveyed, and the return thereof in the land office for at least ten years.

This bill gave to the settler ten years' precedence over the speculator, but it was defeated by the following vote (Republicans in Roman, Democrats in italics, Southern Americans in small capitals):

**YEAS.**—Messrs. Abbott, *Adrian*, Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Case, E. Clark, *H. F. Clark*, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Cox, Cragin, *James Craig*, *Burton Craig*, Curtis, Damrell, Davis (Mass.), Davis (Iowa), Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Foster, Geddings, Goodwin, Granger, Grow, R. B. Hall, Harlan, *T. L. Harris*, *Hickman*, Hoard, Horton, Howard, *G. W. Jones*, Kellogg, *Kelly*, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Lovejoy, *Mason*, Morgan, *Isaac N. Morris*, F. H. Moras, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Pike, Potter, Ritchie, Royce, *A. Shaw*, J. Sherman, J. W. Sherman, Spinner, W. Stewart, Tappan, *G. Taylor*, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, Israel Washburn — 73.

**NAYS.**—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Avery, *Barksdale*, Bishop, Bocock, Boyer, Branch, Bryant, *Burnett*, Burns, *Caruthers*, J. B. Clark, Clay, Clemens, *Clingman*, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cockrill, *Crawford*, Davidson, Davis (Ind.), Debrant, Doidell, *Edmundson*, English, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, Gillis, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, L. W. Hall, Hawkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jewett, J. G. Jones, Owen Jones, Lawrence, Leilly, Leiter, Leicher, McQueen, H. MASHALL, MAYNARD, Millson, Niblack, Nichols, Peyton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reagan, Reilly, Rufin, Rus-

*sell, Sandige, Savage, Scales, Seward, Shorter, Nickles, Singleton, S. A. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Tripp, Underwood, Watkins, White, Woodson, Wortendyke, A. R. Wright, J. V. Wright, Zollcoffer*—78.

Thus it will be seen that every Republican present voted "aye," while only 14 Democrats voted with them; and 71 Democrats—or 60 per cent of all in the Congress—voted "no," and with them 7 Southern Americans.

#### Pre-emption bill of 1859—Grow's amendment carried.

Again, on the 20th, of January, 1859, in the House, a bill having been reported from the Committee on Public Lands, relating to pre-emptions, Mr. Grow of Pennsylvania moved to amend by adding the following section:

*Be it further enacted,* That from and after the passage of this act no public land shall be exposed to sale, by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed and the return of such survey duly filed in the Land Office for ten years or more before such sale.

The practical effect of this amendment, like that of the bill of the previous session, was to give to the pre-emptor, the actual settler, ten years' precedence of the speculator, and to protect him from the enormous usury of the money sharks, in borrowing from whom he was frequently compelled to heavily mortgage his land. The amendment was opposed by the Southern landed Democracy, the slaveholding aristocracy, which, prior to 1861 as now, dominated the Democratic Party. It was moved that the bill and amendment be consigned to "the tomb of the Capulets," as the Committee of the Whole was familiarly and aptly termed. That motion was defeated by a vote of 92 to 90, and the House was forced to a direct vote on Mr. Grow's amendment. The amendment was carried by yeas 97, nays 81, as follows:

YEAS.—*Andrews, Atkins, Avery, Bennett, Billingshurst, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Burlingame, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, Chapman, Clark, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comans, Covode, Cragin, Curtis, Davis of Mass., Davis of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dodd, Durfee, Edlie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foster, Giddings, Gilman, Gooch, Granger, Grow, Hall, Harlan, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Jewett, Jones, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, Savage, John Sherman, Juo. W. Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wilson, Wood*—97.

NAYS.—*Ahl, Anderson, Arnold, Bockock, Bonham, Boule, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskie, Clark, Cobb, Cox, James Craig, Burton Craig, Crawford, Curry, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Dodell, Eustis, Faulkner, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMORE, Goode, Gregg, Hall, Hawkins, Hodges, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Huyler, Jackson, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, Marshall, Maynard, Miles, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reagan, Ruffin, Russell, Sandige, Scales, Scott, Searing, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, G. Taylor, M. Taylor, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, Vallandigham, VANCE, Watkins, White, Whitely, Winslow, WOODSON, Wortendyke, Wright, Zollcoffer*—81.

The 97 yeas comprised 80 Republicans and 17 Democrats, while the 81 nays comprised 75 Democrats and 6 Southern Americans.

#### The bill as amended defeated by the Democrats.

But the bill as amended was defeated by a vote of 95 yeas to 91 yeas, as follows:

YEAS.—*Messrs. Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Burlingame, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, E. Clark, Jun., H. F. Clarke, Clauson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cox, Cragin, Curtis, HENRY W. DAVIS, T. Davis of Mass., T. Davis of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edlie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Foster, Giddings, Gooch, Granger, Grow, L. W. Hall, R. B. Hall, Harlan, Hatch, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Murray, J. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, John Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stewart, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jun., Wilson, Wood*—91.

NAYS.—*Messrs. Ahl, ANDERSON, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bockock, Bonham, Boule, Boyce, Bryan, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskie, Chapman, J. B. Clark, Clay, Cobb, Cockerill, Conning, James Craig, Burton Craig, Crawford, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Dodell, Edmundson, Elliott, Florence, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Hawkins, Hopper, Houston, Hughes, Huyler, Jackson, Jewett, G. W. Jones, O. Jones, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, H. MARSHALL, S. S. Marshall, Mason, MAYNARD, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, READY, Reagan, RICAUD, Ruffin, Russell, Sandige, Savage, Scales, Searing, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, G. Taylor, M. Taylor, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, Vallandigham, VANCE, Watkins, White, Whitely, Winslow, WOODSON, Wright, ZOLLCOFFER*—95.

The Republicans voted unanimously for the bill as amended. Every Southern member except two, Mr. Blair of Missouri and Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, voted solidly against the bill as amended. Only eight Democrats, Northern Democrats of the Douglas school, dared to support the bill as amended, with their votes; and the character of the opposition is exposed in the indignant criticism of Mr. Cavanaugh of Minnesota, a Douglas Democrat. He said, —

I say it frankly—I say it in sorrow—that it was to the Republican side of this House to whom we were compelled to look for support of this just and honorable measure. Gentlemen from the South, gentlemen who have broad acres and white plantations, aided here to-day by their votes more to make Republican States in the North than by any vote which has been cast within the last two years. These gentlemen come here and ask us to support the South, yet they, to a man almost, vote against the free, independent labor of the North and West.

Mr. Cavanaugh declared that he had "inherited his Democracy;" that he had been a "Democrat from his boyhood;" that he "believed in the great truths as enunciated by the fathers of the faith" and "cherished them religiously." He added:

But, sir, when I see Southern gentlemen come up as they did to-day, and refuse by their votes to aid my constituents—refuse to place the actual tiller of the soil, the honest, industrious laborer beyond the grasp and avarice of the speculator, I tell you, sir, I falter—I hesitate!



## PART II.

**The Republicans demand "Free Homesteads for actual settlers"—The vote by which they carried it.**

On the 1st of February, 1859, H. R. 72, "to secure homesteads to actual settlers," which had been referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and reported from that Committee January 20, 1859, by Mr. Kelsey, came up for action. The Democracy attempted to defeat it, even to prohibit all discussion of its merits, by parliamentary strategy. A motion to lay on the table was lost by a vote of nays, 113, to yeas, 71, and the House was forced to a direct vote. The bill was then passed—Yeas, 120, nays, 76, as follows:

**YEAS.**—Messrs. Abbott, Adrian, Andrews, Barr, Billingshurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Brayton, Burlington, Burlingame, Burns, Burroughs, Case, Caranough, Chaffee, E. Clark, Clawson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Corning, Corode, Coz, Cragin, James Craig, Curtis, John G. Davis, T. Davis of Mass., T. Davis of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foley, Foster, Giddings, Gillman, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Gregg, Groesbeck, Grow, L. W. Hall, R. B. Hall, Harlan, Haskin, Hatch, Hickman, Hoard, Hodges, Horton, Howard, Jewett, G. W. Jones, Kelm, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkell, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, MacLay, McKibben, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Morris, I. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pendleton, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Pottle, Purviance, Reilly, Robbins, Roberts, Royce, Russell, Scott, John Sherman, Smith, Spinner, Stanton, William Stewart, Tappan, Taylor, Thayer, Tompkins, Vallandigham, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Ward, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Wilson, Wortendyke—120.

**NAYS.**—Messrs. ANDERSON, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Caskie, J. B. Clark, Cobb, Burton, Craig, Crawford, Curry, DAVIS, Doudell, Edmundson, William H. English, EUSTIS, Faulkner, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Goode, Greenwood, HARRIS, Hill, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Keith, Kunkel, Lamar, Leidy, Letcher, McQueen, McKee, H. MARSHALL, S. S. Marshall, Mason, MAYNARD, Miles, Millson, Moore, Niblack, Nichols, Peyton, READY, Reagan, RICAUD, Ruffin, Scales, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, S. A. Smith, W. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Jas. A. Stewart, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, VANCE, Watkins, Whiteley, Winslow, WOODSON, A. R. Wright, J. V. Wright, ZOLLIFFER—76.

The Republicans, every man of them but one, voted solidly for the bill—voted to guarantee the public lands to actual settlers—to donate land to the landless. The great body of the Democracy—60 out of 98—all the Southern Americans—the whole Southern landed aristocracy—voted solidly against the bill.

## PART III.

**Homesteads in the Democratic Senate—Democratic Hostility.**

On the 17th of February, 1859, in the Senate, Ben. Wade of Ohio moved to postpone all prior orders, and take up the homestead bill, which had thus passed the House. A characteristic debate ensued. The slave-

holding aristocracy, the Southern landed Democracy, antagonized the homestead with the appropriation bills. Said R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia: "I hope there will be no effort to press this homestead bill so as to displace the appropriation bills." Only a few weeks of the session remained, and an "extended debate" and the loss of the appropriation bills was threatened if the homestead bill was passed. Ben. Wade rejoined that the friends of the bill—the Republicans—wanted no debate. The measure for years had been before the country, had been discussed in all its bearings, and there was no measure in which the people were more deeply interested. But a vote was what the Southern landed Democracy maneuvered to avoid or defeat. Said Mr. Hunter: "I do not conceal the fact that I am much opposed to it," that is, to giving "land to the landless;" and his colleague, Mr. Mason, declared that he intended "to go into it pretty largely, because he had not yet known a bill so fraught with mischief, and mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

Mr. Wade's motion was carried by a vote of yeas 25, nays 23, as follows:

**YEAS.**—Messrs. Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foote, Foster, Guin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson of Tennessee, King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—25.

**NAYS.**—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Chestnut, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Sidel, Toombs, and Ward—23.

The Republicans voted unanimously to take up the homestead bill, but every Southern Democrat—a "solid South"—with the exception of Mr. Johnson of Tennessee—voted against the motion. Instantly upon the announcement of this vote, which brought the homestead bill before the Senate, Mr. Hunter again moved to lay it aside and take up another bill. An opposition so puerile was fittingly called "child's play." During the debate which followed, the morning hour expired, and Vice-President Breckinridge decided that the bill for the purchase of Cuba in the interest of the slaveholding oligarchy was the subject pending before the Senate. Whereupon Mr. Wade moved to postpone the Cuba and continue the consideration of the homestead bill. That motion was also carried—yeas 27, nays 26; all the Republicans voting for it; all the Southern Democrats, except Senators Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, voting against it. Again the homestead was before the Senate; again Mr. Hunter moved to lay it aside. Senators Wade and Seward, in energetic terms, exhorted the friends of the bill to stand firm, but Hunter's motion prevailed—yeas 28, nays 28, as follows:

**YEAS.**—Messrs. Allen, Bates, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Guin, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, of Arkansas, Kennedy, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Sebastian, Sidel, Toombs, Ward, and Yulee—28.

**NAYS.**—Messrs. Bell, Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Douglas, Durkee,

Fessenden, Foote, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson, of Tennessee, King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—23.

The Senate being equally divided, Vice-President Breckinridge gave the casting vote against the homestead bill. Every vote for Hunter's motion to postpone was Democratic, and all but five were from the South. Only three of the twenty-eight votes against Hunter's motion and in favor of considering the homestead bill were from the South—Bell and Johnson of Tennessee, and Houston of Texas.

#### PART IV.

**"The Great Question of the Day and the Age"—Shall we give "Lands and Homes to the Landless Freemen, or Slaves to the Slave-holders?"**

On the 10th of February, 1859, two days afterward, Senator Wade again moved to set aside all prior orders and take up the homestead bill. The motion was defeated. Yeas (all Republicans but seven) 24, nays (all Democrats) 31. On the 25th of February the motion to take up the homestead bill was again antagonized by the Cuba bill. The Cuba bill prevailed. Yeas (all Democrats) 35, nays (all Republicans but five) 24. After a debate—"an idle debate"—protracted far into the night, and resorted to only as a means of killing the homestead bill, the Republicans, at ten o'clock P.M., made an effort to bring the latter bill before the Senate. In the debate which ensued, Mr. Seward said:

After nine hours' yielding to the discussion of the Cuba question, it is time to come back to the *great question of the day and the age*. The Senate may as well meet face to face the issue which is before them. It is an issue presented by the competition between these two questions. One, the homestead bill, is a *question of homes, of lands, for the landless freemen of the United States*. The Cuba bill is a *question of slaves to the slaveholders of the United States*.

Said Mr. Wade:

I am very glad that this question has at length come up. I am glad, too, that it has been antagonized with this nigger question. I have been trying here for nearly a month to get a straightforward vote upon this great question of "land for the landless." I glory in that measure. It is the greatest that has ever come before the American Senate, and it has now come so that there is no dodging it. The question will be, *Shall we give niggers to the niggerless, or land to the landless?*

The motion to take up the homestead bill was again lost. Yeas (all Republicans but two—Broderick, of California, and Johnson, of Tennessee), 19; nays (all Democrats), 20. No further attempt, at that session, was made to get it before the Senate.

#### PART V.

**The Republican Homestead Principle again Triumphs in the House—The Grow Homestead Bill adopted—Its Text and Votes thereon.**

At the next session, on the 6th of March, 1860, in the House, Mr. Lovejoy, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported the Grow bill "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain;" the text of the bill being as follows:

A Bill to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.

*Be it enacted, etc.,*

That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to enter, free of cost, one hundred and sixty acres of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to pre-emption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres of such unappropriated lands at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and those specially mentioned in this act, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the affidavit with the register or receiver, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: *Provided, however*, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry, or if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in case of her death, shall prove by two creditable witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon and cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall, on payment of ten dollars, be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: *And provided, further*, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an infant child, or children, under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall enure to the benefit of said infant child or children; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicile, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to a patent from the United States on payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the register of the land office shall note all such applications on the tract-books and plats of his office, and keep a register of all such entries, and make return thereof to the general land office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That all lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall in no event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if, at any

time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in the second section of this act, and before the expiration of the five years aforesaid, it shall be proven, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit shall have actually changed his or her residence, or abandoned the said entry for more than six months at any time, then, and in that event, the land so entered shall revert to the government.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That no individual shall be permitted to make more than one entry under the provisions of this act; and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby required to prepare and issue such rules and regulations, consistent with this act, as shall be necessary and proper to carry its provisions into effect; and that the registers and receivers of the several land offices shall be entitled to receive the same compensation for any lands entered under the provisions of this act that they are now entitled to receive when the same quantity of land is entered with money, one-half to be paid by the person making the application at the time of so doing, and the other half on the issue of the certificate by the person to whom it may be issued: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to impair or interfere in any manner whatsoever with existing pre-emption rights: *And provided, further*, That all persons who may have filed their applications for a pre-emption right prior to the passage of this act shall be entitled to all privileges of this act.

The bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole. On March 12, on motion of Mr. Lovejoy, the bill was taken out of the Committee of the Whole by a vote of yeas 106, to nays 67 (the nays being all Democrats and South Americans). And when Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, ineffectually moved to lay the bill on the table, there were yeas 62 (all from the South, except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania), and nays 112. The bill was then passed — yeas 115; nays 66, as follows:—

YEAS — Messrs. *Adrian, Aldrich, Ashley, Babbitt, Barr, Bingham, Blake, Briggs, Buffinton, Burck, Burnham, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Case, John Cochran, Colfax, Conkling, Cooper, Corwin, Covode, Cragg, Curtis, J. G. Davis, Daws, Dolano, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Elliot, English, Ferry, Fenton, Foster, Florence, Fouke, Frank, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Hankin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Holman, Howard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Junkin, F. W. Kellogg, W. Kellogg, Killgore, Killinger, Larrabee, Leach, Lea, Logan, Loomis, Lovejoy, McClay, Marston, Martin, McClelland, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Morrill, Morris, Morse, Niblack, Olin, Pendleton, Perry, Porter, Potter, Pottle, Rice, Riggs, C. Robinson, J. C. Robinson, Royce, Schwaier, Scott, Seranton, Sherman, Sickles, Somes, Spinner, Stanton, Stout, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vallandigham, Vanderer, Van Wyck, Verre, Waldron, Wallow, C. C. Washburne, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, jun., Wells, Wilson, Windom, Woodruff* — 115.

NAYS — *ADAMS, T. L. Anderson, W. C. Anderson, Acery, Burksdale, Bocock, Bozham, Brabson, Branch, Bristow, Burnett, Clapton, Cobb, Curry, W. H. Davis, R. Davis, De Jarnette, Edmundson, Etheridge, Garnette, Gatrell, Gilmer, Hamilton, Hardeeman, Harris, Hatton, Hill, Hindman, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Jones, Keitt, Lamar, Landrum, Leake, Lore, Mallory, Martin, MAYNARD, McQueen, McRae, Miles, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, NELSON, Noell, Peyton, Pryor, Pugh, Reagan, Ruffin, Simms, Singleton, W. Smith, W. N. H. Smith, Sturgeson, STOKER, Underwood, VANCE, WEBSTER, Whiteley, Woodson, Wright* — 66.

Again, the Republicans voted unanimously for homesteads, while all voting against them were Democrats, and all from the Slave States, except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania. Of those then in the House, and still prominent in public life, who voted against giving free homesteads to a free people, will be

found the names of Mr. Justice Lamar of the Supreme Court, Senator Reagan of Texas, Roger A. Pryor of Virginia, Senator Vance of North Carolina (then an "American" or "Know-nothing"), and Senator Pugh of Alabama.

## PART VI.

### The Democratic Senate's Substitute for the Grow Bill — House refuses to Concur — A Compromise — President Buchanan Vetoes the Bill.

On the 17th of April, 1860, in the Senate, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, reported from the Committee on Public Lands, as a substitute for the Grow homestead bill which had passed the House, a bill granting homesteads to actual settlers at twenty-five cents per acre, but not including pre-emptors then occupying public lands. When this bill came before the Senate for action Mr. Wade moved to substitute the Grow bill for it, which motion was lost — yeas 26, nays 31. Yeas all Republicans but three — Douglas, Rice, and Toombs. Nays all Democrats. Following is the vote:

YEAS — *Anthony, Bingham, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Douglas, Durkee, Foot, Forster, Grimes, Hale, Hamlin, King, Rice, Seward, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Toombs, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, Wilson* — 26.

NAYS — *Bayard, Bigler, Bragg, Brown, Chennet, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Guin, Hammond, Hemphill, Hunter, Iveson, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Lea, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Polk, Powell, Pugh, Salisbury, Stidell, Wigfall, Yulee* — 31.

On the 10th of May the Johnson bill passed — yeas 44, nays 8. The nays are Bragg, Clingman, Hamlin, Hunter, Mason, Pearce, Powell, and Toombs. The House refused to concur, the Senate to recede, and the result was a protracted conference on the part of the committees of the two houses.

The Senate bill provided that the head of any family, who was a citizen, should be entitled "to enter one quarter section of vacant and unappropriated public lands," actual settlement being a pre-requisite, continuous residence anecessity, and the payment of twenty-five cents an acre at the end of five years, the condition upon which a patent should issue. These entries were to be confined to the odd-numbered sections, and the widow or children to succeed to any rights acquired by the settler.

Sec. five of the bill extended its benefits to foreigners who had disclosed the intention to become citizens, and who perfected citizenship before the expiration of the five years residence.

Sec. seven extended the privilege to unsurveyed lands, and reduced the price to be paid by pre-emptor to one-half what it had been; and

Sec. ten gave all lands within the limits of any State, which had been offered and remained unsold for thirty years, to the State "in which the same may be situated."

On June 19, the committees came to an agreement by the House accepting the Senate bill with some amendments. Said Mr. Colfax, in reporting the compromise to the House:

"We struggled of course . . . to adopt the free homestead principle of the House bill, but on these points the Senate was inflexible, and we took what he did because it was the best we could get." But "this we have agreed to merely as an *acant-courier*. We shall demand the free homestead principle at the next session of Congress, and until it is granted—until all the public lands shall be opened to the people of the United States."

This report of the Conference Committee the House agreed to—yeas 116, nays 51. All the nays were from the South. The Senate also agreed to the report—yeas 36, nays 2—Bragg of North Carolina and Pearce of Michigan.

But even so scanty a measure of justice to our landless people—"half a loaf"—was, June 22, vetoed by President Buchanan. He in effect denounced it as unconstitutional, unjust to the old States, unequal in its operations and pretended benefits—as a measure which "will go far to demoralize the people;" or, in the language of Mason of Virginia, "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

## PART VII.

### President Buchanan's Veto—It is sustained by the Democrats of the Senate.

President Buchanan, in his message, June 22, 1860, containing his reasons for disapproving the Homestead bill therewith returned to the Senate, after stating the intent of the bill, continued:

To the actual settler, this bill does not make an absolute donation; but the price is so small that it can scarcely be called a sale. It is nominally twenty-five cents per acre; but, considering this is not to be paid until the end of five years, it is, in fact, reduced to about eighteen cents per acre, or one-seventh of the present minimum price of the public lands. In regard to the States, it is an absolute and unqualified gift.

1. This state of the facts raises the question whether Congress, under the Constitution, has the power to give away the public lands either to States or individuals. On this question, I expressed a decided opinion in my message to the House of Representatives of the 24th of February, 1859, returning the agricultural college bill. This opinion remains unchanged. The argument then used applies, as a constitutional objection, with greater force to the present bill. There it had the plea of consideration, growing out of a specific beneficial purpose; here it is an absolute gratuity to the States without the pretext of consideration. I am compelled, for want of time, in these the last hours of the session, to quote largely from this message.

I presume the general proposition will be admitted that Congress does not possess the power to make donations of money already in the Treasury, raised by taxes on the people, either to States or individuals.

But it is contended that the public lands are placed upon a different footing from money raised by taxation; and that the proceeds arising from their sale are not subject to the limitations of the Constitution, but may be appropriated or given away by Congress, at its own discretion, to States, corporations, or individuals, for any purpose they may deem expedient.

The advocates of this bill attempt to sustain their position upon the language of the second clause of the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which declares that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." They contend, that, by a fair interpretation of the words "dispose of" in this clause, Congress possesses the power to make this gift of public lands to the States for purposes of education.

It would require clear and strong evidence to induce the belief that the framers of the Constitution, after having limited the powers of Congress to certain, precise, and specific objects, intended, by employing the words "dispose of," to give that body unlimited power over the vast public domain. It would be a strange anomaly, indeed, to have created two funds,—the one by taxation, confined to the execution of the enumerated powers delegated to Congress, and the other from the public lands, applicable to all subjects, foreign and domestic, which Congress might designate. That this fund should be "disposed of," not to pay the debts of the United States, nor "to raise and support armies," nor "to provide and maintain a navy," nor to accomplish any one of the other great objects enumerated in the Constitution; but be diverted from them to pay the debts of the States, to educate their people, and to carry into effect any other measure of their domestic policy. This would be to confer upon Congress a vast and irresponsible authority, utterly at war with the well-known jealousy of Federal power which prevailed at the formation of the Constitution. . . . The natural intention would be, that, as the Constitution confined Congress to well-defined specific powers, the funds placed at their command, whether in land or money, should be appropriated to the performance of the duties corresponding with these powers. If not, a government has been created with all its other powers carefully limited, but without any limitation in respect to the public lands.

But I cannot so read the words "dispose of" as to make them embrace the idea of "giving away." The true meaning of words is always to be ascertained by the subject to which they are applied, and the known general intent of the law-giver. Congress is a trustee under the Constitution for the people of the United States to "dispose of" their public lands; and I think I may venture to assert with confidence, that no case can be found in which a trustee in the position of Congress has been authorized to "dispose of" property by its owner, where it has been held that these words authorized such trustee to give away the fund intrusted to his care. No trustee, when called upon to account for the disposition of the property placed under his management before any judicial tribunal, would venture to present such a plea in his defence.

It will be observed that this Democratic President makes the Federal Government simply the creation of the States when he speaks of Congress, the law making power as "a trustee" with powers limited to the literal performance of certain specified acts.

Besides the Constitutional objection, President Buchanan found several other reasons satisfactory to him, why the people of the country should not be given homes on the lands of the Government; one of them being that the law discriminated against mechanics and artisans in favor of the farmer; another, that "the offer of free farms would probably have a powerful effect in encouraging emigration, especially from States like Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky, to the west of the Mississippi, and could not fail to reduce the price of property within their limits. An individual in States thus situated would not pay its fair value for land, when, by crossing the Mississippi, he could go upon the public lands and obtain a farm almost without money and without price." In the light of experience, this language seems so ridicu-

lous, that it is almost incredible it should have been seriously used by any man occupying the position of President of the United States.

Other reasons given by him were, that the public revenues would be reduced, the land system unsettled, and land made so cheap as to demoralize the people; this idea being expressed in the following words:

Any man can now acquire a title in fee-simple to a homestead of eighty acres, at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, for \$1.00. . . . The honest poor man, by frugality and industry, can, in any part of our country, acquire a competence for himself and his family; and in doing this he feels that he eats the bread of independence. He desires no charity, either from the Government or from his neighbors. This bill, which proposes to give him land at an almost nominal price, out of the property of the Government, will go far to demoralize the people, and repress this noble spirit of independence. It may introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries.

We have seen that upon the passage of the Homestead bill in the Senate, only eight senators, all Democrats, voted nay, and that upon this Compromise bill, only two senators, both Democrats, voted against the adoption of the conference report; yet, when the bill came back with President Buchanan's objections, there were sixteen Southern Democratic votes to sustain the President's veto, independent of the vote of Mr. Crittenden, Southern American, and that which was cast by Johnson of Tennessee for the purpose of moving a reconsideration, which motion, when made, also failed. Upon the question in the Senate: "Shall this bill pass notwithstanding the objections of the President?" the vote in detail was:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Doollittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Guitan, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, King, Lane, Latham, Nicholson, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—29.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Bragg, Chestnut, CRITTENDEN, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hemphill, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Tennessee, Johnson of Arkansas, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Powell, Sebastian, Wigfall, and Yulee—18.

So the bill failed, not having received the requisite two-thirds vote to pass it over the President's veto.\* All the Republicans present not paired with Democrats on the question voted solidly for the bill, but were not strong enough to effect its passage. It was defeated by the Democratic slave-holding vote.

## PART VIII.

### The Sceptre falls from Democratic Hands —The Poor Man's Homestead triumphs in Republican Success.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. A little later the Democracy, the

landed aristocratic slave-holding Democracy, seceded, and through four years of unparalleled slaughter and crime warred to build up a Southern confederacy with "slavery as its corner-stone," in which free labor—free white labor—would have been forever excluded from its lands whether public or private.

In their platform at Chicago, in 1860, the Republicans had adopted the following plank:

*Resolved*, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House.

Accordingly the Republicans, now in control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive, hastened to redeem this pledge early in 1862 by the enactment of the Homestead Act, which has been such a blessing to our people and our country. It grants a hundred and sixty acres to every actual settler twenty-one years or more of age, or head of a family who is, or has declared his intention to become, a citizen. That is its main feature, independent of the grant of a hundred and sixty acres to every person, whether naturalized or not, and whether of age or not, who enlisted in the military service to crush the Rebellion.

On July 8, 1861, Mr. Cyrus Aldrich of Minnesota introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to secure homesteads to actual settlers upon the public lands, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, of which Mr. Owen Lovejoy was chairman. Feb. 28, 1862, Mr. Lovejoy reported back the Homestead Bill with amendments, favorably. Mr. Potter demanded the previous question on the passage of the bill, whereupon Mr. Washburne demanded the yeas and nays, and the resulting vote was 114 yeas to 18 nays. Of the yeas there were 92 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a proportion of over 4 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the bill; of the nays there were 3 Republicans and 15 Democrats, a proportion of 5 Democrats to 1 Republican against the bill. And so the bill was passed.

The vote by which it passed the Senate, May 6, 1862, was even more significant.

It stood yeas 33 to nays 7. Of the yeas 30 were Republican to 3 Democratic; of the nays 6 were Democratic to 1 Republican. Thus the vote showed a proportion of 10 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the Homestead Bill, and 6 Democrats to 1 Republican opposed to it.

Had they the power of numbers, it is hardly necessary to say the Democrats would have killed the Homestead Act of 1862, as they had treated similar measures in previous years.

\* It may not be amiss in this connection to state that on the 24th of February, 1859, President Buchanan vetoed a bill, passed mainly by Republican votes, giving the States twenty thousand acres of land for each Senator and Representative, to aid in the establishment of colleges "for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts." A measure somewhat similar was afterwards passed, and approved by President Lincoln.

On May 27, a message to the Senate from the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, announced that he had signed the bill; and thus, amid the thunders of war, the Republican Party had kept its sacred pledge, and the Homestead Bill had become the law of the land.

## PART IX.

### Extending the Republican Homestead Act in 1866 — Democratic Opposition and Votes — The Soldiers' and Sailors' Homestead Act of 1872.

In the House, Feb. 8, 1866, a bill was passed extending the provisions of the Homestead Act to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. The vote by which it passed was 112 yeas to 29 nays; all the nays being Democrats except two. The names of these Democrats are:

*T. G. Bergen, B. M. Boyer, James Brooks, John W. Chanler, John L. Dawson, Charles A. Eldridge, William E. Finck, A. J. Glensbrenner, Charles Goodyear, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, B. G. Harris, John Hogan, James M. Humphrey, Michael C. Kerr, F. C. LeBlond, Samuel S. Marshall, John A. Nicholson, Samuel J. Randall, A. J. Rogers, George S. Shanklin, Charles Sitgreaves, Myer Strouse, Stephen Taber, Nelson Taylor, Anthony Thornton, and Daniel W. Voorhees.*

#### The Soldiers' and Sailors' Homestead Act — More Attempted Democratic Obstruction.

A number of amendments have been made to the original act, all favoring the settler; but the principal one was the act of June 8, 1872. This law is known as "The Soldiers' and Sailors' Homestead Act." It gives honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States lands under the Homestead Act in any locality, and deducts from the five years' residence which is required to make title, their term of service during the war of the Rebellion. One year's residence and cultivation, however, are necessary; and the beneficiaries have six months from the filing of application to make entry, and commence settlement and improvement. This act contains another provision for the benefit of the soldier and sailor. It gives to each beneficiary who has already homesteaded for a smaller amount than 160 acres, the privilege of increasing his holding to that amount; and in the event that vacant land cannot be found adjoining, it gives him scrip for the full amount of the difference between his homestead and 160 acres, which scrip can be laid on any of the surveyed lands of the United States.

After passing the Senate, this bill was called up in the House, June 6, 1872, by Gen. Hawley. The agreement to adjourn on the 10th had already been made, but Mr. Holman of Indiana insisted upon an amendment, claiming that it was in the interest of the beneficiaries; but it evidently intended

to defeat the bill, as it would have been impossible at that late date in the session to have secured consideration in the Senate. Gen. Hawley begged Mr. Holman to withdraw his amendment, but the latter refused, and the Republicans voted it down, and passed the bill, which was at once signed by President Grant, and became a law on the 8th of June, 1872.

#### Democrats obstruct the law in every way.

That the Democracy since the Rebellion have been as hostile to the homestead principle as they were before "the war" is demonstrated by their persistent and systematic efforts to cripple if not to wholly destroy the efficiency of the General Land Office. Appeals made again and again by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, supported by the Secretary of the Interior, to Congress for larger appropriations with which to secure more room and an increased clerical force absolutely demanded by the prompt and efficient execution of its increasing business, have been denied by Democratic majorities in Congress; while, during reconstruction, as per reports of the generals commanding the several military districts, this hostility was developed in the violent expulsion of settlers, who, under the Homestead Act, attempted to locate the lands of the South.

#### The homestead principle a characteristically Republican measure.

The donation of the public lands to actual settlers, — the homestead principle, — the "great beneficent measure of the day and the age," is a characteristically Republican measure, and no impudent or fraudulent attempt or claim of the Democracy can rob the Republicans of its authorship or of the credit of the beneficent results which through it have accrued to the nation and the people.

## PART X.

### The Beneficent Effects of the Homestead Act demonstrated in the Increased Population, Wealth, and Power of the Nation.

Instead of being "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind," as predicted by the Democracy, the wisdom and justice of the Homestead Act, its beneficent results, alike to the States and Nation, may be seen by the following tables brought down to July 1, 1887:

Number of homestead entries made under the act up to date . . . . .	823,600
Number living upon such homesteads (at the low average of 4.35 per family) . . . . .	3,582,660
Number of acres entered under the act up to date . . . . .	106,967,782

An area more than thrice the area of the great State of New York, and greater than one-half of the entire area of the thirteen States that adopted the Constitution.

The 3,582,660 souls provided with homes under this beneficent law exceeds the number of inhabitants of the thirteen Colonies when they achieved their independence, and is greater in number also than the population, as per census of 1880, of the following fourteen States and Territories:—

	POPULATION.
New Hampshire . . . . .	348,991
Rhode Island . . . . .	276,531
Vermont . . . . .	332,286
Delaware . . . . .	146,608
California . . . . .	864,694
Colorado . . . . .	194,326
Minnesota . . . . .	780,773
Oregon . . . . .	174,768
Nevada . . . . .	62,266
Florida . . . . .	269,493
Arizona . . . . .	40,440
Idaho . . . . .	32,610
Montana . . . . .	39,159
Wyoming . . . . .	20,786
	3,581,731

Thus adding a hardy, intelligent, industrious, and patriotic population to the States in which these homesteads were located, enhancing greatly the value of the lands of those States, enlarging their productive industries,

creating profitable markets for those industries, and thus increasing the wealth and power of the States and Nation to a degree immeasurably greater than the value of the lands to the Government when thus donated.

And this has been and is being done by this great and beneficent Republican measure despite every sort of Democratic opposition in and out of Congress; and of late, — since the Southern Democrats have again attained full power in the administration of President Cleveland as well as in the popular branch of Congress, — the General Land Office has been turned into an engine of oppression. Every effort is being made there to hinder, vex, and harass the settler in securing title to his lands. Little technicalities, such as delight the souls of shyster attorneys in police courts, are being used by a great government to prevent one of its citizens from obtaining a home for himself and his family; and the head of the Land Office issues a campaign document glorying in his shame, actually boasting of the number of homestead entries which he has cancelled from March 4, 1885 to May 12, 1888.

## CHAPTER X.

### The Public Lands — Grants, Forfeitures, etc.

*"It [the Democratic party] has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens."* — Democratic National Platform, 1888.

*"The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic Party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress, about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican Party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers titles to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretence of exposing frauds and vindicating the law."* — Republican National Platform, 1888.

#### PART I.

**Land Grants and their History — What the records show — The first land grant — Land aid to Railways adopted as a policy — The trans-continental Railways — Speeches of Morrison and Hendricks — Votes, etc.**

The Republican party pleads guilty to having given away 106,000,000 acres of land,

in the face of violent opposition from the Democratic party, to homestead settlers, and to having provided that every soldier who fought to preserve the Union should receive one hundred and sixty acres of land as a home for himself and his children. How this was done and how Democrats opposed it is shown in Chapter IX., "The Homestead Question."

But the Democrats claim the Republicans have "wasted the public heritage," and President Cleveland's administration takes great

credit to itself for having "restored vast bodies of land to the public domain," for the benefit of the people.

**What the Records show — The Land Surplus and how it was disposed of.**

A concise history of the land grants of the United States, *taken from the official records*, with the reasons for the grants and the results of them, is the best possible answer to these Democratic outcries.

In the early days of its history the United States was not troubled with a surplus of money in its treasury, but it had an immense surplus of land within its boundaries, and one of the earliest policies adopted was to give freely of these lands to aid in the building of roadways and canals that would assist in the opening-up of new countries, thus rendering the lands valuable, or that would cheapen the interchange of the products of the different sections, or the moving of armies and material in times of war.

#### The First Land Grant.

The first grant of this kind was approved March 3, 1803, and it gave 3 per cent of the public lands in Ohio to aid in building "wagon roads" in that State. A little later large grants were made for building canals, then the most approved methods of artificial transportation.

The invention by Stephenson of the railway created a revolution in the modes of trade and travel. The iron roadway and the locomotive superseded the turnpike, the canal, and even the natural water ways. None recognized this more promptly than the American Congress. In 1833 it authorized the State of Illinois to divert to the building of a railway the land granted to the State to aid in the construction of a canal.

#### Land aid to Railways adopted as a policy.

In 1850 Congress adopted the policy of giving from its *surplus lands* a portion to aid in the building of railways, granting alternate sections, while at the same time the price of those retained was doubled, so that in fact the government received the same amount of money for the retained sections that it would have received if none had been given to the railroads, and the building of the roads caused the immediate sale of the lands.

The policy was a wise one. The States were made trustees, and grants given to *forty-seven railway companies*, and these grants by the Democratic party were more liberal in fact than any since made, because they were within the limits of the States and within organized communities. Unfortunately the companies to which grants were given south of the Ohio, could not avail themselves of the splendid donations made by Congress. The same curse which prevented all other progress there, blighted the efforts to construct railways, even with the cost of the roads given to the companies. The trail of the serpent of slavery was over them all, and many of these grants were not utilized until

war had stricken the shackles from the slave.

**The trans-continental Railways — Linking oceans with bands of iron.**

Almost from the day when California became a part of the nation, and the budding of a new empire was seen upon the Pacific coast, statesmen favored binding the oceans together with bands of iron. Benton and Douglas, Breckinridge and Buchanan, in the Democratic party, Fillmore with the Whigs, and all the grand leaders and founders of the Republican party, favored the building of a railway from the Missouri to the Pacific by national aid. In 1856 all the party conventions, Republican, American, and Democratic, declared in favor of such action, the latter declaring that "it was the duty of the Federal Government to exercise all its constitutional powers in that behalf;" and all the Presidential candidates, Buchanan, Fremont, and Fillmore, wrote letters favoring it. In his message to Congress of December 6, 1858, President Buchanan suggested that after companies were incorporated "Congress might then assist them in the work by grants of land or money, or both, with conditions and restrictions as to transportation of troops and munitions of war, free of charge, and the carrying of the mails at a fair price." This was the first suggestion of giving money to aid in the construction of a railway.

Shortly after this, and before any action had been taken, a new condition arose. The war of the Rebellion came, and it was believed to be of supreme necessity to secure the construction of a railway to the Pacific. The bill to aid the construction of the Union and Central Pacific was passed by the Thirty-seventh Congress in 1862. There was no partisanship on this question in the Senate; the vote was 35 to 5, 11 Democratic senators voting for and 2 against the measure, whilst 24 Republicans favored and 3 opposed it. In the House 18 Democrats voted in favor of and 25 Republicans against the bill.

There was a wide-spread belief that great danger existed of a secession from the Union of the people on the Pacific coast, and the formation of a separate republic.

It was the knowledge of this feeling on the Pacific that made every one who desired to preserve the Union the more ready to vote aid for a railway that would bind the sections together.

Notwithstanding the liberal aid offered by the law of 1862 capital could not be found to build the railway. The result was that in 1864 still better terms were offered, under which the Union and Central Pacific, with their branches, were built.

#### What a distinguished Democrat says.

Col. Wm. R. Morrison, of Illinois, now one of the Interstate Railway Commissioners, but in 1864 a member of the House, amongst other Democrats, voted for the bill of 1864:



and in the 49th Congress, when he was the acknowledged leader of his party, defended his act and vote. In the course of his remarks he said:

Why, sir, in 1862 a grant had been made to certain parties; yes, to any parties or anybody who would build a railroad to California and tie it fast onto the Union. Nobody under that legislation put a spade in the ground or built any road. Two years afterward, and after we had tried in vain to obtain the building of the road under the first grant, it became apparent to all that the capital of the country would not take the risk of the enterprise. It substantially declared the capital of the country will not stand second; if you, the representatives of the people, want the railroad built, the Government must take the second place and the first risk. . . . The gentlemen charged with legislation then (the majority) were on the other side of the Hall. They were especially charged with, or took to themselves, the control of legislation affecting the conduct of the war. They said from the other side, this grant has been made and offered to the capital of the country and is yet unaccepted. Nobody will under this offer build a road to the Pacific Ocean. . . . I was just out of the army, a Union man. . . . Then, as now, in California there was a bright intelligent people, largely Southern men, with big brains and big hearts, whose sympathies and aspirations were with the South, and they desired to cast their fortunes with the South also. Men of the North wanted to tie them onto the North. Halfway between us and California were a people alien to us in religion, and in every thing unfriendly. The question was presented, or believed to be presented, here, Will we tie people of California on with iron bands and bring them near to us, or take the risk, by refusing to do so, of allowing them to unite with the South, as many of their leading men desired to do?

I agreed with those who wanted to bring them near to us by enabling us to get near to them, and, as I remember, after some effort to get it amended, voted for it, and, as I always do, assume whatever responsibility belongs to me. At that time it appeared to me to be the right thing to do, and none of the wise critics of to-day know that it was not the right thing to do. . . . And at that time, while I believed I was tying on California (for the Pacific road bill was then a war measure), many of those who now regard that legislation as a betrayal of people's interests were beating about the bush and very uncertain on every public question of that time. With lights before us to-day, it is a very easy thing to talk of grants to great corporations. The grant was an invitation to the capital of the country, an invitation to invest in what was believed to be a most hazardous enterprise, probably never to be undertaken by anybody, but of great national interest.

The same year (1864) the grant was made to construct the Northern Pacific, the vote on the passage of that bill in the House was 74 yeas to 20 nays, and among the votes in its favor were those of the following Democrats: Allen of Illinois, Baldwin of Missouri, Boyd, Coffroth, Eden of Illinois, Eldridge of Wisconsin, Heall, King, Knapp, Lazier, McAllister, Nelson, Noble, Odell, Pruyn, J. B. Steele, W. G. Steele, Sweat, Voorhees of Indiana, and Ward. Several Republicans voted against the bill.

In the Senate the bill passed without a division, and, in discussing it, the late Vice-President Hendricks said:

The bill before the Senate proposes to encourage the construction of a very important railroad to connect the waters of Lake Superior with the waters of the Pacific Ocean. Everybody can see at a glance that it is a work of national importance. It proposes to grant lands in a northern latitude where, without the construction of a work like that, the lands are comparatively without value to the Government. No person acquainted with the condition of that section of the country supposes that there can be very extensive settlements until the Government shall encourage those

settlements by the construction of some work like this.

There was no party vote upon the grants to the Atlantic and Pacific, or to the Texas Pacific. All these great trans-continental railways were aided with land or money, not as partisan measures, but because the representatives of the people and the States, irrespective of party, believed that their construction would be of benefit to the country, and that they would not be built unless the aid was granted.

It is true that the Republican party was in power when these grants were made and these roads built, and if it were possible to blot out all the past, leaving only these completed railways, with the results that have followed their construction, as the sole record of the existence of the Republican Party, that alone would entitle it to the undying admiration of the country.

## PART II.

### Land Grants by Democrats, compared with Land Grants by Republicans.

Prior to 1861 the Democratic party controlled the policy of the country. Numerous grants of land were made anterior to that year for the construction of railways and for other purposes. An examination of the Statutes shows that prior to March 4, 1861, there had been made the following grants:

Grants prior to 1861, to States.	Acreage granted.	Acres patented or certified.
Grants for railroad purposes .	30,470,920	23,105,468
“ “ wagon-road purposes . . . . .	251,354	251,354
Grants for canal purposes . . . . .	3,901,190	3,901,190
“ “ river-improvement purposes . . . . .	1,406,211	1,406,211
Grants as swamp lands . . . . .	70,455,975	56,455,408
Total anterior to 1861 — acres . . . . .	106,485,632	86,119,680
Grants since 1861 to States and Corporations.		
Grants for railroad purposes .	17,775,625	11,360,368
“ “ wagon-road purposes . . . . .	2,530,380	1,782,731
Grants for canal purposes . . . . .	699,635	699,635
“ “ river-improvement purposes . . . . .	1,975,593	1,975,593
Grants for railroads to corporations . . . . .	163,643,944	13,454,111
Totals since 1861 — acres .	186,624,177	29,272,437

These figures show that under laws passed by Democrats eighty-five million acres of land have been certified or patented to States for such purposes, while, under the laws passed by the Republicans, less than thirty million acres have been certified or patented.

These figures are the best possible answer to the Democratic cry that Republicans have "wasted the public domain."

#### Comparison of Results Accomplished.

Other things should be considered in regard to these grants. One is, the benefits that have accrued to the country from them; the other, that the grants made by the Republicans were almost entirely for great national purposes, vastly benefitting the country in its entirety, whilst the grants made by Democrats were almost entirely to subvert local interests, and have accomplished but little even to that end. The 39,393,389 acres of swamp land patented to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri, have been almost wasted by these States, doing them little if any good. The grants to *forty-seven* railroads made by Democrats have given less than 6,000 miles of railway, whilst the grants made by the Republicans have given the country five grand trans-continental lines, with their various branches, aggregating over 20,000 miles.

### PART III.

#### Land Grant Forfeitures — Falsity of Democratic Claims — Land Commissioner Stockslager's absurd Statement — Congressional and Presidential Action on Land Forfeiture Bills — The credit due to the Republicans.

Another claim made by Democrats is, that they have restored to the public domain vast areas of land; but when this claim is tried in the alembic of truth by the cold logic of facts and figures, it is found to be as baseless as most other Democratic assertions.

Fifty, eighty, even a hundred, million acres are the amounts claimed by different individuals as restored by the Executive order issued in August, 1887, revoking the indemnity withdrawals made for the benefit of certain railroads specified in a circular issued Sept. 6, 1887.

As a matter of fact, less than one-tenth of the smallest figure named above was restored by that order, because the railroads were not entitled, and did not claim, that all their losses within the original grant lines amounted to more than 5,000,000 acres, and the whole area of the land set aside for indemnity purposes, and claimed to be restored, did not amount to more than 30,000,000 acres, and *only the one-half of that was reserved for railroad purposes.* The claims of Land Commissioner Stockslager in his circular of May 12, 1888, that 28,000,000 acres of indemnity land had been "restored," is proven by these figures to be absurd. Besides which, it is a well-known fact that this Executive order

was issued upon information and plans prepared by a former Republican Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. A. M. Teller of Colorado.

#### Congressional Action on Land-Grant Forfeiture Bills.

Still another claim is that *Democrats* in Congress have forfeited, and thus restored to entry, an immense territory of unearned land-grants. This claim is as false as the others. Representative Lewis F. Payson of Illinois effectually disposes of that claim in a speech delivered by him in the House of Representatives on July 28, 1888. In that speech he showed that every Republican in the House had voted for each of these forfeiture bills, and that no credit was due to any political party, as a party, for their passage. Judge Payson omitted, however, to show that the only opposition to any of these measures came from Democrats, who in the 49th Congress defeated the forfeiture of the lands granted to the Gulf and Ship Island Railway made in 1856, although not a dollar's worth of work had been done on the proposed railway in the thirty years that had elapsed since the passage of the granting act. He shows, however, from the record, that he, a Republican, introduced the bills to forfeit the lands of the Oregon Central, the Texas Pacific, the Atlantic and Pacific, and the seven Southern roads contained in the table given below; and these bills cover the entire forfeitures except 300,000 acres.

The table prepared by Judge Payson of the lands forfeited by Congress is as follows:

#### Congressional action on land-grant forfeiture bills.

NAME OF RAILROAD.	Congress.	Acres.
Oregon Central .....	Forty-eighth.	810,880
Texas Pacific .....	do. ....	18,500,000
Iron Mountain of Missouri .....	do. ....	300,000
Atlantic and Pacific .....	Forty-ninth .	23,871,860
Tuscaloosa and Mobile .....		
Mobile and New Orleans .....		
Elyton and Beard's Bluff .....		
Memphis and Charleston .....		
Savannah and Albany .....		
New Orleans and State Line .....		
Iron Mountain of Arkansas .....		
Total .....		50,482,240

None of these forfeitures were made without the concurrence of the Republican Senate, and the largest of them, that of the *Atlantic and Pacific*, was passed by the Republican Senate before the Democratic House acted upon it. The bills for the three first-named forfeitures in the table became laws through the signature of a Republican President.

\* Estimated.

## PART IV.

**The System of Land-Grant Forfeitures suggested by Republicans, not Democrats — Recommendations of Land-Commissioner Drummond and Judiciary Chairman Reed.**

There is a proverb that a certain class of individuals should have long memories; and the Democrats who are taking to themselves so much credit for forfeiting land grants should remember that proverb.

**What Republicans have recommended, and when.**

Mr. Willis Drummond, a Republican Commissioner of the General Land Office, on January 15, 1874, held "That, if any portion of the road had been constructed in time, it would, upon a proper showing to that effect, be entitled to an amount proportionate to the number of miles so constructed," and "recommended the restoration to entry, by formal revocation on the part of Congress (that is, forfeiture), of the portion of the grant not earned."

Mr. N. C. McFarland, another Republican commissioner of the General Land Office, in a letter dated March 27, 1882, transmitted to Congress by the Hon. S. J. Kirkwood, a Republican, Secretary of the Interior, on March 28, 1882, said:

The interests of settlers within the limits of these grants, the interests of the railroad companies and

those of the people of the United States, demand that these grants should be adjusted at the earliest possible date and the lands now withdrawn not needed to satisfy grants restored to entry, and that the proper force of competent clerks should be provided for such purpose.

The Hon. Thomas B. Reed, a Republican Congressman from Maine, in the 47th Congress, submitted a report from the Judiciary Committee in which he said, referring to the recommendations made in their report:

It will be seen from the foregoing that the committee have adopted the rule of advising the forfeiture of such grants as have not been in any way utilized. When after a long lapse of time, no attempt has been made to earn the grant, it has seemed as if it should be withdrawn.

These citations are sufficient to establish the fact that the system of forfeitures was not only aided by Republican members of Congress, but was suggested by Republican Executive officers.

Thus every claim made by the Democrats, as to their having recovered lands for the government, is absolutely false, and so proven from the records. This Administration is entitled to "credit" for one act in regard to the Public Lands. It has tied up the titles to thousands upon thousands of homesteads, where the settlers are reclaiming the virgin soil from its native wildness and making it produce exuberant crops of grain. It has charged these settlers with being land-thieves, and has taken advantage of every technicality to prevent them from securing titles to the homes they have created by their labor. For that much, it is entitled to claim all the "credit" the people will choose to give it.

## CHAPTER XI.

## Pensions and Bounties.

"The system of direct taxation known as 'internal revenue' is a war tax, and so LONG AS THE LAW CONTINUES, the money derived therefrom should be . . . made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers. . . ." — Democratic National Platform, 1884. [Re-affirmed, 1888.]

"While carefully guarding the interest of the principles of justice and equity, it [the Democratic party] has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period." — Democratic National Platform, 1888.

"The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation. . . . We demand appropriations . . . for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers." — Republican National Platform, 1888.

"IT IS BETTER TO TRUST THOSE WHO ARE TRIED THAN THOSE WHO PRETEND." — Gen. Logan's speech at Clinton, Ill., 1878.

## PART I.

**The Republican Pension Act of 1862 —  
Subsequent Legislation for the Union  
Soldier—Republican Gratitude in Ac-  
tion—Hundreds of Millions for Pen-  
sioners.**

Democratic cant and insincerity were never more evident than in the impudent claim recently set forth that "the Democrats in Congress have done more for the soldiers than the Republicans have." Let us examine the record:

The fundamental law under which pensions are granted was passed by the Republicans July 14, 1862, when the majority of Democratic leaders were either in arms against the Government or plotting treason at the Capitol.

It bestowed with a lavish hand pensions upon all those who should become disabled, in whole or in part, in the service of their country, and to the dependent relatives of those who should die from causes originating in such service, including widows, children, mothers, and sisters.

It was the first comprehensive provision in that behalf, and laid the foundation for the generous allowances now made by law.

The acts of April 9, 1864, July 4, 1864, March 3, 1865, June 6, 1866, July 25, 1868, July 27, 1868, July 7, 1870, July 8, 1870, Feb. 14, 1871, June 8, 1872, March 3, 1873, June 6, 1874, June 18, 1874 (2), as will be observed, rapidly followed, under the Republican control of Congress.

They all liberalize the provisions of the fundamental law, either by enlarging the classes benefited, or by increasing the amounts payable to classes theretofore established.

Among other important provisions the following are most prominent.

1. The extension of the limitation within which claims should be filed—to commence the pension from the date of discharge in the case of a soldier, and from his death in the case of a widow or dependent relative.

The fundamental law made the limit one year. The act of June 6, 1866, extended it to three years, and the act of July 27, 1868, to five years, and under both these laws arrears of pensions were allowed and paid in thousands of cases.

2. The act of July 4, 1864, increased pensions for loss of both feet from \$8 to \$20 per month, and for loss of both hands or both eyes, from \$8 to \$25 per month. It also included non-enlisted men, disabled while serving, as pensionable, and granted the accrued pension due a pensioner to his relatives.

The act of March 3, 1865, increased pensions for loss of foot and hand from \$8 to \$20 per month. The act of June 6, 1866, increased invalid pensions as follows:

Loss of both hands or both feet to \$25 per month.

Loss of both feet or hand and foot to \$20 per month.

Loss of one hand or one foot, or equivalent disability, \$15 per month.

These provisions benefited nineteen thousand pensioners.

That act also enlarged the provisions of the act of July 4, 1864, by giving to the relatives of a claimant all he (the soldier) would have received had he lived to complete his claim, and was the first provision of law granting pensions to dependent fathers and orphan brothers.

In 1866 the Republicans passed what was known as the "additional bounty act," under which the soldiers have been paid \$71,154,-529.81.

The act of July 25, 1866, granted increase to widow pensioners of \$2 a month for each child, by the soldier, under sixteen years of age, and, if there was no widow, increased the pensions of minor children to an amount equal to that the widow would have received. Under this provision eighteen thousand pensions were at once increased, and a large number annually since.

The act of July 27, 1868, gave the \$2 per month increase for children of the soldier by a former wife, increased the pensions of those soldiers who, having only one eye, lost the same because of their service, from \$8 to \$25 per month, etc., etc.

The act of July 8, 1870, provided a new system—substantially that now in use—for paying pensions, making the payments quarterly instead of semi-annually, requiring all checks to be drawn to the order of the pensioner, and otherwise throwing around them safeguards to protect the pensioners from being defrauded by those they employed to collect their pension.

The act of Feb. 14, 1871, was the first provision granting pensions for service in the war of 1812.

The act of June 8, 1872, entitled all who had received \$15, \$18, and \$24, for specific disabilities, to \$20, \$25, and \$31.25 respectively.

The act of March 3, 1873, brought into harmonious relations the laws previously passed relating to pensions, and largely increased those for certain disabilities, etc.; to wit, for loss of leg above the knee, under certain conditions, from \$18 to \$25.

For disabilities not permanent it granted, during their continuance, a like pension as if permanent, the latter only having been provided for under previous laws. It also increased the pensions for disabilities entitling to more than \$8 and less than \$18 per month, to a rate intermediate to those grades; viz., \$12, \$14, \$16, etc.

The act of June 18, 1874, increased the rates of those pensioners entitled to \$31.25 per month, and whose disabilities were permanent, to \$50 per month. Another act of the same date increased from \$18 to \$24 per month the pensions of all who had lost an arm above the elbow or a leg above the knee.

Under these various provisions of law, and

the few minor provisions of law enacted since the Democrats have obtained control of the House of Representatives, exclusive of the Arrears Acts of January and March, 1878, more than 1,500,000 settlements have been made in the Pension Office, and more than \$404,000,000 has been paid thereon.

It will be observed that under Republican auspices the classes of pensioners were made to embrace all now provided for by law, and the rates of pensions were liberalized to a scale largely in excess of that ever before adopted by any government, and they were made to conform to the degrees of disability actually existing, viewed in relation to the incapacity of the pensioner for earning a livelihood, and the classes benefited by increased rates are numbered by tens of thousands; while under Democratic control the provisions of law enacted benefited but a few, and their pensions had already been increased to the higher grades.

## PART II.

### The Republican Party puts a Guarantee of National Gratitude into the Constitution—The Democracy, Violating its Canting Promises, tries to keep it out—The Vote of Thomas A. Hendricks and other Copperheads—Equalization of Bounties.

In the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States will be found these words:

*SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorised by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. . . .*

When the Senate, on the 8th of June, 1866, passed the Fourteenth Amendment with this practical declaration of gratitude to the Union soldier for suppressing the Rebellion and maintaining inviolate not only the platform declarations of the Republican party, but its pension and bounties bills as already enacted and those thereafter to be placed on the statute-book, the vote by which it passed was 33 yeas to 11 nays—5 not voting—as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Anthony, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Cragin, Cresswell, Edmunds, Fessenden, Foster, Grimes, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Kirkwood, Lane of Kansas, Lane of Indiana, Morgan, Morrill, Nye, Poland, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, and Yates—33.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Cowan, Davis, Doolittle, Guthrie, Hendricks, Johnson, McDougall, Norton, Riddle, Saulsbury, and Van Winkle—11.

The Senate, as will be seen, at that time, owing to a vacancy, comprised 39 Republicans and 9 Democrats. Of the 39 Republicans, 4 voted against and 33 voted for the Amendment; while of the 9 Democrats 7 voted against the Amendment which contains the provision above mentioned—*Mr. Thomas*

*A. Hendricks, the Democratic Vice-President, being one of the seven.*

In the House of Representatives, June 13, 1866, the Amendment passed by 138 yeas to 36 nays, all the yeas being Republicans and all the nays Democrats. There were 6 Republicans and 4 Democrats who did not vote.

The Amendment was ratified by the State Legislatures with the party lines drawn just as strictly—Republicans for, Democrats against.

### Equalization of Bounties Bill in 43d and 44th Congresses—Democratic Opposition.

The 43d Congress (Republican) passed a bill for the equalization of bounties, which failed to become a law, owing to the fact that it passed too late to receive the President's signature.

Such representative Democrats in the House as Clarkson N. Potter, Thomas Swan, Eppa Hunton, *et al.*, voted against it, and in the Senate only one Democrat voted for it.

The 44th Congress (the House being Democratic) revived the measure passed in the 43d. The Democrats made a movement in its favor—not because they wished it to become a law, but because they knew that to equalize the bounties under it would cost at least \$100,000,000, and, there being no money in the Treasury available for the purpose, the national debt would have to be increased that amount in order to meet it—a measure which they knew would meet with wide-spread denunciation. The Rebel brigadiers, however, such as Blackburn, Buckner, Forney, Goode, Hooker, Herford, Hunton, Mills, Reagan, Schleicher, Throckmorton, *et al.*, violently opposed it, while only two Republicans voted against it. It was originally a Republican measure, and passed both Houses when they were Republican, and would have passed again in 1876 if the Senate could have reached it in time and there had been money in the Treasury to meet the expense without increasing the national debt.

### What the Record thus far shows.

Hence it is plain to the most ordinary comprehension that, instead of doing "more for the soldiers than the Republicans have," the Democrats fought the most material Republican measures in favor of the soldiers, and would have defeated such measures had they the power; that the Republicans, not satisfied with legislating for the soldier by their votes in a Republican Congress and in Republican Legislatures, implanted in the Constitution of the country itself, beyond danger of removal or abrogation, the sacred acknowledgment of the nation's gratitude to the Union soldier—the declaration that "*the validity of . . . debts incurred for payment of bounties and pensions for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion shall not be questioned;*" while the copperhead Democrats in Congress, with Hendricks at their head, and in the State Legislatures, sought

to defeat the adoption of that acknowledgment in the Constitution, to say nothing of their attempts to defeat various measures of legislation enacted by Republican Congresses for the benefit of the Union soldier, to which reference will hereafter be made. Thus the declaration in the National Republican Platform of 1864, touching Union soldiers, that "the Nation owes to them some *permanent recognition* of their patriotism and their valor, and *ample and permanent provision* for those of their survivors who have received *disabling and honorable wounds* in the service of their country," has been put by the Republican Party into imperishable acts; while the canting and hypocritical promise in the National Democratic Platform of 1864, that "in the event of its [the Democratic Party's] attaining power, they [the Union soldiers and sailors] will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic so nobly earned," was within two years (in 1866) ruthlessly and shamelessly violated.

### PART III.

#### The So-called Democratic Record, and What it Amounts to — Re-enactment by Democrats of a few old Republican Measures.

The acts upon which the Democracy base their claim to the title of the "soldiers' friend" are the following:

On May 24, 1878, the House passed a bill to increase the pensions of pensioned soldiers and sailors who had lost either both hands or both feet, or the sight of both eyes, in the service of the country. It provided that the pensions of such soldiers and sailors should be increased to \$72 per month.

This bill, which became an act June 17, 1878, and its supplement of March 3, 1879, affected only those who were previously entitled to \$50 per month under the act of June 18, 1874, and probably embraced less than 200 pensioners.

Another bill passed on May 24, 1878, increased the pensions of all soldiers who had suffered amputation of their leg at the hip-joint, to \$37.50 per month.

This bill, which became an act March 3, 1879, increased less than twenty pensions, and they were before in receipt of \$24 per month.

On May 23, 1878, Mr. Riddle of Tennessee reported a bill to amend the pension act of 1874 so as to extend its provisions to all persons who had lost an arm below the elbow, or so near the elbow, or a leg below the knee, or so near the knee, as to destroy the use of the elbow or knee-joint, and rated such persons in the second class and to receive a pension of \$24 per month.

This bill, had it become a law, would have affected but few, probably not more than one hundred. Those who lost the arm *above* the elbow or the leg *above* the knee were

already entitled to \$24 per month, and the law was intended to benefit only those who had suffered amputation just at the elbow or knee, or so near as to destroy its use. As a matter of fact it was not rejected by the Senate, but was referred to its Committee on Pensions, which failed to report it to the Senate.

The only provision which passed the House under Democratic control, except the Republican Arrears Act, that would have affected any very large number of soldiers, was the bill to increase the pensions of those who had lost one limb. The increase proposed was twelve dollars per month, and it would have benefited about 4,000 pensioners.

The only additional Democratic measure was that of Feb. 28, 1877, "to allow a pension of \$36 a month to soldiers who have lost both an arm and a leg." This benefited a number not exceeding two hundred pensioners.

Another measure for which the Democracy claim credit was a bill reported in June, 1876, to regulate the issue of artificial limbs.

The first section provided that every person who in the line of his duty in the military or naval service of the United States shall have lost a limb, or sustained bodily injuries depriving him of the use of any of his limbs, shall receive once every five years an artificial limb or appliance, under such regulations as the surgeon-general of the army may prescribe; and the period of five years shall be held to commence with the filing of the application after the 17th day of January, in the year 1870.

Now, the facts are that the practice of granting artificial limbs to soldiers and sailors who lost their natural limbs in the service has existed since the passage of the act of July 16, 1862; and on July 28, 1866, Congress passed an act "to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish transportation to discharged soldiers to whom artificial limbs are furnished by the Government."

On July 27, 1868, an act was passed placing officers upon the same footing with privates as to artificial limbs. On July 17, 1870, another act was passed authorizing the War Department to furnish a new limb or apparatus to all those previously supplied, and at the expiration of every five years thereafter another. Or if the soldier so elected he could receive money commutation therefor of from fifty to seventy-five dollars; and the act of June 30, 1870, extended the provision to all classes, including transportation. Under these laws advantageous arrangements were made with manufacturers through whom limbs were procured at rates largely reduced from market prices.

The act of Aug. 15, 1876, was simply a re-enactment, with slight and unimportant changes, of previous enactments.

**Democratic "aversion" to pension bills.— Democrats admit it.**

That the Democratic Party in Congress has ever done the least thing in legislation for

the Union soldier, is surprising in view of its known hostility to him and to the great cause he represents. That party, as the record plainly shows, has fought the Union soldier often enough, and when he most needed help, in the halls of Congress, and its impudent claim at this late day that it has done "more for the soldiers than the Republicans have" will not avail it in its effort to catch the soldiers' vote at this election. "Whales are not to be caught by gudgeons." The plain truth of the matter is that Democratic Congressmen have, as a rule, inherited a legacy of hate for the Union soldier, and while generally pretending to love him just before a Presidential election, the moment the election is over, they would fling him aside like a piece of waste paper. It is the "Confederate" and not the "Union" soldier that they really love. To show that that legacy of hate continues, it is only necessary to refer reasonable men to the proofs hereafter given in their action upon the Arrears of Pensions bill of 1879 and upon proposed legislation in the present Congress. But for those who need further proof, let them read the *thoroughly proved up* letters written by two Northern Democratic Representatives to their Pennsylvania constituents in 1880, in which one of them, the Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, Democratic Congressman from the Nineteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, declines (April 23, 1880) to introduce and urge the passage of a pension bill, because, "*with the present Democratic House, pension bills do not have much favor . . . and the rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bills to pass.*" while the other, the Hon. J. W. Ryon, Representative in Congress from the Schuylkill District of Pennsylvania, also declares in a letter to the same person that "*the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war.*"

The Beltzhoover letter to Mr. Curriden.

Following is the letter of Representative Beltzhoover :

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1880. }

DEAR SIR: Your favor was received. I would most cheerfully introduce and urge the passage of a bill such as you suggest, but *with the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor.* It has become almost impossible to get consideration of such a bill at all, and when considered its chance of passing the House is very remote, and the *rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bill to pass.* It would not be at all probable, therefore, that the bill will be got through. I will confer with your brother. If he thinks there is any thing in the matter, I will very cordially act in the matter. Very truly,

F. E. BELTZHOOVER.

E. W. CURRIDEN, Esq.

Another Beltzhoover letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is another letter, like unto the first :

CARLISLE, PENN., August 14, 1880.

MR. J. A. C. MINNICK, York, Penn. :

"The bill of Mrs. — is pending before the Committee on Pensions of the House. I do not think the claim has been finally rejected by the Pension Office. The bill will be finally disposed of next session. *The last one was a very bad one for pensions.* Very truly,

F. E. BELTZHOOVER.

Representative Ryon's letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is a letter from Mr. Minnick, addressed to the York (Pa.) *Evening Dispatch* of September 8, 1880:

Why it is that the publication of letters from the Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, with reference to the difficulty of obtaining favorable action in Congress on pensions and other military claims in behalf of the late Union soldiers or their representatives, should cause such a stir among Democrats, is a question every loyal veteran should ask before he makes up his mind to vote in favor of the "change" asked by that party.

The honorable member from that district is not the only one of his party that has admitted those facts. The Hon. J. W. Ryon, from the Schuylkill District, in a communication sent me after his failure to have a meritorious measure in behalf of a soldier passed, admitted that "*the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war,*" although he favored and did all he could in support of the claim, which was substantiated by conclusive evidence of some of the best citizens of his district.

In a communication I received from Mr. Beltzhoover on the 19th ult., in reference to a claim for pension now pending, he admits "that the last session was a very bad one for pensions," and such frank admissions, or the publication thereof, are certainly more to the credit of those gentlemen than against them, although not so with the majority of their colleagues on the same side of the House.

J. A. C. MINNICK, Pension Claim Agent.

In the New York Tribune, September 10, 1880, fac-similes and affidavits of the genuineness of these letters place the proof of their authenticity beyond all question.

## PART IV.

The Republican Arrears of Pensions Act of 1879—The Fraudulent Democratic Claim to its Paternity and Enactment—The Conclusive Vote in Both Houses.

On Feb. 13, 1878, A. V. Rice, the Democratic chairman of the House Committee on Pensions, reported a bill granting arrears of pensions: "*also to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to restore to the roll the names of invalid pensioners, stricken therefrom on account of disloyalty,*" etc.; this latter provision being the sop thrown to the rebel brigadiers to secure their support of or acquiescence in the measure. This bill was made a special order for Feb. 27, 1878, but Mr. Rice failing to secure its consideration on that day, Mr. Cummings, a Republican member from Kansas, on April 2, 1878, introduced the bill (H. R. No. 4234), which was subsequently passed. It was referred to the Committee on Pensions, from which it was not reported back; and on June 19, 1878

—the committee having for two months and more held on to the bill without reporting it — Mr. Haskell, a Republican member from Kansas, moved a suspension of the rules, in order that the Committee on Pensions may be discharged from the further consideration of bill H. R. No. 4234, and that it be passed with an amendment. Thereupon the following colloquy ensued:—

MR. BANNING. I understand that this is the bill reported by the Committee on Pensions, and recommended by them.

MR. RIDDLE. No, sir, it is not the bill.

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Debate is not in order.

MR. BANNING. I ask for the reading of that section which was not contained in the bill reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

MR. RICE of Ohio. This bill was not reported from the committee at all.

MR. EDEN. That is in the nature of the debate, and is not in order on a motion to suspend the rules.

MR. CUMMINGS. I call for the yeas and nays upon the motion to suspend the rules. . . . I withdraw the demand for the yeas and nays for the present.

The question was put on the motion to suspend the rules—ayes, 90; nays, 20; no quorum voting.

MR. HASKELL. I call for tellers.

MR. BROWNE. I call for yeas and nays.

MR. WHITE. Cannot we understand whether this is the bill that was reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions or not?

MR. RICE of Ohio. I will state that it is not the bill. I have been trying to get the bill, reported unanimously from the committee, acted upon, but have failed to do so.

MR. CONGER. I demand the yeas and nays.

Ordered, and the bill was passed.

The bill, the passage of which was secured under Mr. Haskell's motion, granted arrears to the date of discharge or death of the soldier, without restriction or limitation, and gave to the pensioners, as estimated by the Commissioner of Pensions, the sum of \$34,000,000 in claims settled before the date of the act, while the bill which Mr. Rice had reported to the House four months before, and which he had "been trying to get acted upon," but had "failed to do so," was a qualified bill in the following respects.

In the first place, it was limited by its fourth section to the pensioners on the roll. A pensioner having deceased, his widow or child, or other relatives, could not get a dollar under its provisions; a widow having remarried, or a minor child having become sixteen years of age, could not get a dollar.

Secondly, it divided the pensioners on the roll into three classes and bestowed arrears upon them unequally. To only widows, minors, mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, receiving pensions, did it give the benefit which they derive from the present law. To the soldiers themselves it was not so liberal. Those disabled by wounds and injuries were to be paid from date of discharge, provided they filed their original claims within five years; "otherwise the pension shall commence from the time of the development of the disability resulting from such wounds or injuries," etc.

To those soldiers who are pensioned for the effect of diseases—the sick, the bed-ridden, who, while equally incapacitated with the wounded, are, as a class, the greatest sufferers, their pensions were to be made to

commence, not from the date of the discharge, but "from the date of the application." In other words, they were to get no arrears except for the period between the filing of their claims in the Pension Office and the date of their allowance—an average time of about three years.

Compare the Rice bill, which was not passed, with the Cummings-Haskell bill, which was passed, in the amount of money it bestowed and the numbers benefited. According to the estimate of the commissioner of pensions the Rice bill granted arrears as follows:

To the widows, minors, mothers, etc.	5,645	\$4,841,153 00
To wounded and injured soldiers	16,659	10,312,526 90
To the deceased soldiers	3,034	606,900 00
Total	25,338	\$15,761,580 90

The Cummings-Haskell bill granted arrears on claims allowed before January 1, 1879:

To widows, minors, mothers, etc.	9,049	\$8,758,066 80
To the soldiers	36,106	25,114,434 40
Total	45,155	\$33,872,501 20

A difference in favor of the soldiers in the Cummings-Haskell bill over the Rice bill of 16,413 soldiers and \$14,194,047.50, and of 3,404 widows, dependent parents, and orphans, and \$3,916,914.80. Moreover, as the title above quoted shows, the seventh section of the Rice bill proposed the repeal of section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that no "money on account of pension shall be paid to any person or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who, in any manner, voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States," and to pay all invalid pensioners, mostly of former wars, and who in many instances had served in the rebel army, and in consequence had been stricken from the rolls for disloyalty, arrears of pensions back to December 25, 1858—in nearly every instance for a longer period than the same bill granted to deceased loyal soldiers of the war of the rebellion. While the amount estimated to be payable under the Cummings-Haskell bill, as above stated, was upward of \$33,000,000, it was modified by the act of March 3, 1879, which reduced the estimate of the Pension Office to \$25,000,000, and \$24,728,155 have actually been paid thereunder.

Indeed, Rice's bill was simply a cover under which dropped disloyal pensioners might be restored to the rolls and collect their arrears. It was justly defeated. But the Cummings-Haskell bill, a Republican measure which actually passed, and for which this Democratic Party, with characteristic assurance, claims all the credit for the Democracy, embraces only the loyal soldier.

The Democratic fraud in claiming any credit for the passage of this bill (H. R. 4234) is readily exposed by an analysis of the votes by which it was passed. In the House



the vote was 164 yeas to 61 nays. Of these, 48 Democrats voted yea and 61 voted nay, while 116 Republicans voted yea and not one Republican voted nay. It may be worthy of remark, also, that 44 of the Democratic yeas were from the North, while of the 61 Democratic nays 58 were from the South. It may also be noted that, as the total vote was 225, the Republican affirmative vote was in a majority over the combined Democratic vote.

In the Senate the vote was taken during the next session, when it passed by 44 yeas to 4 nays. Of the yeas 1 was Independent, 16 were Democrats, and 27 Republicans. The nays were all Democrats. Here again the Republican affirming vote was in a majority over the combined opposition.

Not a single Republican vote was cast against it in either House. The Arrears Act, that great measure of justice to the loyal soldier, is in every sense purely a Republican measure. It was introduced into the House by a Republican (Mr. Cummings), was supported in debate by the Republicans, and finally passed in both Houses in spite of the opposition of the Southern Democracy by Republican votes. In the House the 61 Democratic votes against it were as follows:

**NAYS**—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, J. H. Ellis, Evans, Fenton, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, J. G. Jones, Knott, Ligon, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Phelps, Pridmore, Reagan, Riddle, Robbins, Scales, Schleicher, O. R. Singleton, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Vance, Whitthorne, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, and Yates—61.

## PART V.

### Another Republican Arrears of Pensions Bill—The Vote by which the Democrats Defeated it.

On the 3d of February, 1879, another significant vote was had in the Democratic House of Representatives upon a motion made by Mr. Burchard, a Republican, to suspend the rules, and pass the following bill:

A Bill to provide ways and means, and appropriate the amount necessary for the payment of arrears of pensions.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That in order to provide for the prompt payment of the arrears of pensions due to pensioners, or becoming due under the provisions of the act of January 25, 1879, granting and authorizing payment of arrears of pensions, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, 4 per cent bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate \$40,000,000, of the character, description, and denominations, and with like quality, privileges, and exemptions of the 4 per cent bonds described in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt;' and the proceeds of the sale of such bonds, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be applied, and are hereby appropriated, to the payment of

claims for arrears of pensions arising under said act of January 25, 1879."

This motion, requiring a two-thirds affirmative vote, was defeated by the Democrats as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Acklen, W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Bailey, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bayne, Beebe, Bicknell, Bisbee, Blair, Bliss, Bouch, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Chalmers, Chittenden, Claflin, A. A. Clark, R. Clark, Cole, Collins, Conger, J. D. Cox, S. S. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Dean, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Estab, E. B. Finley, Fort, Foster, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Hart, Hayes, Hendee, Hiseock, Hubbell, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, Itner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Keifer, Ketcham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, Mitchell, Monroe, Morrison, Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Phelps, Pollard, Powers, Price, Pugh, Randolph, Reed, A. V. Rice, W. W. Rice, E. W. Robertson, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ross, T. Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stenger, J. W. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Turney, N. H. Van Vorhes, Walt, Ward, Watson, M. D. White, C. G. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willis, F. Wood, Wren—140.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bright, Brogden, Buckner, Butler, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cobb, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Felton, Franklin, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hutcher, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, House, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Kelley, Kenna, Kimmel, Knapp, Ligon, Manning, B. F. Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Morgan, Morse, T. M. Patterson, Rea, Reagan, Robbins, Roberts, Scales, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Steele, Swann, Tucker, T. Turner, Vance, Waddell, Whitthorne, Wigginton, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Yeates, J. S. Young—81.

Thus we see on a proposition to definitely fix the amount of arrearages of pensions—about which there were these several varying estimates—at \$40,000,000, and to provide by the simple issue of 4 per cent bonds for payment of the same, only thirty-one Democrats could be found to vote for it, while as many as seventy-eight voted against, and thus absolutely defeated it. It will be observed, on the other hand, that only three Republicans voted against the motion, while 108 Republicans voted for it. Nice friends, indeed, of the soldiers are these Democrats!

## PART VI.

### The Modified "Arrearages" Bill—It is Put through the House by the Republicans—A Majority of the Democrats Vote Against it—Senate Action and Votes.

Again, on the 17th February, 1879, a bill (H. R. 6462) was reported to the House from the Committee on Appropriations, which appropriated \$25,000,000 for arrears of pensions, \$1,800,000 additional for ordinary pen-

sions, and made provision for temporary clerks, and provided "that the rate at which the arrears of invalid pensions shall be allowed and computed in all cases which have been or shall hereafter be allowed, shall be graded according to the degree of the pensioner's disability from time to time, and the provisions of the pension laws in force from the period for which arrears shall be paid; that section one of the act of January 25, 1879, granting arrears of pensions, shall be construed to extend to and include pensions granted by special act of Congress, unless the special act fixes the rate and duration of the pension, and pensions on account of soldiers who were enlisted or drafted for service in the war of the rebellion, and died or incurred disability from a cause originating after the cessation of hostilities."

And, upon a motion to suspend the rules and pass this bill, the motion was agreed to by 183 yeas to 67 nays—40 not voting. The vote was as follows:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Acklen, W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Bailey, J. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bayne, Benedict, Bicknell, Bissell, Blair, Bliss, Bouck, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Browne, Buckner, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clark, Jr., R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, S. S. Cox, Crittenden, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, Dean, Deering, Dennison, Dickey, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. I. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Fort, Foster, Franklin, Freeman, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, Gause, Glover, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartzell, Haskell, Hatcher, Hayes, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, Hubbell, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Kelfer, Knightley, Kelley, Kenna, Ketchum, Killinger, Knapp, Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Majors, Marsh, B. F. Martin, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Morgan, Morse, Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Kelly, A. V. Rice, G. D. Robinson, Ross, T. Ryan, Sampson, Bapp, Sayler, Sexton, Shallenberger, Slinnicksen, Smalls, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Starin, Stenger, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, Swann, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, A. Townsend, R. W. Townshend, T. Turner, Turney, N. H. Van Vorhes, Walt, Ward, Watson, H. White, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willits, Wilson, Wren, Wright—183.

NAYS.—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, R. L. T. Beale, H. P. Bell, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Brogden, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Felton, Fleming, Forney, Garth, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, J. T. Jones, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Money, Muldrow, Pridemore, Reagan, Robbins, E. W. Robertson, Scales, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, Simons, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Vance, Waddell, L. Warner, Whitthorne, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates, J. S. Young—67.

On analysis of this vote\* it will be found that a majority of the Democrats, voting in their own Democratic House on this measure, were opposed to it. In other words, 66 Democrats voted against it, to 65 voting for

it. The Republicans, on the other hand, almost to a man, stood by it, only one Republican voting against it, to 108 Republicans voting for it.

**In the Senate—The Shields Amendment—The Democratic Attempt to pension Ex-Confederates, including Jeff Davis—The Republicans defeat it.**

Follow the same bill into the Senate, and what do we see? Not that the Democrats are so particularly fond of the Union soldiers as they now cantingly pretend, but that they are very anxiously fond of the Confederate soldier, and especially of the unrepentant Jeff. Davis.

On Feb. 28, 1879, in the Senate, the aforesaid bill being up, and after various other amendments had been disagreed to, Mr. Shields moved that the following proviso be added to the bill:

"Provided, further, That the law granting pensions to the soldiers and their widows, of the war of 1812, approved March 9, 1878, is hereby made applicable in all its provisions to the soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Mexico of 1846."

This quiet and apparently unobjectionable little proviso was agreed to by 38 yeas to 21 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Burnside, Butler, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Dorsey, Eaton, Ferry, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, Lamar, McCreery, Mazey, Merrimon, Mitchell, Morgan, Ransom, Saunders, Shields, Thurman, Voorhes, Wallace, Whyte, Withers,—38.

NAYS.—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Dawes, Edmunds, Hamlin, Hoar, Howe, Kernan, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Plumb, Randolph, Rollins, Spencer, Teller, Windom—21.

And the bill was then passed by 38 yeas to 20 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Bailey, Beck, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Dennis, Dorsey, Ferry, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, McCreery, McDonald, McPherson, Matthews, Mazey, Merrimon, Mitchell, Morgan, Paddock, Patterson, Ransom, Saunders, Shields, Spencer, Thurman, Voorhes, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers—28.

NAYS.—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Eaton, Edmunds, Hamlin, Hereford, Hoar, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Rollins, Teller—20.

But Mr. Windom had cast his vote in the affirmative for a purpose. The bill as passed with the Shields amendment would pension ex-confederate soldiers and sailors who served in the Mexican war, and would even pension the unrepentant, and therefore unpardoned, Bourbon rebel Jefferson Davis himself! Mr. Windom therefore entered a motion to reconsider, and on March 1 the following significant votes were had, which must furnish good reading to the Union soldier.

In the first place the motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill had passed was agreed to by 28 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wis.

\* For this and other votes on this subject, see McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1880.

conain, Chandler, Conkling, Conover, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kernan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom—23.

**YAYS**—Messrs. *Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Bruce, Burnside, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Davis* of West Virginia, *Dennis, Eaton, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Shields, Thurman, Wallace*—21.

Then a motion to reconsider the vote by which the aforesaid Shields amendment had been adopted was made, and agreed to by 27 yeas to 24 nays, as follows:

**YAYS**—Messrs. *Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron* of Pennsylvania, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Chandler, Conkling, Conover, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kernan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom*—21.

**NAYS**—Messrs. *Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Burnside, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Davis* of West Virginia, *Dennis, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman, Wallace*—24.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the Shields amendment, a motion was made to add to it the following restrictive clause:

"*Provided further*, That no person who served in the Confederate army during the late war of the Rebellion, or held any office, civil or military, in the late Confederacy, shall be entitled to receive any pension under this act."

But this was just what the Democrats did not want. Their chief concern was to open the door to putting ex-Confederate soldiers on the pension roll. Hence this clause was defeated of adoption by a vote of 24 yeas to 26 nays; all the 24 yeas being Republicans, and 25 of the 26 nays being Democrats, as follows:

**YAYS**—Messrs. *Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron* of Pennsylvania, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom*.—24.

**NAYS**—Messrs. *Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Davis* of West Virginia, *Dennis, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Kernan, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman, Wallace*.—26.

Mr. Hoar having offered the following amendment,—

"*Provided, further*, That no pension shall ever be paid under this act to Jefferson Davis, the late president of the so-called Confederacy"—

it was, after a heated debate, adopted by 23 yeas to 22 nays, as follows:

**YAYS**—Messrs. *Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Bruce, Cameron* of Pennsylvania, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom*.—23.

**NAYS**—Messrs. *Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Cockrell, Coke, Davis* of West Virginia, *Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Jones* of Florida, *Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman*.—22.

Mr. Shields' amendment as amended now stood in this shape:

"*Provided further*, That the law granting pensions to the soldiers and their widows, of the war of eighteen hundred and twelve, approved March ninth,

eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, is hereby made applicable in all its provisions to the soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Mexico of eighteen hundred and forty-six.

"*Provided further*, That no pension shall ever be paid under this act to Jefferson Davis, the late president of the so-called Confederacy."

In other words, it excluded Jefferson Davis, but no other ex-Confederate who had served in the Mexican War, from the pension-rolls.

Upon the adoption of the said amended amendment, the Senate defeated it by 20 yeas to 25 nays, as follows:

**YAYS**—Messrs. *Bailey, Beck, Butler, Coke, Davis*, of West Virginia, *Dennis, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Jones* of Florida, *Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Ransom, Thurman*.—20.

**NAYS**—Messrs. *Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Cameron* of Pennsylvania, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Howe, Ingalls, Jones* of Nevada, *Kernan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom*.—25.

The bill then passed by 44 yeas to 3 nays,—the 3 nays being Messrs. *Eaton, Garland, and Hereford*, all Democrats.

Subsequently in the House, the Senate amendments which had been added, and which were simply on matters of detail involving no political question, were concurred in, and the bill was thereby passed by 203 yeas to 61 nays—all the nays being Democrats, as follows:

Messrs. *Aiken, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Cravens, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibble, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, J. H. Erins, Felton, J. J. Finley, Forney, Garth, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Herbert, Hooker, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Knott, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Mills, Mudrow, Muller, Pridemore, Reagan, Robbins, Scales, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Tucker, Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Whitthorne, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Yeates, and J. S. Young*.

And subsequently the bill was approved by the Republican President.

## PART VII.

### Pensions to Soldiers and Sailors in the Mexican, Creek, Seminole, and Black Hawk Wars—A Section that would allow ex-Confederates on the Pension Rolls.

On Jan. 24, 1884, the following bill was reported (H. R. 3062) to the House from the Committee on Pensions:

A Bill granting pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war and other wars therein named, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of the surviving officers and enlisted men, including militia and volunteers, of the military and naval services of the United States, who served sixty days in the war of 1846, 1847, and 1848, who, being enlisted as aforesaid actually served with the Army or Navy of the United States in Mexico, or who served thirty days in the Creek war or disturbances of 1835 or 1836, or in the Florida war with the Seminoles from 1835 to 1842, or

in the Black Hawk war of 1832, and were honorably discharged, and such other officers and soldiers and sailors as may have been personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said wars, although their term of service may have been less than sixty days, and the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men as were married to such officers or soldiers or sailors prior to the discharge of such officers and enlisted men: *Provided*, That such widows have not remarried; *And provided further*, That this act shall not apply to any person not a citizen of the United States.

SEC. 2. That pensions under this act shall be at the rate of eight dollars a month, and payable, from and after the passage of this act, for and during the natural lives of the persons entitled thereto.

SEC. 3. That before the name of any person shall be placed on the pension-roll under this act proof shall be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, of the right of the applicant to a pension; and any person who shall falsely and corruptly take any oath required under this act shall be deemed guilty of perjury; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension-roll the name of any person whenever it shall be made to appear by proof satisfactory to him that such name was put upon such roll through false and fraudulent representations, and that such person is not entitled to a pension under this act. The loss of the certificate of discharge shall not deprive any person of the benefits of this act, but other evidence of service performed and of an honorable discharge may be deemed sufficient.

SEC. 4. That the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act, so far as they may be applicable thereto.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any attorney, claim agent, or any other person, to demand or receive any fee or compensation for filing or presenting a claim for pension under this act.

SEC. 6. That section forty-seven hundred and sixteen of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act, or to pensioners under this act, and to such officers, soldiers, and sailors who may have enlisted in the army or navy of the United States since the close of the late war, or who may hereafter so enlist.

SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while under the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It must be understood that Section 4716 of the Revised Statutes provides that "No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late rebellion against the authority of the United States;" and it is this provision that sec. 6 of the above bill seeks to repeal.

On the 18th February, Mr. Hewitt of Alabama offered a resolution from the same committee to make the consideration of the bill a special order for February 21, and from day to day until disposed of, but not to interfere with general appropriation or revenue bills on reports from Committee on Public Lands. An all-night filibustering scene ensued, which ended by the adoption of the resolution by 176 yeas to 35 nays—the following being the nay vote:—

NAYS.—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Bayne, Boutelle, Breitung, J. H. Brewer, W. W. Brown, Cutcheon, Dunham, Everhart, Guenther, Hauback, D. B. Henderson, Hepburn, Hitt, Horr, James, Johnson, Lacey, Long, LYMAN, Millard, Morse, Parker, Payne, Ranney, G. W. Ray, Reed, Rockwell, Rowell, Stephenson, J. D. Taylor, Valentine, A. J. Warner, M. White, Whiting.

Nothing further was done in the matter of this bill until July 2, 1884, when Mr. Hewitt

moved to proceed to its consideration. The motion was disagreed to by 84 yeas to 128 nays—as follows:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Barbour, Barksdale, Bennett, Blount, Broadhead, Buchanan, Burnes, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Candler, Cassidy, CHALMERS, Clements, Cobb, Cosgrove, Covington, W. R. Coz, Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Dargan, L. H. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Dowd, Findlay, Forney, E. Gibson, Graves, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hobbs, C. Hunt, J. H. Jones, Latham, E. T. Lewis, McMillin, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Muldrow, Mulchler, Oates, OCHILTREE, O'Ferrall, S. W. Peel, R. A. Pierce, Potter, Pryor, Reese, J. H. Rogers, Seney, Seymour, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Talbott, J. M. Taylor, Throckmorton, Tillman, Tucker, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wallace, E. Warner, Wellborn, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, Wolford, T. J. Wood, YORK—84.

NAYS.—Messrs. G. E. Adams, J. J. Adams, Anderson, Belford, Belmont, Boutelle, Brainerd, F. B. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, BRUMM, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. E. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, G. R. Davis, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Dorsheimer, Dunham, Eldredge, Elliott, English, Ermentrout, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Follett, Funston, Geddes, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Hardy, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, Hitt, Holman, Holmes, Hooper, Horr, Howey, James, Jeffords, Johnson, B. W. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Kelfer, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Long, Lowry, LYMAN, McComas, McCormick, Matson, Millard, S. H. Miller, Murray, Neece, Nelson, C. O'Neill, Paige, Parker, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Poland, Post, Price, Ranney, G. W. Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, Riggs, J. S. Robinson, Rockwell, Rowell, Ryan, Smalls, Spooner, Steele, Stephenson, Stone, Storm, Strait, Struble, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, R. W. Townsend, Valentine, Wadsworth, Walt, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, M. White, Whiting, Wilkins, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Woodward, Yule—128.

On the following day, July 3, Mr. Hewitt of Alabama renewed the motion to proceed to consider the bill. It was again disagreed to by 79 yeas to 142 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Ballentine, Barksdale, Belmont, Bennett, Blount, Broadhead, Buchanan, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Candler, Cassidy, CHALMERS, Clay, Clements, Cosgrove, W. R. Coz, Crisp, D. B. Culbertson, Dargan, L. H. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Duncan, Dunn, Findlay, Foran, Forney, Garrison, Graves, Green, Hansall, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hopkins, C. Hunt, J. H. Jones, Kleiner, Latham, Lore, McMillin, J. F. Miller, Mills, Muldrow, Oates, OCHILTREE, O'Ferrall, D. R. Paige, S. W. Peel, R. A. Pierce, Potter, Pryor, Reese, J. H. Rogers, Seney, O. R. Singleton, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, R. Warner, Wellborn, T. Williams, W. L. Wilson, G. D. Wise, Wolford, YORK, C. Young—79.

NAYS.—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Atkinson, Bagley, Barbour, Bayne, Beach, Boutelle, Brainerd, F. B. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. E. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carleton, Cobb, Connolly, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, G. R. Davis, Dingley, Eaton, Eldredge, Elliott, Elwood, English, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Finerty, Follett, Funston, Geddes, George, Glascock, Goff, Greenleaf, Guenther, Hardy, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hitt, Hobbs, Holman, Holmes, Howey, James, Jeffords, Johnson, B. W. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, Kenn, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Libbey, Long, Lowery, Lowry, LYMAN, McAdoo, McCoid, McComas, McCormick, Matson, Maybury, Millard, S. H. Miller, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Neece, Nelson, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, J. J. O'Neill, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Pusey, Randall,

Ranney, O. Ray, W. W. Rice, Riggs, J. S. Robinson, Rosecrans, Rowell, Ryan, Seymour, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Spooner, Springer, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, Stockslager, Storm, Strait, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, Talbot, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, R. W. Townshend, Valentine, Wadsworth, Wait, Wakefield, Wallace, T. B. Ward, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Weller, J. D. White, M. White, Wilkins, J. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Yaple—142.

On the 5th July the question as to considering the bill again came up, and was disagreed to by 41 yeas to 111 nays, the point being made of "no quorum."

Those voting in the affirmative were as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Alexander, Barksdale, Blanchard, A. J. Caldwell, Carleton, Cassidy, Clay, W. R. Cox, Dargan, Dibble, Eaton, Garrison, E. Gibson, Graves, Halsell, W. H. Hatch, Henley, Houseman, C. Hunt, Jordan, Kleiner, Lore, LYMAN, Maybury, Mills, OCHILTREE, J. J. O'Neill, Ranney, Seney, J. M. Taylor, F. B. Thompson, Tiltman, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, R. Warner, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, Wolford, T. J. Wood.

This was the last heard of it at the late session; and as will be seen, it was used only as a means of antagonizing and defeating the Mexican War pensions bill, which will be alluded to immediately.

## PART VIII.

### Pensions to Soldiers and Sailors of the Mexican War—The Vote in the House on the Passage of the Bill.

On March 3, 1884, in the House, Mr. R. W. Townshend moved to suspend the rules and pass the House bill (H. R. 5667), whose text is as follows:

A Bill granting pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of the surviving officers and enlisted men, including marines, militia and volunteers, of the military and naval services of the United States, who served sixty days in the war of 1846, 1847 and 1848, with Mexico, or who, being enlisted as aforesaid actually served with the Army or Navy of the United States in Mexico in said war, or were actually engaged in a battle in said war, and were honorably discharged and to such other officers and soldiers and sailors as may have been personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said wars, although their term of service may have been less than sixty days, and the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men as were married to such officers or soldiers or sailors prior to the discharge of such officers and enlisted men: *Provided*, That such widows have not remarried: *And provided further*, That this act shall not apply to any person not a citizen of the United States.

SEC. 2. That pensions under this act shall be at the rate of \$9 per month, and payable only from and after the passage of this act for and during the natural lives of the persons entitled thereto.

SEC. 3. That before the name of any person shall be placed on the pension-roll under this act, proof shall be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, of the right of the applicant to a pension; and any person who shall falsely and corruptly take any oath required under this act shall be deemed guilty of perjury; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension-roll the name of any person whenever it shall be made to appear by proof satisfactory to him that such name was put upon such roll through false and fraudulent representations, and that such person is not en-

titled to a pension under this act. The loss of the certificate of discharge shall not deprive any person of the benefits of this act, but other evidence of service performed and of an honorable discharge may be deemed sufficient.

SEC. 4. That the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act, so far as they may be applicable thereto.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any attorney, claim agent, or any other person to demand or receive a fee greater than \$10 for services rendered in behalf of a claimant under this act, to be paid when such claim is allowed.

SEC. 6. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under this act.

SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while under the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The motion was agreed to, and the bill thus passed under suspension of the rules by 227 yeas to 46 nays, as follows:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Anderson, Atkinson, Bagley, Bullentine, Barbours, Barksdale, Beach, Belford, Bennett, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Breitburg, Broadhead, Buchanan, Buckner, Budd, Burnes, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, A. D. Candler, Cannon, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Connolly, Converse, J. C. Cook, Cosgrove, Corington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culberson, Cullen, Dargan, Davidson, G. R. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dorseimer, Dowd, Duncan, Dunn, Eaton, Eldridge, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, J. H. Evans, Fryrell, Fiedler, Finerty, Follett, Forney, Fyan, Graddes, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Guenther, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Humback, Hardeman, Hardy, Hart, H. H. Hatch, W. H. Hatch, Haynes, Hemphill, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Henley, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hitt, Hobbsell, Holman, Holmes, Hopkins, Houk, Houseman, C. Hunt, Hurd, Jeffords, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, King, Kleiner, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lanham, Le Ferré, E. T. Lewis, Lore, Lovering, Lourey, McAdoo, McCall, McComas, McCormick, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, Mayo, J. F. Miller, Milliken, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morey, Morgan, Morrison, Moulton, Muldron, Murphy, Murray, Mutchler, Neerer, Nelson, Nicholls, Nutting, Oates, J. J. O'Neill, D. B. Paige, Payson, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, B. J. Peelle, Peters, Pettibone, Post, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Randall, Rankin, Reagan, Reese, Robertson, J. S. Robinson, W. E. Robinson, J. H. Rogers, Rosecrans, Ryan, Scales, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Snyder, Spooner, Springer, Stephenson, Stevens, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, Talbot, J. D. Taylor, J. M. Taylor, Thomas, F. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tiltman, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Valentine, Van Alstyne, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, R. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Welchorn, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, M. White, Wilkins, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, Wolford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yaple, York, C. Young—227.

NAYS.—Messrs. Arnot, Bayne, Bingham, Bisbee, Boutelle, F. D. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Chace, Cutchon, Everhart, Harner, Hiscock, Holton, James, Kean, Kelley, Lawrence, Long, LYMAN, McKinley, Millard, S. H. Miller, Morse, C. O'Neill, Parker, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Ranney, G. W. Ray, O. Ray, Reed, Rockwell, Russell, C. R. Skinner, A. H. Smith, Steele, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Struble, E. B. Taylor, Wadsworth, Wait, A. J. Warner, Whiting—46.

The Democrats were now elated. They had passed through the House a pension bill whose sixth section aimed to repeal Ser. 4716 of the Revised Statutes, which is as follows:—

SEC. 4716. No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.

They began to hope to get their ex-Confederate friends on the coveted pension rolls.

**In the Senate—Amendments and votes—Republicans for the Union soldier, Democrats for the ex-Confederates.**

But in the Senate it was amended in such manner as to pension those Union soldiers of our own war who are or shall hereafter become disabled (and are also dependent upon their own labor for support) at a rate proportionate to the degree of disability, \$24 per month being given to those who are totally incapacitated to perform any manual labor, and that amount being made divisible upon that basis for any less degree of disability. It also increased the pensions of widows or minor children to \$12 per month, repealed the limit as to age of children in the case of widows who have minor children of unsound mind or are physically helpless; and added other clauses for the relief of dependent pensioners. The amendment, which comprehended six additional sections to the bill, of which the pith has just been given, was agreed to by 31 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

**YEAS—Messrs.** Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Bowen, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Cullom, Dawes, Dolph, Frye, Hale, Harrison, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, Mahone, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Pike, Platt, Plumb, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Wilson—31.

**NAYS—Messrs.** Bayard, Beck, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Fair, Farley, George, Gorman, Groome, Hampton, Jackson, Jones of Florida, Kenna, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Williams—27.

And if that solid Democratic vote against, and the solid Republican vote for the Union soldier of the war of the Rebellion does not show where parties stand in their deeds, not words, what can show it?

In contrast to this last vote, a vote in the Senate on a motion to strike from Sec. 6 of the House bill the words: "So far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under it," so that it would read:

"Sec. 6. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed."

was disagreed to by 28 yeas to 29 days, as follows:—

**YEAS—Messrs.** Bayard, Beck, Brown, Butler, Coke, Colquitt, Fair, Farley, Garland, George, Groome, Hampton, Jackson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Lamar, Mazy, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Walker, Williams—28.

**NAYS—Messrs.** Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Bowen, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Frye, Hale, Harrison, Hawley, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lapham, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Pike, Platt, Sawyer, Sherman, Wilson—29.

Thus the 30 voting Republicans, with one exception, opposed the repeal of that section

of the Revised Statutes which stands as a barrier against the pensioning of ex-Confederates, while the 27 voting Democrats voted to a man in favor of breaking down that barrier. And if this does not show the love which the Democrats still bear to the ex-Confederate cause and to those who fought for it, what can show it?

Upon the passage of the bill as amended, June 24, 1884, the vote was 37 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

**YEAS—Messrs.** Allison, Blair, Bowen, Butler, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Dawes, Dolph, Frye, George, Hale, Harrison, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lamar, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, Mahone, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Palmer, Pike, Platt, Plumb, Ransom, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Van Wyck, Wilson—37.

**NAYS—Messrs.** Bayard, Beck, Brown, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Edmunds, Fair, Farley, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Hawley, Jackson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Mazy, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Williams—27.

Or, in other words, while 4 Democrats voted for it, 25 Democrats voted against it; and while 2 Republicans voted against it, 33 Republicans—being a majority of all the votes cast—voted for it.

**The Amended Bill in the House again—**

**How the Democrats antagonized it and prevented any chance to concur in the Senate Amendments.**

The bill, as amended by the Senate, was returned to the House. There, on July 2, 1884,—five days before the adjournment—it was taken up, and the Democrats (mainly the Southern Democrats), under the leadership of the Democratic representative, Hewitt of Alabama, proceeded to filibuster. They undertook to temporarily defeat this Mexican War Pensions Bill and prevent concurrence in the Senate amendments by antagonizing it with the House bill (H. R. 3062) giving pensions to those who served in the Mexican, Creek, Seminole, and Black Hawk wars—which, as we have seen, in its sixth section, seeks to repeal section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, and thereby admit ex-Confederates to the pension-rolls—and 81 Democrats and 3 Independents joined him in the effort. On the following day, July 3, the same tactics were pursued, and 76 Democrats and 3 Independents again supported Hewitt of Alabama in antagonizing the Mexican Pensions Bill with the House bill (H. R. 3062) aforesaid. On July 5 the same tactics precisely were adopted, and 39 Democrats and 2 Independents joined in this filibustering to stave off the Mexican Pensions Bill—which was not again heard of.

Thus the Democrats are responsible for the then defeat of the Mexican War Pensions Bill, and proved that they had no more liking for our soldiers of the Mexican war—*unless they were also ex-Confederates*—than they have for our Union soldiers of the war of the Rebellion.

## PART IX.

**Democratic Love for the ex-Confederate Soldier—Jefferson Davis Complains in 1884 that he is Excluded from the Pension Rolls—Pensions to Union Soldiers only is "Offensive Favoritism"—Confederate Threats.**

A despatch in the *N. Y. Tribune* from Atlanta, Georgia, Aug. 27, 1884, after mentioning the fact that the Confederate soldiers of Monroe County had just finished a reunion at which memories of the war were freely interchanged, refers to the reading at that reunion of a letter from Jefferson Davis, in which the following language appears:

Though the States are again re-united, and all contribute to fill the treasury of the general Government, the funds collected are only appropriated to provide for the ex-soldiers of the Northern States. The Southern soldier, disabled in war, and the widows and orphans of those who died, can only hope for relief from a second tax which may be voluntarily paid by the people for whom they fought and who suffered with them. It is not the least of your meritorious manifestations that you meet this discrimination without complaint, and brace yourselves to bear this double burden with no ill-feeling to the Government for this OFFENSIVE FAVORITISM.

Just as much as in 1878 and 1879 do these Southern Democrats—and it is they who rule their party—love the Confederate soldier and hate the Union soldier, and wish that they could wipe out all the Republican pension and bounty legislation from the statute book. It should not be forgotten by the Union soldier that the Democratic Black-burn of Kentucky frankly and fearlessly let out the secret intentions of the Democracy in his speech in the House of Representatives April, 1879, when he said:

"It is this organization (the Democratic) that has come back to rule, and that means to rule;" and again: "For the first time in eighteen years past, the Democracy is back in power in both branches of this Legislature, and she proposes to signalize her return to power. She proposes to celebrate her recovery of her long-lost heritage by tearing off these degrading badges. . . . We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute book."

**Attempting to put rebels in the army and to pay pensions to Confederate soldiers.**

It was in referring to these threats that the Hon. Wm. McKinley of Ohio, April 18, 1884, said:

They have already entered upon their unholy work; they are engaged in it now. Only the other day, and while the Army bill was being considered, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Tucker], one of the able and distinguished men of this House, proposed an amendment repealing Section 1218 of the United States Statutes. What is the section the repeal of which he demands? Let me read it:

"No persons who have served in any capacity in the military, naval, or civil service of the so-called Confederate States, or of either of the States in insurrection during the late Rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the army of the United States."

The army list is to be opened and revised, so that men who served in the Confederate army, who for four years fought to destroy this Government, shall be placed upon that list as commissioned officers. Ay, more, the men who were in our army before the war

as commissioned officers, who were educated at the public expense, who took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and when the nation was threatened with danger resigned their commissions and forsook the flag, are to be eligible for re-appointment to that army again. Are we quite ready for this?

This is not all. On the 13th of February, 1878, the Chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions of the Forty-fifth Congress [Mr. Rice] reported to the House, with the sanction of a majority of that committee, a bill repealing Section 4716 of the United States Statutes. Let me read the section to be repealed:

"No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late Rebellion against the authority of the United States."

And the same bill contained the following affirmative legislation:

"SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and required to restore to the pension-roll the names of all invalid pensioners now living who were stricken therefrom on account of disloyalty, and pay them pensions from the twenty-fifth day of December, 1863, at the rate which they would have been entitled to had they not been dropped from the pension-roll."

These are some of the war measures which are to be "wiped out" from the statute book. These are some of the degrading badges which are to be torn off.

**The Democratic dog-in-the-manger spirit of 1884—Pensioning Union soldiers "offensive favoritism."**

The same spirit survived in their Congressional legislation and their prevention of legislation during 1884. Look back at the record, and it will be only verified. The Democrats said, by their attempted legislation to admit Confederates to the pension rolls, that the "discrimination," as *Jeff. Davis* has since said, *in behalf of the Union soldier* is "OFFENSIVE FAVORITISM." And by their Congressional filibustering to defeat the Mexican War Pensions bill they virtually said, if ex-Confederates who were in that war could not be placed on a Mexican war pension list, then nobody else should. Thus they reduced themselves to a dog-in-the-manger policy at the last. The entire point of the Democratic side of the fight was to repeal the following section of the Revised Statutes:

SEC. 4716. No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late Rebellion against the authority of the United States.

And, failing to repeal it, the Democrats would not let any measure in behalf of Union or Mexican war soldiers through.

## PART X.

**Legislation of 1887 pensioning Dependent and Disabled Soldiers—President Cleveland vetoes the Bill—General Bragg's Attack upon Union Soldiers—McKinley's Defence of them—The Vote sustaining the Veto.**

House Bill No. 10457. "for the relief of dependent parents and honorably discharged soldiers, who are now disabled and depend-

ent upon their own labor for support," was by Mr. Matson, on instructions from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, presented to and passed the House of Representatives under a suspension of the rules, Jan. 17, 1887, by a vote of 180 yeas to 70 nays—62 members absent, paired, and not voting—two-thirds voting in favor thereof.

On Jan. 22, 1887, this bill passed the United States Senate without a dissenting vote.

#### President Cleveland's veto.

Congress had completed its labors upon this important pension measure when it was referred, in the usual course of business, to President Grover Cleveland for his consideration and signature; but instead of giving it his approval, as the country had a right to expect—and as he had done less than a fortnight before in the case of the Mexican Pension Bill, which was for service without disability—he saw proper to veto it on Feb. 11, '87, upon the following grounds: That it was "the first general bill sanctioned by Congress since the close of the war, granting pensions to Union soldiers and sailors because of service and present disability, without evidence of any injuries received while performing such service, and, further, because the demand for the reduction of the burdens of taxation upon our labor and production has increased in volume and urgency."

The President did not stop to ask himself the question, and probably, under his advocacy of free trade, did not care to know, where our labor and production would stand to-day had it not been for the valor and patriotism of the very men whom this pension bill was intended to benefit.

#### Bragg's attack upon the defenders of the Union.

On Feb. 24, 1887, the bill was taken up by the House of Representatives with a view to passing it over the veto of the President. During the discussion that arose on the soldiers' claim for the passage of the bill, General Edward S. Bragg, a Democratic member of Congress from Wisconsin, and the only Northern man who voted against the original passage of the bill, took occasion to unburden his pent-up feelings in the following manner:

Who were the majority of those men that found themselves in the service of the United States from December, 1864, to February, 1865, that Congress should sit up nights to pass pensions to provide for them? They were the scum of the earth. . . . These men (referring to Union soldiers) that go to the poor-house are native there; they are drones; they have lived from hand to mouth; they have got no enterprise; they have got no self-respect; they have got no character. They lie down and open their mouths for a teat to suck, and it does not make much matter what animal has the teat so long as they can suck any thing from it. . . . Yes, I believe him; and, whether I believe him or not, Uncle Sam has plenty of money, and we (the soldiers) may just as well put our hands into the Treasury as have some other scoundrel and thief do it.—*Congressional Record*, Feb. 27, 1887.

#### McKinley defends the Union soldier.

Mr. McKinley, the Republican member from Ohio, gave the following answer to Mr.

Bragg's uncalled-for assault upon the Union soldier:

Mr. Speaker, if I believed, as the gentleman from Wisconsin believes, that the beneficiaries under this bill were "good-for-nothing shirks," "scoundrels," and "vagabonds," I should not vote for the passage of this bill against the veto of the President, nor should I have voted for it when it first came to the House; but I do not believe with the gentleman from Wisconsin that the beneficiaries of this bill are either shirks or vagabonds or good-for-nothing scoundrels. I do believe that there are thousands scattered all over this country who fought as bravely as the gentleman from Wisconsin fought, although they are not here to tell of their heroic deeds, their lofty courage and glory. . . . The larger the class thus dependent and totally disabled, it only appeals the stronger to our patriotic feeling and duty, and makes greater and more commanding the necessity for this measure, and the greater the disgrace and inhumanity to withhold it.—*Congressional Record*, Feb. 27, 1887.

The vote in the House to pass the bill over the President's veto was: yeas, 175; nays, 125; not voting, 18. Voting for passage of the bill were 140 Republicans and 35 Democrats; voting against the passage of the bill were 125 Democrats and not one Republican. The vote in detail, by political parties, was:

**YEAS (Republicans).—**George A. Adams, Charles H. Allen, Jno. H. Anderson, Atkinson, Baker, Bayne, Bingham, Bound, Boutelle, Brady, Thomas A. Browne, Charles E. Brown, William H. Brown, Brunson, Buck, Bunnell, Burleigh, Burrows, Butterworth, Jacob M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Conger, Cooper, Cutcheon, Davenport, Davis, Dingley, Dorsey, Dunham, Ely, Evans, Everhart, Farquhar, Felton, Floepper, Fuller, Funston, Gallinger, Gilfillen, Goff, Grosvenor, Grout, Guenther, Hanback, Harmer, Hayden, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Hermann, Helstead, Hires, Hiseock, Hitt, Holmes, Hopkins, Honk, Jackson, James, F. A. Johnson, J. T. Johnston, Kelly, Ketcham, La Follette, Laird, Lehibach, Libbey, Lindsley, Little, Long, Lottill, Lyman, Markham, Negley, Nelson, O'Donnell, O'Hara, Charles O'Neill, Jno. J. O'Neill, Osborne, Owen, Parker, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Pettibone, Phelps, Plindar, Plumb, Price, Ranney, Rice, Rockwell, Romeis, Rowell, Ryan, Sawyer, Scranton, Sessions, Smalls, Spooner, Steel, Stephenson, Jno. W. Stewart, E. F. Stone, Straut, Struble, Swinburne, Symes, Taulbee, E. B. Taylor, I. H. Taylor, Zach Taylor, Jno. R. Thomas, Thompson, Van Schaack, Wade, Wadsworth, Walt, Wakefield, William Warner, A. J. Weaver, Weber, West, A. C. White, Milo White, Whiting, Woodburn.

**YEAS (Democrats).—**Bliss, Bynum, James E. Campbell, Carlton, Eldridge, Ford, Frederick, Geddes, Hale, Holman, Howard, Kietner, Landes, Lawler, Le Fevre, Lore, Lovering, Mahoney, Matson, Maybury, Neece, Randall, Riggs, Seney, Springs, Swope, Tarnney, Tonenshend, James H. Ward, J. B. Weaver, Wilkins, Wolford.

**NAYS (Democrats).—**Jno. J. Adams, Jno. M. Allen, Bacon, Ballentine, Barbour, Barkdale, Barnes, Barry, Belmont, Bennett, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Boyle, Bragg, C. R. Breckenridge, W. C. P. Breckenridge, Burns, Cabell, Caldwell, Felix Campbell, Timothy J. Campbell, Catchings, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Compton, Comstock, Coules, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crain, Crisp, Culbertson, Curtin, Daniel, Dargen, A. C. Davidson, R. H. M. Davidson, Dawson, Dibble, Dockery, Docherty, Dunn, Eden, Ermentrout, Findlay, Fisher, Forney, Gay, C. H. Gibson, E. Gibson, Glass, Greep, Hall, Halsell, Hammond, Harris, Hatch, Herd, Hemphill, J. S. Henderson, Herbert, Hill, Hudd, Hutson, Irion, J. D. Johnston, J. H. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Laffoon, Lanhum, Martin, McAdoo, McCreary, McMillan, McRae, Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrison, Muller, Neal, Norwood, Oates, O'Farrell, Outhwaite, Peel, Perry, Reagan, Reese, Richardson, Robertson, Rogers, Sayers, Scott, Seymour, Shaw, Singleton, Skinner, Snyder, Snowden, Springer, Stahlnecker, C. Stewart, St. Martin, Stone of Kentucky, Stone of Missouri, Storm, Jno. M. Taylor, Tillman, Trigg, Tucker, Turner, Van Eaton, Viele, T. B.



*Ward, A. J. Warner, Wellborne, Wheeler, Willis, Wilson, Wise.*

**NAYS** (Republican) — None.

**NOT VOTING** (Democrats) — *Atken, Candler, Clardy, Croston, Ellsberry, Foran, Glover, Henley, Lavery, Pidcock, Rusk, Sadler, Throckmorton, Wallace, Winans.*

**NOT VOTING** (Republicans) — *C. M. Anderson, Buchanan, Reed.*

General Bragg of Wisconsin, the only Northern man who voted against this bill on its passage by the House, having been defeated in his Congressional District for a re-nomination, turned squarely about from being an anti-administration man and became a rabid Cleveland supporter. He is now Minister to Mexico.

## PART XI.

### Comparison of Private Pension Bills approved and vetoed by Presidents Grant, Hayes, Arthur, and Cleveland — Extracts from President Cleveland's Veto Messages.

The following table shows the number of private pension bills passed by Congress, and the action taken thereon by the several Presidents of the United States, from March 4, 1869, to latter end of August, 1888:

PRESIDENTS.	Bills passed by Congress.	Approved.	Disapproved.
Grant, 8 years .....	583	575	8
Hayes, 4 years .....	307	307	-
Arthur, 3 years and 8 months .....	736	736	-
Cleveland, 3 years and 6 months .....	1,084	668	416

Five bills were vetoed by President Grant because the beneficiaries had been pensioner under the general pension laws. The other three vetoes of pension bills by President Grant were on the ground that the records of the War Department showed the beneficiaries to have been deserters.

The test of a President's friendliness towards pension legislation is not on how many bills he approves. The test is on his reverse action. The language used by President Cleveland in his veto message, of private pension bills has been undignified, unbecoming, and uncalled for. The general course of treatment of President Cleveland towards pension bills sent to him has been unfriendly.

#### Brief extracts from some of the veto messages.

Following are a few brief extracts from President Cleveland's multifarious vetoes of private pension bills:

I cannot spell out any principle upon which the bounty of the Government is bestowed through the instrumentality of the flood of private pension bills that reach me. The theory seems to have been adopted that no man who served in the army can be the subject of death or impaired health except they are chargeable to his service. . . . If such speculations and presumptions as this are to be indulged, we shall find ourselves surrounded and hedged in by the rule

that all men entering an army were free from disease or the liability to disease before their enlistment, and every infirmity which is visited upon them thereafter is the consequence of army service. . . .

In the veto of the bill passed for John W. Ferris, June, 1880, he uses the following language:

The ingenuity developed in the constant and persistent attacks upon the public Treasurer by those claiming pensions, and in the increase of those already granted, is exhibited in bold relief by this attempt to include sore eyes among the results of diarrhoea.

Again, in the case of John W. Luce, June, 1880:

It is alleged that the examinations made by the Pension Bureau developed the fact that the deceased soldier was a man of quite intemperate habits. June, 1886.

In his veto in the case of Alfred Denny, June, 1880, who swore that he was injured by being thrown forward on the pommel of his saddle, the President becomes facetious and says:

The number of instances in which those of our soldiers who rode horses during the war were injured by being thrown forward on their saddles indicates that those saddles were very dangerous contrivances.

The innuendo clearly points to the charge that many claimants of that kind were perjured. In the case of Edward Ayers, May, 1880, the President in his veto says:

It is reported to me by a report from the Pension Bureau that after the alleged wound, and in May or June, 1863, the claimant deserted and was arrested in the State of Indiana, and returned to duty without trial.

Here the President fastens on the ex-soldier a stain and a crime the penalty of which would have been death, on the authority of a mere report.

In the case of David W. Hamilton, May, 1880, he says:

If he had filed his application earlier it would have appeared in better faith, and it may be that he would have secured the evidence of his family physician if it was of the character he described.

His delay in filing his claim, in the mind of the President, seems conclusive proof of perjury.

Every soldier who has served in the army will realize the injustice of the charge as made by the President. Many poor soldiers, from pride, have been restrained for years from presenting their just claims for a pension.

The wit and humor of the President rise again to the surface in his veto of the bill of Andrew I. Wilson, in June, 1886:

Whatever else may be said of this claimant's achievements during his short military career, it must be conceded that he accumulated a great deal of disability.

Other cases might be multiplied in his numerous vetoes, but it is unnecessary to make more public his charges against soldiers of drunkenness and loathsome diseases.

It should not be forgotten that in all his vetoes of private pension bills he virtually accuses every claimant and many witnesses with wilful perjury, and the reports upon which he promulgates his libelous charges are founded on one-sided reports and rumors. If he were not shielded by his Presidential mantle, actions for libel could be successfully brought against him on many of his vetoes.

It should be remembered that he judges the claimant from his standpoint, and not by the testimony of the claimant and his witnesses under oath, backed by the full indorsement of the Senate and House of Representatives. Surely in such cases the power and cruelty of the one man is very great.

## PART XII.

### Tabulated Statement of Votes by both Parties on Pension Bills, from the Forty-Fifth Congress down.

It is admitted by all who value their reputation for fair-mindedness and veracity that, down to March 4, 1875, when the Democratic party returned to power in the House, the credit of all pension legislation which existed belonged to the Republican party.

It is true that, up to 1874, when the Revised Statutes were compiled, there was not a word in the law, not a section nor a statute, relating to the subject of pensions, that had not been put there by the Republican party; and there is not now a single section that has been placed there except by their action. Every important item of pension legislation since that date was either a Republican measure, or owed its enactment to Republican votes.

In order that these significant votes may be more readily referred to, they are appended in tabulated form.

Tabulated statement of votes on pension bills.

NAME OF BILL.	Democrats for.	Democrats against.	Republicans for.	Republicans against.
Repeal of arrears limitation, Forty-sixth Congress.....	48	61	116	0
Mexican pension bill, with Senate amendments, Forty-eighth Congress, first session.....	30	84	87	0
Mexican pension bill, with Senate amendments, Forty-eighth Congress, second session.....	57	84	72	1
Widows' increase, Forty-ninth Congress.....	80	66	118	0
"Senate bill, 1886," Forty-ninth Congress (never reported back in the House).....	7	14	27	0
Dependent pension bill, Forty-ninth Congress.....	66	76	114	0
Dependent pension bill, Forty-ninth Congress (to pass over President's veto).....	37	125	138	0
On all the bills (aggregate).....	334	510	672	1

This tabulation shows that not one of all those bills could have passed upon the Democratic vote. It is the barbed spear, on pension bills, that will impale the Democratic party.

It will be noted, first, that only in one case (that of the widows' increase bill) were there more Democrats who voted for than against any bill; second, that in all these votes there was but one Republican vote

against one of them, and that was from the State of Florida. This table, taken from the official record, ought to settle now and forever the attitude of the Democratic party toward pension legislation.

## PART XIII.

### General Hovey's Arraignment of the Democratic Party, in 1888, for its opposition to all Pension Legislation.

In his speech in the House, Aug. 2, 1888, Representative Hovey of Indiana, in reply to a printed speech of Representative Watson, — both now rival candidates for Governor of Indiana, — who labored to show that "the Democratic party is, and has been, the true friend of the ex-soldiers of the United States," said:

MR. HOVEY. The Representative on this floor who does not know that the Republican party in this House this session has earnestly labored from the first day to the present hour to procure the consideration of pension legislation, and that the Democratic party here has as earnestly and persistently labored to prevent it, is an imbecile who should be sent to some asylum for safe-keeping.

There can not be found an intelligent man who has watched the proceedings of this House who does not fully understand the motives and attitude of the respective parties on this subject, and that the Democratic party, from the President down to his lowest follower, is strongly opposed to all pension legislation.

In my first speech in this House on the 20th of April, I said:

"On the 4th of January last I offered a service-pension bill, No. 1320, granting a pension of \$8 per month for life to every honorably discharged officer, soldier, or sailor who had served in the Army of the United States not less than sixty days between March 4, 1861, and July 1, 1865. This bill was the same day referred to the Invalid Pensions Committee. On the same day I offered bill No. 1319, granting a bounty of 160 acres of land to every officer, soldier, and sailor engaged in the military or naval service of the United States during the late rebellion of the so-called Confederate States. On the 18th of January last I offered a bill No. 5052, 'to equalize the payment and do justice to the officers, soldiers, and sailors of the United States in the late rebellion who were paid in currency commonly called greenbacks,' which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

"I had hoped that at least one of these bills might possibly meet with the favor of one of these omnipotent committees, and be reported to this House for fair discussion, so that a vote on the ayes and noes might be taken; but, like many other bills which have been introduced for the relief of the ex-soldiers of the late rebellion, neither of them has been reported; and they, too, have been smothered or filed in the unremembered pigeon-holes of the committee-rooms. Our ex-soldiers and sailors seem to be forgotten. Even the President in his message made no allusion to them, their services, or their sufferings, and his henchmen and partisans are following silently and closely in his footsteps.

"The Committee on Invalid Pensions is composed of nine Democrats and six Republicans; the Committee on Public Lands, nine Democrats and five Republicans; and the Committee on Military Affairs, eight Democrats and six Republicans, so that the Democrats of those committees have the power to report to this House any bill referred to them, or they can crush, by refusing to report, every bill offered in favor of the ex-soldier. The responsibility is theirs; and I assure them that they will be well remembered hereafter by the men whose rights they have so unfeelingly ignored.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the committees to whom these important bills have been referred dare not bring one of them before this House for

fair discussion and action. The people who do not understand the gag rules of this House are watching with wonder and blaming their Representatives for not forcing a vote on the most important questions of the day."

It must not be forgotten that my colleague, the honorable and gallant Col. Matson, is the chairman of the Invalid Pensions Committee; my much esteemed and ancient friend, Mr. Holman, chairman of the committee on Public Lands; and my colleague, Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, whose district joins mine across the Wabash River, is chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs.

If I am correctly informed, no report has been made by the said committee on either of my bills; and hence, under the rules of this House, it is impossible to press either of them for further legislative action.

With over one hundred and ninety bills in favor of the rights of ex-soldiers, referred to said committee, no day or days have as yet been set apart for their consideration.

Hundreds of thousands of soldiers at this and former sessions have petitioned for redress and relief in vain. Their petitions now are never read in the session of the House, but are buried in the box at the feet of the Speaker, and are then sent silently to the archives of the nation.

Verily, that great and grand old right of petition has lost its ancient force and grandeur. Its denial once by George III. was assigned in the Declaration of American Independence as one of the causes which led to the liberty of this country. May its virtual suppression here fail to lose that which it formerly helped to gain!

That there has been a studied and systematic course of opposition pursued by my colleagues on the other side of this House against all general pension legislation cannot be honestly denied by any member.

To show how this denial has been systematically pursued I will present a few facts that cannot be controverted.

My colleague, Mr. Johnston of Indiana, in his speech in this House on the 10th of July, shows what efforts he has made to have days assigned and set apart for such legislation. He says:

"On the twenty-first day of May last I offered the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas the Committee on Invalid Pensions of this House has reported House bill No. 9981, by Report No. 2120, entitled "A bill relating to the arrears of pensions," with recommendation that it do pass; and

"Whereas said committee in said report estimate that said bill, if passed, will cause the expenditure of \$25,000,000; and

"Whereas all political parties profess to be in favor of granting to the Union soldiers of 1861 to 1865 liberal pensions for service rendered; and

"Whereas on the nineteenth day of January last, House bill No. 3345, granting a pension to all such soldiers, was referred to said committee; and

"Whereas it is important that said several propositions should be disposed of before any bill is passed materially reducing the revenues of the country: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Invalid Pensions be discharged from the further consideration of said House bill No. 3345, and that said bill, and said bill No. 9961, reported by said committee, be made a special order for Friday, the twenty-fifth day of May, and that the consideration thereof shall continue from day to day until they are disposed of."

"This resolution, asking that these bills should be considered, was, by the ruling of the Speaker, sent to the Committee on Rules; and, strange to say, since the introduction of that resolution there has never been a report from that committee, although Mr. Cannon of Illinois, representing the minority of the committee, stated publicly upon this floor that the Republicans composing the minority had gone to the Speaker, who is *ex-officio* chairman thereof, and requested that the committee be called together for the purpose of taking action thereon, and further stating that there had been no meeting of the committee.

"Fearing that the Speaker, in the multiplicity of duties that are crowding upon him, had overlooked the matter, I again, on the ninth day of June, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That Wednesday, the thirteenth day of June, after the morning hour, be set apart for the consideration of House bill No. 9961, granting arrears of pensions and providing for the payment thereof; and

that the consideration thereof shall be continued from day to day until the same is disposed of"—which also went to the Committee on Rules, and which has suffered the like fate of its predecessor."

The *Congressional Record* will show other efforts in the same direction without success.

In May last the Republican members of the House, becoming dissatisfied with the many evasions and long delays in regard to pension legislation, signed a request or petition and delivered it to the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker, Mr. Carlisle, is chairman.

*To the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives:*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned members of the House of Representatives, feeling the great need of prompt legislation for the relief of Union veterans and their dependent ones, respectfully urge your committee to set apart, at as early a day as possible, three or four days for the consideration of general pension legislation.

J. C. Burrows, D. B. Henderson, E. H. Funston, George W. Steele, William Cogswell, James O'Donnell, E. B. Taylor, Jacob Romeis, George W. Crouse, Nils P. Haugen, Henry W. Seymour, J. Lyman, J. J. Belden, William Warner, M. M. Boothman, Nelson Dingley, Jr., Francis W. Rockwell, H. J. Spooner, H. F. Finley, William W. Grout, J. H. Ketcham, Smedley Darlington, John Lind, M. S. Brewer, Oscar L. Jackson, Robert M. Yardley, C. P. Wickham, John A. Hiestand, A. R. Anderson, G. E. Bowden, Louis E. Atkinson, Franklin Bound, O. B. Thomas, E. S. Osborne, Edward Scull, J. B. Cheadle, Thomas Ryan, J. T. Maffett, Knute Nelson, Thomas S. Flood, Th. H. Bayley Browne, A. J. Hopkins, Blinger Hermann, William E. Mason, William McKinley, Jr., C. H. Grosvenor, John G. Sawyer, Charles E. Brown, B. W. Perkins, J. H. Rowell, John M. Farquhar, Daniel Kerr, Charles S. Baker, Thomas M. Bayne, John B. Weber, W. G. Hunter, George M. Thomas, L. B. Caswell, J. G. Cannon, R. R. Hitt, John Dalzell, John Kean, Jr., W. H. Wade, J. T. Johnston, E. N. Morrill, J. H. Gallinger, C. A. Boutelle, John D. Long, E. M. La Follette, H. C. Lodge, William W. Morrow, Henry H. Bingham, L. E. Payson, A. C. Thompson, Benjamin Butterworth, Richard Gaenther, Robert P. Kennedy, George Hires, John Nichols, F. C. Bunnell, George West, Jehu Baker, E. H. Conger, J. W. Stewart, W. D. Owen, W. G. Laidlaw, P. S. Post, John H. Gear, Charles N. Brumm, O. S. Gifford, Alvin P. Hovey, William D. Kelley, Wemy McCulloch, E. P. Allen, E. M. Cutcheon, William E. Fuller, S. L. Milliken, J. P. Pugsley, A. X. Parker, John A. Anderson, George E. Adams, William Vandever, Albert P. Fitch, S. V. White, A. J. Holmes, John Patton, J. McKenna, Charles H. Allen, Thomas J. Henderson, H. C. McCormick, W. A. Gest, S. R. Peters, G. G. Symes, N. Hoff, E. S. Williams, David Wilber, J. Laird, Charles A. Russell, J. Yost, W. O. Arnold, Joseph D. Taylor, George W. E. Dorsey, Thomas M. Browne, Ralph Plumb, Charles O'Neill, I. S. Struble, J. S. Sherman, L. C. Houk, N. Felton, Stephen T. Hopkins, E. J. Turner, N. W. Nutting, William Walter Phelps.

And now, Mr. Chairman, we are here on the 2d day of August with all our requests ignored and unheeded, and the petitions and prayers of thousands of ex-soldiers unread and disregarded. The history of legislation presents no parallel to this outrage upon the rights of the people.

Need I ask why these ex-soldiers are refused a hearing? Need I ask who refuses them? The Democratic side of this House dare not vote upon the bills which I have presented, for they know it would be the political death-knell of every Northern Democrat who should vote against either of them. They know the Presidential election in November is close at hand, and that they are in danger of the veto of either the President or their constituents.

Do you ask for still stronger proof that the Democracy as a party are still opposed to the ex-soldiers as the majority of them were from 1861 to 1865? You have the answer in the President's message, and the provisions of the Mills tariff bill which they have lately passed in this House by a majority of 13.

Does not every ex-soldier know that if that bill becomes a law, it must necessarily destroy all hopes of

future pensions? There would be no surplus nor revenue to pay the soldier.

Mr. HOVEY. Mr. Chairman, it is not important to me what the past legislation of this House has been. I stand here for my constituency; I demand justice for the soldiers who fought beside me, and I want them to have the same rights their fathers had. What rights had their fathers in regard to public lands? Why, sir, down to the war of 1861, every soldier who had served one day in battle, or fourteen days in the army of the United States, was entitled to 160 acres of land. My colleague [Mr. Holman] says we have no land; we have an area of public land more than thirty-five times as large as the State of Indiana.

Mr. HOLMAN. I did not say we had no land. I said we had only 75,000,000 acres available for agriculture, without irrigation.

Mr. HOVEY. If you will not give the soldiers bread, give them at least the stones; give them your rocks and your mountains. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I wish to append to my remarks a table in regard to the extent of our public domain.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
GENERAL LAND OFFICE,

Washington, D.C., April 13, 1888.

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, relative to certain statistics relating to the public lands, and in reply thereto herewith enclose a table showing the estimated area of the public domain disposed of, and the estimated area remaining to June 30, 1887.

Under date of April 9, I transmitted you a statement giving the area of the public lands surveyed and the estimated area unsurveyed to June 30, 1887.

Very respectfully,

S. M. STOCKSLAGER,  
Commissioner.

Hon. A. P. HOVEY,  
House of Representatives.

Statement showing the area of land in each State and Territory, with the area surveyed and unsurveyed, to June 30, 1887.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Area of States and Territories.	Surveyed up to June 30, 1887.	Area remaining unsurveyed on June 30, 1887.
	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Ohio.....	25,581,976	25,581,976	.....
Louisiana.....	28,731,090	27,067,762	1,663,328
Indiana.....	21,637,760	21,637,760	.....
Mississippi.....	30,179,840	30,179,840	.....
Illinois.....	86,465,093	35,465,093	.....
Alabama.....	32,462,115	32,462,115	.....
Missouri.....	41,836,931	41,836,931	.....
Arkansas.....	33,410,063	33,410,063	.....
Michigan.....	36,128,640	36,128,640	.....
Florida.....	37,931,520	30,704,518	7,227,002
Iowa.....	35,228,800	35,228,800	.....
Wisconsin.....	34,511,360	34,511,360	.....
California.....	100,992,640	71,988,476	29,004,164
Minnesota.....	53,456,840	42,316,088	11,140,752
Oregon.....	60,975,360	39,867,995	21,107,365
Kansas.....	51,776,240	51,776,240	.....
Nevada.....	71,737,600	32,793,792	38,943,808
Nebraska.....	47,077,359	46,989,039	88,320
Colorado.....	66,880,000	58,184,750	8,695,250
Wyoming.....	62,645,120	47,093,498	15,551,622
New Mexico.....	77,568,640	46,580,485	30,988,155
Utah.....	54,064,640	13,078,172	40,986,468
Washington.....	44,796,160	21,281,692	23,514,538
Dakota.....	96,506,480	47,865,183	48,731,327
Arizona.....	72,006,240	13,804,538	58,101,702
Idaho.....	55,228,160	10,350,554	44,877,606
Montana.....	92,016,840	18,540,335	73,476,505
Alaska.....	369,629,600	.....	369,629,600
Public Land Strip,	3,672,640	.....	3,672,640
Total.....	1,775,028,547	946,725,505	828,303,042

DIVISION OF ACCOUNTS,  
GENERAL LAND OFFICE, April 9, 1888.

## PART XIV.

### The Increase of Pension Certificates — To what Measures and what Party is it Attributable?

The great increase of pension certificates in the last three years over the number issued in the previous three years, it appears, numbers 168,231. Where does that excess come from? The excess arises from the act of March 9, 1886, increasing pensions of orphans, widows, and dependents; from the act of Aug. 4, 1886, increasing pensions to crippled soldiers or amputation cases; and the act of Jan. 29, 1887, known as the Mexican Pension Bill, and also the act of June 7, 1888, giving arrears to widows.

Under these first three acts there have been issued 133,364 new and additional certificates. Of these, 112,660 were under the two acts first named. This was merely the mechanical operation of withdrawing the old and issuing the new certificates — the old certificate being the only proof required. Who is entitled to the credit of these three acts? To whom is due the legislation which produced the increase? The Republican party is entitled to the credit of the passage of every pension law. They are entitled to the credit of the pension legislation by virtue of which this increase of pension certificates has occurred.

The act approved March 19, 1886, granting an increase of pensions to widows, minors, and dependants was passed under a suspension of the rules on Feb. 1, 1887. Eighty Democrats voted for and 66 Democrats against the bill, and as two-thirds was required, under the rules, to pass the measure, had it been decided by the Democratic vote alone it would have been defeated. One hundred and eighteen (118) Republicans voted for the bill, and not one single Republican voted against it. The Republican party, in the House of Representatives, passed that law, and it could not have been passed except by the Republican vote.

The credit for the "widows' increase pension bill," and for the 102,586 certificates issued under it, is due to the Republican party.

The act approved Aug. 4, 1886, increasing the pension of men who lost an arm or a leg (House bill 2056), passed the House of Representatives without division. It went to the Senate and was there amended and the rates increased, was returned to the House, and on June 28, 1886, Mr. Cutcheon, a Republican member from Michigan, asked consideration of the bill by unanimous consent, when Mr. Morrison, a Democratic member from Illinois, objected, and it was not then considered, but later on, Aug. 2, 1886, under a motion to suspend the rules, it was taken up and passed by the following vote:

Yeas, 166; nays, 51; divided as follows: Democrats voting for the bill, 75; Democrats voting against the bill, 51; Republicans voting for the bill, 91; Republicans against the bill, not one. And so, as it re-

quired a two-thirds vote, it was passed by Republican votes. Had it been left to the Democratic vote, under the suspension of the rules, the bill would have been defeated by more than twenty-five. Under the bill there has been issued additional certificates to the number of 10,092; and this issue of certificates is due to the credit of the Republican party.

The Mexican Pension Bill, as it became a law, was strictly a Senate bill and a Republican measure, altogether different in character from the Democratic measure that originally passed the House. Under that law there has been issued 21,704 additional certificates up to the date of the report of the Commissioner of Pensions.

That gives, under these three acts, 133,364 additional certificates out of the 168,000 additional certificates which are claimed should be credited to the Democratic party, but which of right are due to the credit of the Republican party.

The "Widows' Arrears Act," passed at the present session of Congress and approved June 7, 1888, was a measure to date the pensions of widows back to the date of death of (the soldiers) their husbands. The chairman of the House sub-committee in charge of the bill, Mr. Foran, a Democratic member from Ohio, raised a point of order against the amendment. The point of order was overruled and the amendment adopted. The bill with the amendment went to the Senate, and there a motion was made by a Democratic Senator, Mr. Cockrell of Missouri, to strike out the words "which have been, or," intending thereby to cut off all widows whose pensions were allowed from July 1, 1880, up to the present date, amounting to about 10,000. A division was had, and the vote was as follows: For striking out, Democrats, 20; against striking out, 23: 23 of the latter being Republicans and 1 Democrat.

So ten thousand widows can thank the Republican party for their arrears.

This pension legislation accounts for the vast increase in pension certificates. With the aid of these new laws and of the additional and efficiently trained clerical force, the present Democratic Commissioner of Pensions ought to have turned out at least 150,000 more pension certificates than has been done; but probably his time, and that of some of his subordinates, has been too much occupied in getting up Democratic campaign literature, in accordance with President Cleveland's Picksniffian notions of "civil service" and "offensive partisanship."

## PART XV.

**Senator Vest's venomous Speech in the Senate, Feb. 29, 1888, showing the Southern Democratic hatred still burns.**

In the U. S. Senate, Feb. 29, 1888 [see *Congl. Record*], Senator Vest of Missouri, in

speaking to an amendment to the Senate Bill (S. 181) "granting pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to dependent relatives of deceased soldiers and sailors," known as the Dependent Pension Bill, said:

MR. VEST. I wish to say a word in regard to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa. Is it possible that the Senate of the United States are to be asked to pension any man who is suffering from the infirmities of age? I do not think there can be a man in favor of such a proposition. I think I am perfectly competent to support myself, and not be dependent on anybody else; and yet I know that I am suffering from the infirmities of age. Is it possible that the Commissioner of Pensions is to decide what are the infirmities of age? I believe that physiologists inform us that the result of six thousand years of experience is that every man over fifty years of age commences to go down hill, and he goes very rapidly. *Facilis est descendus Aeterni*. This amounts to a simple declaration that every man over fifty is to be embraced within this pension bill. Who is to determine what are the infirmities of age? It seems to me that this amendment ought not to be adopted, although I am "a mere looker-on here in Venice," and possibly have no right to say any thing in regard to it.

We have heard a good deal upon the floor about almshouses and Federal soldiers. I do not know how it is in the rest of the Union, but in the State of Missouri there are no Federal soldiers in almshouses, and I am proud to say that there are no Confederate soldiers in almshouses either.

When General Lee surrendered at Appomattox there were but eight thousand muskets left of that splendid army which had fought the world in arms, and had been battered and beaten back by overwhelming numbers for four long years. Out of companies that went into that terrible strife of one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and eighty men, but ten or twelve returned back to their kindred and homes. The South to-day is filled with maimed and crippled soldiers, who, amid shot and shell and sabre-stroke, fought for their honest convictions as men have seldom fought before. They ask no pensions. God be thanked, they would not take them. They are not in almshouses; and no man has ever seen one of them begging for bread.

Whence comes this talk of Federal soldiers in almshouses? They are not there. I am tired and sick of being forced into this procession of robbery and pretence and hypocrisy in the name of the true and gallant soldiers of the Union. I have personal friends among them. I have said before, and I repeat here to-day, that I will give to the disabled or dependent soldiers of the Federal Army, their widows and orphans, the last acre of land and the last dollar of money that belongs to this country, and I would have done the same to the soldiers of the Confederacy if God had blessed our cause.

We hear this talk that we have not done enough for the soldiers. We have spent since the close of the war, \$883,400,000 in pensions, a sum unparalleled in the history of the whole world. We passed laws that preferred them to appointments for office above their fellow-citizens, and to-day we are told that we owe them a debt of eternal gratitude because they did not seize with mailed hand the Government of this country, and convert it to their own purposes.

The great military and political organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, throws its iron glove into the debates of Congress, and sends to us bills through its accredited Senators; and when the President of the United States honestly and bravely discharged his executive duty and vetoed an enactment which he considered improper, he was threatened by the officers of this organization with personal insult if he dared to make his presence known in the city where it held its last meeting.

There is a limit to human endurance. I have stood here and voted for these bills, coerced by my own position, because I have been a Confederate, although I knew I was as honestly anxious for the glory, welfare, and advancement of this country as any one could possibly be. The Senator tells me now I voted for

enactments similar to that in this bill. Yes, Mr. President, I voted for them because I wanted to evidence to the whole world that the men with whom I acted in that unfortunate strife were honest and magnanimous; that we respected the brave and gallant soldiers of the Union, and were willing to give them even more than they demanded.

But there is a limit to human patience on this subject, and I have reached it. I will be driven no further by claim-agents and pretenders in the garb of soldiers. To the honest and brave and real soldiers of the Union Army I am willing to vote any amount of pension; but I do not believe they are here asking for additional largess from the Government.

In this city are a corps of men engaged in inventing legislation to take more money out of the Federal Treasury. Here is the report of the Commissioner of Pensions showing that in 1879, when we passed the Arrears of Pension Act, there were some 38,835 applications for invalid pensions. We passed that act, and in 1880 the applications jumped to 110,873. The war had closed in 1865; fifteen years had elapsed. Where were these 30,000 and more invalids who were entitled to pensions from this Government through all those fifteen years? They did not know that they needed the money; they did not know that they had been disabled; but the claim-agents invented a law, and when Congress put a limitation upon the time for applying, the number of applicants jumped in one single year, by the record, from 39,000 to 110,000, and the amount of disbursements from \$30,000,000 to \$57,000,000.

The pension-rolls show that out of 2,300,000 men enrolled in the Federal Army, 800,000 were disabled by disease or by shot and shell. Nearly 50 per cent of all the men enrolled in the Federal Army, according to the pension reports, are now applicants for pensions, or have been. Such mortality and such military execution have never been known in the history of the whole world. The Confederates were not properly equipped. We deprecated the quality of our powder. Our soldiers were half-clothed, and half-armed, and half-fed; yet, according to this report, making due allowance for the effects of climate and disease, every Confederate soldier disabled three of his adversaries.

There has been no such destruction in military annals since the children of Israel marched through the wilderness, and destroyed whole nations in a single day. Talk of marksmanship! Why, sir, we have read in the "Arabian Nights" of that Persian prince to whom a genii gave an arrow which went to its mark across whole continents, through mountains, over rivers, despoiling space in its flight. The arrow in the "Arabian Nights" was nothing to the bullet of the Confederate soldier. It must have hit two or more at one time, and struck where it was not aimed. It produced strange and subtle diseases, which lie dormant for twenty-five years in the system, and then suddenly break forth under the effect of some new pension law.

Nearly 50 per cent of all these hosts to-day are ap-

plicants for pensions. Who believes that all these are honest applicants? Who believes that this thing has not degenerated into a political abuse, which cries aloud in the face of all honest men for redress?

Mr. President, I speak for myself. With the change of a single word I could adopt that celebrated prayer in Timon of Athens,—

"Immortal gods, I crave no pelf;  
I speak for no man but myself."

Mr. President, when is the auction to close? When are we to see the last and final bid, a service pension to every man who served in the Federal Army during the war? The proposition comes here now to pay a pension of 1 cent a day for the term of service. That will not satisfy the demand. Nothing but a service pension, in accordance with the demands of the claim-agents, in accordance with the demands of the men who are making a business of pensions, will ever close this bidding for the highest office within the gift of the people.

What will be the expenditure of public money, if legislation goes on as has been the case within the last few years? Eight hundred and eighty-three millions have been expended since the close of the war. If this bill passes as amended now on the motion of the Senator from Kansas, it will take out of the national Treasury, in my judgment, from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000. I remember very well, in 1878, when the Arrears-of-Pension Act was before the Senate, we were told that \$30,000,000 was the outside limit which would be called for by that act. Two hundred and forty millions would not to-day cover the expenditure, and still it is going on.

I have sat here and voted for pension bill after pension bill, for the reasons I have given. The Southern people, impoverished, cursed with war, pestilence, and famine, have paid, since the close of hostilities, out of their hard earnings, \$240,000,000 of the enormous amount that is paid for pensions.

Mr. HAMPTON. Two hundred and ninety million dollars.

Mr. VEST. My friend from South Carolina says \$290,000,000. Out of the \$75,000,000 paid last year for pensions, the ruined people of the South paid \$25,000,000. They have done it without complaint; they have done it without protest; and I stand here to-day as a Southern man, as a Senator of the United States, and I declare that I will not go one single step further in this unholy and wicked prostitution of the gratitude of a great people to the personal and mercenary ends that are now behind this movement. If Senators upon the opposite side seek to seize my words and convert them into a partisan meaning, let them do so. Partisan or non-partisan, my oath of office requires me to vote against this bill; and I say here, now, that I hope it may die the death in the other branch of the national Congress, and, if not there, at the hands of the Executive. If that be unparliamentary, make the most of it.

## CHAPTER XII.

### Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers.

[For further revelations of Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers, see chapter on "Pensions and Bounties."]

#### PART I.

#### How a Democratic House Showed its Hatred of the Union Soldier.

On the 14th day of December, 1875, Mr. Fort, Republican, made an effort to prevent

wounded Union soldiers from being set aside by the then Democratic House, and to that end introduced the following:

*Resolved*, That in all subordinate appointments, under any of the officers of this House, it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers, who are not disabled from performance of duty, should be preferred.

Upon this he demanded the previous question; but the Confederate element was too strong for him, and the House refused to second it!

Thereupon Mr. S. S. Cox offered the following substitute and moved its reference to the Committee on Accounts:

*Resolved*, That inasmuch as the Union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government.

The vote upon reference to the Committee on Accounts was 188 yeas to 102 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Atascuth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Barnum, Beebe, S. N. Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Blist, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Cooke, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Ely, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hurd, Jenks, F. Jones, T. J. Jones, Kehr, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, B. B. Lewis, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, E. Y. Persons, Payne, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. F. Rice, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Savage, M. Saylor, Seales, Schlichter, J. G. Schumaker, Seelye, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Swann, Tarboz, Teese, Terry, C. P. Thompson, J. F. Thomas, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, C. C. Walker, Walling, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wike, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Willis, Withshire, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, C. Young—188.

NAYS.—Messrs. C. H. Adams, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Blaine, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Evans, Farwell, Fort, Foster, C. Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Goodin, E. Hale, Harnison, B. W. Harris, Henderson, G. F. Hoar, Hoge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchum, Kimball, King, Lapham, W. Lawrence, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, J. W. McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plalated, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Sinnickson, R. Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starkweather, Stevenson, Stowell, Stratt, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, Walls, G. W. Wells, Wheeler, J. D. White, Whiting, G. Willard, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—102.

Of those voting, only two Republicans voted for the reference and 100 Republicans voted against it; while only two Democrats voted against the reference to 186 Democrats who voted for it.

#### A patriotic resolution agreed to by both parties.

On the 5th of January, 1876, the Christmas recess having intervened, Mr. Cason, Republican, offered the following resolution:

*Be it resolved, etc.*, That we recognize the brave and gallant services rendered by the loyal soldier to his country in the time of its greatest need and peril, and that we do earnestly recommend to the people of our common country the utmost care and watchfulness over the rights and interests of these brave men, securing to each one in need of employment, and to such and their families, the necessities and comforts of life; and in all cases of public employment and in the bestowment of the emoluments of office, that, all other things being equal, the soldier shall have the preference over the civilian; and, as one branch of the legislative department of this Government, we are in favor of laws being enacted by Congress giving liberal pensions to the deceased and crippled soldiers, and to the widows and children and dependent fathers and mothers of those who have died from wounds or disease contracted while in the service of the Union army, and to each living soldier, and to the widows and heirs of those dead, such bounties and homesteads as a generous Government can afford to those who have won and preserved to the nation its liberty and Constitution.

The previous question being demanded, was seconded by 142 yeas to 9 nays, and the resolution was agreed to by Republicans and Democrats alike, the latter interpreting the words—"the soldier shall have the preference"—to mean either the Confederate or the Union soldier.

#### Democratic Pecksniffian hypocrisy exposed—The tell-tale vote.

But to test the sincerity of the professions of the Democrats, Mr. Fort on the same day offered the following:

*Resolved*, That the doctrine just announced by the House in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Cason) is so wise and just that, in the judgment of this House, it should be followed by officers of the House in filling subordinate places under their authority; and that in all such cases they are hereby instructed to give to well-qualified Union soldiers preference over soldiers of the late Confederate army.

On this he demanded the previous question, but the Democratic House refused to second it, by 93 yeas to 103 nays. Thereupon Fernando Wood, by way of adding insult to injury, sneeringly moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Centennial Celebration—which motion was agreed to by 123 yeas to 93 nays—all the yeas being Democrats, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chapin, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, Joseph J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, H. R. Harris, T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hatcher, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, Hill, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Jenks, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, Lord, Lynde, L. A. Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, New, O'Brien, E. Y. Persons, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Powell, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, C. B. Roberts, M. Ross, M. Saylor, Schlichter, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Tarboz, Terry, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wike, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Willis, Withshire, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, C. Young—123.

## PART II.

**Democratic Hatred in the Senate — Union Soldiers Kicked out and Confederate Soldiers Appointed.**

When it became evident to the Democratic Senate, in 1854, that the term of Democratic ascendancy in that body was about to expire, it appointed a select committee to devise a plan to keep the Democratic officers of that body in their places, and accordingly the following resolution was concocted, and on Jan. 17, 1854, it passed the Senate by a decisive vote, and became a standing rule of the Senate:

*Resolved*, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively as heretofore; but when made during the session of the Senate any such removal to be first approved by the President of the Senate on reasons to be assigned therefor in writing by the officer making the removal, and when in the recess, such reasons in writing to be laid before the President of the Senate on the first day of the succeeding session, and to be approved or disapproved by him.

**The old standing Democratic rule ordered away by a Democratic caucus.**

When the Republicans came into power they made no effort to disturb that rule, nor to disturb the old officers, who in the course of years died out or resigned, one by one, as age or other callings beckoned them. Thus it remained — this Democratic rule — through all the years of the Republican majority in the Senate. But early in 1879, the Democrats having a majority at the extra session of that year, and being importuned by a ravenous multitude of Southern and other Democratic place-hunters, determined — as they could not get the President of the Senate to consent to the removal of the experienced and efficient Republicans in the offices of the Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms — to annul the rule that their own party had made — to go back on their own offspring, as it were — in order to get the few "loaves and fishes" pertaining to the Senate organization. This was decided on in caucus, and Senator Wallace, the chairman of that Democratic Senatorial caucus, undertook to engineer the thing through, and on the 17th of April, 1879, offered the following:

**The caucus resolution — Senator Edmunds' attempts to protect Union soldiers — Wallace's duplicity exposed.**

*Resolved*, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively.

Mr. Edmunds thereupon moved to amend by adding the following:

But no officer or employee of the Senate who served in the forces of the United States in suppressing the late Rebellion shall be removed except for cause stated in writing to the President of the Senate and approved by him in writing.

Mr. Wallace assured Senator Edmunds that "there need be no apprehension on this

apparently tender subject," and that the Democratic majority had no intention of removing Union soldiers who held offices under the Senate.

Whereupon Mr. Conkling rose and expressed his "surprise" at the statement, and continuing, said, —

I assert that they [the Democratic majority] have already acted in violation of what the senator says. I assert that they have already removed a Union soldier, — a man who served in the armies of the Union, and was discharged because of the injuries he received, and yet the honorable senator says it is not worth while to guard this because the majority may be trusted to abstain, much as the overseer may be trusted to abstain from the lash! . . . I refer to Mr. Fitz, who has been removed from a position in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, a position whose duties he never neglected or came short in.

**Votes against the Union soldier and for the Confederate soldier — Adoption of the rule — A clean sweep.**

Of course the adoption of such an amendment as that of Mr. Edmunds would defeat one of the very objects of the repeal of the old rule. *Union soldiers were the very fellows the Confederate brigadiers were "gunning for."* Hence, when, on April 25, 1879, the amendment came to a vote, while every Republican voted for the amendment, every Democrat voted against it!

Following is the vote in full:

**YEAS.** — Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Barnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller — 24.

**NAYS.** — Messrs. Bailey, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jones, Kernan, McDonald, Mazey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers — 31.

Whereupon Senator Carpenter moved to add the following:

But no office or employment made vacant by the removal or dismissal of a person who served in the forces of the Union during the late war shall be filled or supplied by the appointment or employment of any person who served in the Confederate army at any time during said war.

Of course that also was voted down — yeas 26, nays 34 — all Republicans voting for the amendment, and all Democrats against it, as follows:

**YEAS.** — Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Barnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hamlin, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller — 26.

**NAYS.** — Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jones, Kernan, McDonald, Mazey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers — 34.

Whereupon Wallace's rule was adopted by a strict party vote. Having thus removed the only legal impediment to the expulsion of the old employees, the Secretary of the Senate and Sergeant-at-Arms at once began the work. Seventy-six Union soldiers at



once fell victims to Democratic hatred of these representatives of the force which saved the Union from destruction. Of these about one-half were soldiers who bore upon their bodies the evidence of their political principles in the shape of wounds.

Their places, with a few others, were filled by eighty-eight soldiers from the army of treason.

### PART III.

#### The Police of the National Capital— Formerly none but Union Soldiers on Guard—Now, Otherwise.

Section 354 of the Revised Statutes provides that no person shall serve on the Washington police force who has not served in, and been honorably discharged from, either the Army or the Navy of the United States.

June 9, 1890, in the Senate, pending the bill (S. 1394) to increase the police force of the District of Columbia, the following amendment was reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia.

SEC. 2. That so much of section 354 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the District of Columbia, as requires that "no person shall be appointed as policeman or watchman who has not served in the Army or Navy of the United States and received an honorable discharge," be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The clause was agreed to by a vote of yeas 25, nays 15—all the yeas being Democrats, and all the nays Republican.

The proposition had originally passed the House. In the debate which ensued in the Senate, the Republicans resisted the repeal on the ground that the time had not yet come when the Union soldier should be set aside for the Confederate soldier. But Mr. Beck insisted on the repeal, and announced the existing law excluding Confederates as the meanest vengeance towards a political opponent (meaning an ex-Confederate), or the lowest demagoguery; and it was practically announced as the future policy of the Democracy, in all matters of appointments, that the Confederates were to have at least an "equal chance."

### PART IV.

#### The Voorhees Resolution of Inquiry— Its Boomerang Results, showing the Percentage of Democratic Hate for the Union Soldier and Love for the Confed- erate Soldier—Senator Benjamin Har- rison's report.

On the 16th of March, 1882, Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, the gentleman who, in 1860, was reported as having denounced Union soldiers as "Lincoln hirelings," "Lincoln dogs, with collars around their necks,"

labelled 'A. Lincoln,'" etc., introduced in the Senate the following resolution:

*Whereas*, The following provision of law, enacted in 1865, is contained in section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to wit:

"Persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices:"

Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs be, and they are hereby, instructed to inquire into, and report to this body—

1st. Whether said section is in full force and effect, or whether it has been in any manner repealed, modified, or rendered nugatory and void;

2d. Whether said section has been faithfully executed in appointments to civil offices under the government, or whether it has been openly and habitually disregarded and violated;

3d. Whether the terms and meaning of said section apply to provost and deputy provost marshals, quartermasters, and subalterns who were not disabled in the military or naval service of the United States, or whether they apply solely to persons who have been honorably discharged from such service by reason of disability arising from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty; and,

4th. Whether any additional legislation is necessary to cause the provisions of this law to be carried out and enforced by the various departments of this government.

The object which the Senator seemingly had in view was, by manifesting this apparent anxiety for the Union soldier, to at once gain his support, while at the same time throwing doubts upon the sincerity of Republican professions and practices in that soldier's behalf.

The resolution was promptly passed and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs; and on July 3, 1882, Senator Benjamin Harrison, from that committee, made a report the substance of which was a veritable boomerang to the Democrats. It is as follows:

#### The Senate Committee findings.

To the first inquiry embraced in the resolution, the committee reported that the law is in full force, and also expressed the opinion that while section 1754 relates in terms only to disabled soldiers, the spirit of the law has a much wider scope. Section 1755, enacted at the same time, is as follows:

In grateful recognition of the services, sacrifices, and suffering of persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service of the country, by reason of wounds, disease, or the expiration of terms of enlistment, it is respectfully recommended to bankers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and persons engaged in industrial pursuits to give them preference for appointments to remunerative situations and employments.

This section, it will be observed, extends to all soldiers honorably discharged, whether for disability or expiration of their terms of enlistment, and it cannot be supposed that Congress intended to suggest to business men in their private employments a more liberal policy towards the soldiers than it was willing to adopt in the civil service of the country.

**Fifty-two per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Treasury Department.**

Regarding the second inquiry, the committee reported that they had addressed to the heads of all the executive departments inquiries touching the matters under investigation, in response to which they received the following statements:

The Secretary of the Treasury reported that

The records show that out of 1,548 appointments and re-appointments from March, 1877, to March, 1882, 803 were persons who either served in the military and naval service, and were honorably discharged therefrom, or were widows or orphans of soldiers and sailors.

It will be seen that in the Treasury Department nearly 52 per cent of all the appointments made since 1877 had involved a recognition of service rendered in the war by the appointee, or by a dead father or husband.

**Sixty-three per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican War Department.**

The Secretary of War reported that the records of the War Department show that

Of the present number of civilian employees in the War Department, 1,038 have been appointed since March 3, 1865, of which number there are 68 females and 15 boys, leaving as male adult appointees, 995. Of this number, 602, or more than 60 per cent, have served in the army or navy, and 137, or more than 22 per cent of those who served in the army or navy, were discharged for disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty.

This letter from the Secretary of War is more directly responsive to the inquiry than others received, as it gives the per cent of disabled soldiers. The committee also learned by inquiry that of the 68 females reported as employed in the War Department, 23 were widows or orphans of soldiers.

**Thirty-four per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Interior Department.**

The following is the response of the Secretary of the Interior:

SIR: . . . I beg leave to state that the said provision of law has been recognized and executed in the appointments made in this department, so far as practicable, and that the records show that of the whole force, 457 persons, or more than 34 per centum, served either in the army or navy, and that of the female force of the department, 128 persons, or more than 36 per cent, are either widows, orphans, or daughters of Union soldiers and sailors in the late Rebellion.

**Thirty-six per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Post-Office Department.**

The Postmaster-General responded to the committee that

The total number of employees in the Post-Office Department is 496. Of these, 108 are females. Of the remaining 388, 138 were either soldiers or sailors during the late war.

Considering the proportion of ex-soldiers and sailors now living to the total male adult population of the country, it seems to me the above statement shows that the section referred to is reasonably well executed in this Department.

It will be seen from this letter that nearly 36 per cent of the then male employees of the Post-Office Department served in the Army or Navy during the late war.

**Twenty-five per cent in the Republican Department of Justice.**

The Attorney-General responded as follows:

Since I have held the office of Attorney-General, there has been no instance wherein the provisions of section 1754 of the Revised Statutes have been disregarded or violated.

The applications of persons bearing the description given in that section will be considered by me, and when vacancies are to be filled they will be preferred, if they are found upon examination to have the capacity required by the law.

The letter of the Attorney-General does not give the per cent of ex-soldiers employed in his department, but from a report made to the Senate in October, 1881, it appears that a little more than 25 per cent were of that class.

**Thirty-four per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Navy Department.**

The Secretary of the Navy replied that —

The statute has been duly obeyed, and, so far as I can learn, in full accordance with both its letter and spirit.

I have only to add that this statute, giving honorably discharged soldiers and sailors the preference in civil appointments, commends itself to my heart and judgment, and will be faithfully and fairly observed in this Department while under my control.

This letter does not give the figures which were desired, but by reference to a report of the Navy Department, made to the Senate in December, 1881, it was ascertained by the committee that there were then 208 male employees in that department, of which number 72, or a little more than 34 per cent, had served in the Army or Navy.

**Twenty-five per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican State Department—Forty per cent in the diplomatic and consular service.**

The Secretary of the State responded:

1st. That since the passage of the resolution of the 3d of March, 1865, this Department has directed its efforts to a careful and faithful observance of the letter and spirit of that resolution.

The clerks and employees of this Department comprise less than 80, and most of them require special training, which can only be gained by long experience; but even of these, 25 per cent of the number of male clerks are discharged soldiers.

2d. In the diplomatic and consular service not less than 40 per cent of the whole number are honorably-discharged Union soldiers, and of them at least one-half are discharged for disability.

**22 per cent of Confederate soldiers to 14 per cent of Union soldiers employed by the Democratic Secretary of the Senate.**

The committee then proceed to say:

Your committee feel that the Senate, having as a part of the national legislature helped to place section 1754 on the statute book, is as a body under peculiar obligations to enforce this law in selecting its own officers and employees. An inquiry of the Acting Secretary of the Senate upon this subject was answered by him as follows:

Then follows a table furnished by the Acting Secretary, on which the committee remarks:

It will be seen that a little over 14 per cent of the employees of the Secretary's Office served in the Union Army or Navy, while something over 22 per cent served in the Confederate army.

**The Democratic Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate appoints 14 Confederate soldiers and only 9 Union soldiers.**

The then Democratic Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate furnished a roll of employees, with marks indicating, "so far as known," the service rendered in either the Union or Confederate service, from which the committee makes the following deductions:

The number of male employees under the Sergeant-at-Arms, not including the Senate pages, is 107; of these, 9 are messengers nominated by the committee which they serve, and appointed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Of these, Mr. Bright has marked 17 persons, or a little less than 16 per cent of his force, as having served in the Union army, and 16 persons, or a little less than 15 per cent, as having served in the Confederate army. He has also indicated, upon the roll furnished, those persons who were employed before he was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. From these marks it appears that 30 of the 107 persons who were reported as now employed were appointed by Mr. Bright's predecessor. Of these 30 persons retained, 8 are marked as Union soldiers or sailors. It follows, then, that of the 77 new appointments made by Mr. Bright, including the 9 made upon the suggestion of the committee, only 9, or less than 12 per cent, were appointed from that class which the statute says shall be preferred.

It appears also from the roll that of the 16 Confederate soldiers now employed only 2 were on the rolls when Mr. Bright took the office. In other words, 9 Union soldiers and 14 Confederates have been appointed.

**The Republican departments average 40 per cent of Union soldiers—The Senate with its then Democratic officers averages only 15 per cent.**

The committee concludes its report on this branch of the subject as follows:

It will be seen that the average per cent of soldiers and sailors employed in the different executive departments (taking in the State Department the mean between 25 and 40) is 40 per cent, while the average in the Senate offices is 15 per cent. *While this condition of things exists, the Senate does not occupy a favorable ground from which to lecture the other departments of the Government.*

**The Republican House Clerk employs 47 per cent of Union soldiers—The Republican Sergeant-at-Arms 71 per cent—The Republican Doorkeeper 53 per cent.**

Of the appointees under the Republican House the committee says:

We have received from the clerk of the House of Representatives a letter, from which the following facts are taken: There are 36 clerks and assistants employed in his office, of whom 17, or a little more than 47 per cent, served in the Union army, and 1 in the Confederate army.

We are also informed by a letter from the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House, that of the 7 employees in his office, 5, or a little more than 71 per cent, served in the Union army.

The doorkeeper of the House informs us that of 90 employees on the permanent roll, 47 served in the Union army, and 3 in the Confederate army. He also adds, that among the total number of employees given, one is a page, and one a woman. Deducting these from the total number of employees, we have over 53 per cent of Union soldiers on his force. He also adds that among the pages there are 14 who are sons of Union soldiers.

It will be seen that of the total number of employees in the offices of the Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, nearly 53 per cent were Union soldiers.

#### Recapitulation.

The per cent of Union soldiers in the then

Republican Departments and in the Republican House of Representatives, as shown by the foregoing:

	Per cent.
Rep. Treasury Department.....	52
" War Department.....	63
" Interior Department.....	34
" Post-Office Department.....	36
" Justice Department.....	25
" Navy Department.....	34
" State Department (mean).....	33
" Clerk of the House.....	47
" Sergeant-at-Arms, House.....	71
" Doorkeeper of House.....	53
Rep. Average.....	45

Per cent of Union soldiers in the employment of the then Democratic Senate:

	Per cent.
Dem. Secretary's Office.....	14
" Sergeant-at-Arms' Office.....	16
Dem. Average.....	15

Per cent of Confederate soldiers in the employment of the then Democratic Senate:

	Per cent.
Dem. Secretary's Office.....	22
" Sergeant-at-Arms' Office.....	15
Dem. Average.....	18½

Thus it will be seen that the average of Union soldiers employed in the Republican departments and the Republican House of Representatives was 45 per cent; while in the Senate—the employees being under the control of the Democrats—there was the beggarly showing of 15 per cent of Union soldiers, which was more than offset by 18½ per cent of Confederate soldiers!

## PART V.

**Removals of Union Soldiers by the Cleveland Administration—40 per cent of them removed up to March, 1886—"Ostracism and a Practical Nullification of the Law"—Ex-Confederates step in—Senator Benjamin Harrison gives some Indiana Figures also.**

In the United States Senate, March 26, 1886, Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana [see *Congressional Record*, No. 76, page 2858] said:

Mr. President, I have noticed another incident in connection with this reform administration. I have tried to get up a statement of the results of this administration upon the soldiers of Indiana. I have written to every county in the State, and have returns from all but four of them. The returns, of course, are not absolutely accurate. They are not made up to the same time, some of them having been sent in several months before others; but the results, I think, are approximately accurate, and I find that thirty-three Presidential post-offices that were held by soldiers have been vacated either by expiration of term, resignation, or removal, and that in these offices only ten soldiers have been placed by appointment. In other words, thirty-three soldiers have gone out and ten have come in. In the whole State of Indiana I have found that three hundred and sixty-one soldiers and eleven soldiers' widows have gone out, and that ninety soldiers and one soldier's widow have come in.

Mr. President, when this administration came in, the United States court-house at Indianapolis was filled from top to bottom, with a single exception, with soldiers. The United States marshal was a soldier, now he is not; the United States district attorney was a soldier, now he is not; the collector of customs was a soldier, now he is not; the collector of internal revenue was a soldier, now he is not. There was just one of the larger offices there that was filled by a civilian, and that is the post-office, and it is still filled by a civilian.

I am sorry that I have not time to go more fully into this matter. I have in my hand the report of the employment committee of the Grand Army of the Republic for the District of Columbia, signed by Jerome B. Burke, who I understand is a Democrat. He is a Democrat, as the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN] tells me, and is now the commander of the Grand Army for this department, the District of Columbia. I want to read an extract or two from that and see what these gentlemen outside of the Departments, who gave their time gratuitously in order to secure to worthy soldiers employment in the Departments here, say about the changes under the new administration.

They say: "While the employment committee of former years were principally engaged in securing employment for applicants, and with fair success, the present committee have, we regret to report, owing to conditions that will be mentioned hereafter, received but little encouragement in proportion to the amount of labor expended in this direction. Indeed, this has been an 'off year' for the class we represent. The gloomy forebodings of Commander Alexander, in his address to the last department encampment, seem to have been realized. But we have the pleasure of knowing, however, that in the few cases where employment was secured much real misery was relieved, and a few homes and fire-sides made happier.

"By far the greatest amount of our labors for the last year has been expended in seeking the reinstatement of comrades discharged from their positions in the Executive Departments, and in endeavoring to secure the retention in their places of those who had employment.

"As far as we can learn there have been seventy-eight comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic discharged from Government employ during the last year, also a large number of ex-Union soldiers and sailors who are not affiliated with us, and many of the waris of the Grand Army. Of those comrades who have been discharged or who have been requested to tender their resignations, this committee has been solicited to use its influence in securing a reversal of departmental action in thirty-seven cases, in which we have been successful in ten cases, and this has been effected only by constant and repeated importunity.

"Knowing that many of our comrades were anxious as to the future, and were fearful that they might lose their places, and thus bring suffering upon themselves and their families by the loss of their monthly stipends, and also knowing that there was an influential element here that was antagonistic to our organization, clamorous for places, and endeavoring to influence those in power to make wholesale discharges, caring nothing for the fact that the 'boys in blue' had earned a right to hold their places under any administration, and that Congress had enacted laws in their interest, we concluded to address the President upon the subject."

Then follows a statement of the address and the response of the President.

A few weeks elapsed.

They say—

"but in the mean time our comrades in the Departments were being rapidly displaced, and feeling that our appeal had not been as effectual as we had a right to expect, we again concluded to memorialize the President and request his official interposition in their behalf."

Again:

"In the present instance it is known that the discharge of our comrades has not been occasioned by a reduction of the force, nor is it believed to have been caused, except in rare instances, by any supposed inefficiency or personal dereliction, for it is doubtful that those who saved a nation are skulkers, shirks, and bummers in these 'piping times of peace.' Nor can it be said that the civil-service act was ever intended to

place an obstruction in the way of those holding office at the time of, or at any time since, its passage, provided always that the office-holder was capable, efficient, and honest."

It is said further:

"It is estimated that of the total number of employees in the Departments in Washington the soldier element is about 30 per cent, and it is believed that nearly 40 per cent of all who have been discharged come from that class—there is certainly a large percentage against us. It almost, indeed, amounts, in some places, to ostracism and a practical nullification of law."

They say further:

"Nor is this the worst feature of the case, bad as it may be. Not satisfied with looking with disfavor upon the 'boys in blue,' it has sometimes seemed as if the 'boys in gray' were to be recognized as prodigal sons returning from their wanderings for whom the fattest calf was to be especially devoted. We have seen a comrade whose army record was of the very best, and whose civil-service record was irreproachable, degraded from a high position that he won by meritorious service, and his place filled by one who was in armed rebellion against the Government."

We have had an illustration of that kind even in our own State, as my colleague knows. General John Coburn, one of the best and most patriotic men who went out on the call of the Governor of that State, has been replaced in his office of Associate Justice of Montana by Mr. C. P. Pollard of Carroll County, Indiana, who was a Confederate soldier.

## PART VI.

### Public Printer Benedict's Treatment of Union Veterans in the Government Printing Office—Repeated and Outrageous Violations of the Law—Causeless Discharges—Ex-Confederate Appointments.

Some months ago the House of Representatives named a special committee to investigate various charges made against Public Printer Benedict in his conduct of the great Government Printing Office at Washington. That committee comprised a majority of Democrats. It recently made its report, and the Republican minority presented its views also. Touching Mr. Benedict's treatment of Union soldiers and their families the Republican members say:

It is but proper to say that the testimony on this point is somewhat conflicting. On the one hand, Capt. W. S. Odell, ex-Vice Commander of the Department of the District of Columbia, Grand Army of the Republic, and Chairman of the Employment Committee of that organization, Capt. Grosvenor, Commander of Burnside Post No. 8 G. A. R., and member of the Employment Committee, Col. J. F. Vinal, ex-commander of Lincoln Post No. 3 G. A. R., and member of the Employment Committee, Capt. Clark P. Crandall, presiding officer of the Veterans' Rights Union, and Dr. Horatio N. Howard, Commander of Farragut Post No. 10 G. A. R., and member of the Employment Committee, all testify, in the strongest possible terms, to repeated and outrageous violations of the law by Benedict, as well as to the falsity of the figures he presented representing the relative number of soldiers employed under the administration of Mr. Rounds and that of himself. In addition to this, many soldiers and soldiers' widows and orphans gave testimony showing discriminations against them, and discharges without cause and in violation of the statute. On the other hand, Mr. Benedict testified in his own behalf, indulging in the same recklessness of statement that characterizes his testimony.

The first Grand Army witness who undertook to sustain Benedict was Major J. J. Burke, at the time employed in the Treasury branch of the Govern-

ment Printing Office, the position being a sinecure, and evidently given to him as a reward of his treachery to his comrades. To show the utter unreliability of this witness when he afterward, being then in the employment of Public Printer Benedict, swore substantially that Benedict had always treated the soldiers well, and had observed the provisions of the statute, we herewith present a letter addressed to Hon. C. F. Manderson, Chairman of the Committee on Printing, United States Senate, dated June 30, 1887, nearly a year after Benedict assumed charge of the Government Printing Office, signed by Fred Brackett, and indorsed by W. S. O'Dell and J. B. Burke. It will be seen that that letter says: It was the universal opinion of the members of the committee who took part in the interview that Mr. Benedict has violated the law in making discharges, and yet, subsequent to this time, when a place was given this man by the public printer, he "bended the supple hinges of the knee that they might follow fawning," and rushed to the defence of the man whom he had in writing grievously charged with violation of law in his treatment of Union soldiers, their widows, and orphans.

While Benedict swore that the Grand Army presented him with a book containing names of 70 soldiers in the Government Printing Office entitled to protection, the very man who furnished him with the list swears that it contained the names of about 170

soldiers, without reference to soldiers' widows and orphans. That list was called for by the committee, and was actually found to contain the names of 178 soldiers, thus utterly disproving the testimony of Benedict on this point. By simply taking the words of men that they were soldiers, and, as will be seen further on, forgetting to ask in which army (if any) they served, he claims to have in the Government Printing Office a larger number of this class than were employed by Mr. Rounds; but we submit that no proof whatever, that would be regarded as such by fair-minded men, has been offered to substantiate his claim. In making up his list of persons now in the office entitled to protection, he accepted, as we have shown, the most slender evidence. Hundreds of them, according to the slip called for by the committee, based their claims on the fact that their fathers or husbands had been in the Signal Corps, employed in the arsenal, or had been in the emergency commands organized in this city from among the civil employees of the Government, most of whom never left their desks. At least four persons were found on the list of soldiers which Benedict submitted as having been appointed by himself who, on the evidence submitted by themselves on which they were appointed, had been in the Confederate army, and a fair presumption is, that there are many more in the same category.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### Civil Service Reform.

*"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize government by the people."* — President Cleveland's Letter of Acceptance, 1884.

*"My friends, you will never have any genuine reform in the Civil Service until you adopt the one-term principle in reference to the Presidency. So long as the incumbent can hope for a second term, he will use the immense patronage of the government to procure his renomination and secure his re-election."* — Hon. Allen G. Thurman, Columbus, O., 1872.

*"We are confronted with the Democratic party, very hungry, and, as you may well believe, very thirsty; a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct national policy which it dares to present to the country; a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils."* — George William Curtis.

## PART I.

### Grover Cleveland's Civil Service Reform Pledges, both before and after his Election to the Presidency.

While the Republican National Platform of 1884 declared that —

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of

existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

the Democratic National Platform of 1884 briefly declared on this subject that —

We favor honest civil-service reform.

In his Letter of Acceptance, August 18, 1884, Grover Cleveland said:

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public places once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained po-

tical service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people. . . . The people pay the wages of the public employees, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of these affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it. The unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease, and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

In a letter to George William Curtis, Dec. 25, 1884, Grover Cleveland (prior to his inauguration) said:

I am not unmindful of the fact to which you refer, that many of our citizens fear that the recent party change in the national Executive may demonstrate that the abuses which have grown up in the civil service are ineradicable. I know that they are deeply rooted, and that the spoils system has been supposed to be intimately related to success in the maintenance of party organization, and I am not sure that all those who profess to be the friends of this reform will stand firmly among its advocates when they find it obstructing their way to patronage and place. But fully appreciating the trust committed to my charge, no such consideration shall cause a relaxation on my part of an earnest effort to enforce this law.

If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it entirely proper to remind them that, though the coming administration is to be Democratic, a due regard for the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office; and to say to them that while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office, not embraced within the civil-service rules, will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness, instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than upon persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations on behalf of candidates for appointment.

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1885, President Cleveland said:

The people demand reform in the administration of the Government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil-service reform should be in good faith indorsed. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employees who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

In a letter, Sept. 11, 1885, accepting the resignation of Civil Service Commissioner Eaton, President Cleveland said:

I believe in civil-service reform and its application in the most practicable form attainable, among other reasons because it opens the door for the rich and the poor alike to a participation in public place-holding.

You will agree with me, I think, that the support which has been given to the present Administration in its efforts to preserve and advance this reform by a party restored to power after an exclusion for many years from participation in the places attached to the public service, confronted with a new system precluding the redistribution of such places in its interest, called upon to surrender advantages which a perverted

partisanship had taught the American people belonged to success, and perturbed with the suspicion, always raised in such an emergency, that their rights in the conduct of this reform had not been scrupulously regarded, should receive due acknowledgment, and should confirm our belief that there is a sentiment among the people better than a desire to hold office, and a patriotic impulse upon which may safely rest the integrity of our institutions and the strength and perpetuity of our Government.

President Cleveland's first annual message, Dec. 8, 1885, also said:

I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based.

Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuation of this system, which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of the Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

The allurements of an immense number of offices and places exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the nation's welfare would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests, and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a change.

It was in view, doubtless, of these distinct and unmistakable utterances favoring their cause, that in an address to the National Civil Service Reform League, at its annual meeting in Newport, Aug. 3, 1886, George William Curtis declared that—

President Cleveland is identified in the public mind with the cause of reform.

In the course of a personal interview with a representative of the *Boston Herald*, President Cleveland also said:

No, I have tried to be true to my own pledges and the pledges of my party. We both promised to divorce the offices of the country from being used for party service. I have held to my promise, and I mean to hold to it.

And he added:

What I understand by civil-service reform, as I am carrying it out, is, that the office-holders shall be divorced from politics while they fill their positions under this Government. That rule I have meant to stand by.

What more could President Cleveland have said that could bind him more closely to the cause of reform in the Civil Service?

## PART II.

**President Cleveland's Civil-Service Reform Performances — Lists of Sweeping changes in Office.**

In the course of a speech in the Senate, Jan. 11, 1888, Senator Hale made the following exhibit of President Cleveland's Civil Service Reform performances.

Whatever may have been the President's intention in the beginning, however honestly he may have intended to carry out his many declarations for reform, the pressure from his party has been too great; the spoilsmen have captured the Administration, and now their talk is of nothing but the renomination and re-election of the President.

If the fond dream ever possessed the mind of the civil-service reformer that under President Cleveland the Democratic party was to be transformed into a civil-service-reform party, that reformer has seen the baseless fabric of his dream vanish in a rude awakening.

I invite the attention of these gentlemen to the following table, which was carefully made up to June 11, 1887, more than six months ago, from figures furnished by the department as showing how sweeping had been the change in all of the departments of the Government up to that date:

Offices.	Places filled by Cleveland.	Whole number of places.
Presidential postmasters (estimated),	2,000	2,359
Fourth-class postmasters (estimated),	40,000	52,609
Foreign ministers .....	32	33
Secretaries of legation .....	16	21
Consuls .....	138	219
Collectors of customs .....	100	111
Surveyors of customs .....	33	33
Naval officers of customs .....	6	6
Appraisers, all grades .....	34	36
Superintendents of mints and assayors	11	13
Assistant treasurers at sub-treasuries	9	9
Collectors of internal revenue .....	84	85
Inspectors of steam-vessels .....	8	11
District attorneys .....	65	70
Marshals .....	64	70
Territorial judges .....	22	30
Territorial governors .....	9	9
Pension agents .....	16	18
Surveyors-general .....	16	16
Local land officers .....	190	224
Indian inspectors and special agents.	9	10
Indian agents .....	51	59
Special agents, General Land Office.	79	83
Total .....	42,992	56,134

At the time to which this table comes the present Administration had been a little more than two years in power.

The best comment, Mr. President, upon this remarkable table that I can make is to quote the editorial headings of a leading Democratic newspaper, when it exultingly published this sweeping list. Here they are: "The civil service;" "Practical exclusion of Republicans from employment under the National Government;" "Only a small class of public servants protected by the Pendleton act;" "The changes effected with as little derangement of business as possible;" "Spoilsmen not satisfied."

Not "satisfied," Mr. President, till they should have secured possession of the small fraction of offices remaining in Republican hands in June last. Since that time a large portion of the places represented by this small fraction have been filled by Democrats, and I hope in a few days to have the figures which will show how almost complete and exhaustive have been the changes.

This showing, Mr. President, is most amazing. I was not aware of the extent of the change till I looked up the figures; the country has not known or appreciated it. Certain incidents connected with these changes are startling. It cannot be said in defence of the President and his party that in most cases the changes were made because of the expiration of the terms of the incumbents or of their resignations. In a very great majority of all these cases, probably nineteen-twentieths of all, the civil officers removed held under no fixed tenure of office, being removable at the pleasure of the President. So far as resignations go, they have been comparatively few, and, in nine cases out of ten, have been extorted under the threat of removal.

In the great bureau of the internal revenue, out of eighty-five collectors eighty-four had been removed on June 11, and the other, I believe, has gone since. Not one of these held under a fixed term of office which had expired. The same is true of that large number of officials who are employed in the Indian service as inspectors, in the Land Office, in the Pension Office, in the mints, and in the judiciary of the Territories.

It is true of that great army of small officials who are known as fourth-class postmasters; and this class and its treatment deserve some special comment. This class includes the postmasters in the smaller towns and villages and cross-roads throughout all the States and Territories. They represent, more than any other class, the men whose official duties bring them into direct relation and communication with the people. They are, in most cases, poorly paid, and do their own work. Scarcely one of these places can be called a sinecure, and yet such has been the greed of the local Democratic politician for some kind of office that, out of fifty-two thousand six hundred and nine places in this class, forty thousand, as near as the estimate can be made, or as the Postmaster-General, in his report, makes it, between thirty-six and thirty-seven thousand, had been removed up to the early part of last June. I do not believe to-day, Mr. President, that ten thousand of the old incumbents in this class remain in office. What is more to the point, I do not believe that out of those that are left three thousand are Republicans, or that, from all those that have been newly appointed, one hundred are Republicans. The Nasbys and the Bascoms and the Gavits of the Democratic party have been put into these places by this civil-service-reform administration.

No man can say, out of this vast mass of patronage, how many local Democratic strikers, who have come to Washington seeking high places in the Government and have gradually beheld their hopes fading, have seen their application strained down from one grade to another till at last they have rested content as a fourth-class Democratic reform postmaster in a grocery in some country corner.

I commend this list to the special attention of the gentlemen of the civil-service-reform associations who still cling to the fond hope that Mr. Cleveland is a reform President. Not one of these removals could have taken place if he had forbidden it. Indeed, between the adjournment of Congress and his departure for the Adirondack Mountains the President appointed two hundred and fifty-three postmasters, of whom but one was appointed to succeed himself, and ninety-one were appointed to succeed postmasters who were removed.

The difference between word and deed is clearly shown in the case of Secretary Lamar, who took occasion in April last to commend John C. Calhoun for his opposition to the spoils system, and to congratulate himself upon belonging to an Administration that was engaged in carrying out the policy that Calhoun advocated.

The stern facts are, that in the service over which Mr. Lamar has presided, every Territorial governor has been removed; sixteen out of eighteen pension agents; every single surveyor-general; four-fifths of the local land officers; nine-tenths of the inspectors and special agents of the Indian service; fifty-one out of fifty-nine Indian agents; seventy-nine out of eighty-three special agents of the General Land Office; and more than two-thirds of the special examiners of the Pension Office. But Secretary Lamar to-day stands on record as against the spoils system, and takes high rank as a reformer.

If I were not consuming too much time, Mr. President, I could select from the figures which are before

me other Departments of the Government, not covered by the table which I have presented, showing this conquering march of the Democratic party in pursuit of the offices.

In all the Departments in Washington are found able and honest men who have given their lives to the service of the Government. They have begun as clerks in the lower grades, and have been steadily promoted until they have at last reached the highest places to which they may reasonably aspire. They were found, when the reform Democratic administration came into power, as chief clerks and chiefs of divisions. They made the eyes and ears of the Departments, and, one would suppose, should be considered as almost indispensable. In the Treasury Department there are seventy-nine chief clerks and chiefs of divisions, and up to June, 1887, sixty-six of these seventy-nine had been changed. In not more than half a dozen cases the person appointed was a promoted clerk. The introduction into this force was almost entirely from the outside. Every deputy auditor, deputy comptroller, and deputy commissioner of internal revenue has been changed. In many cases chiefs of divisions have been reduced in grade, and new men, from the outside world, of the Democratic party, have been appointed. In more than one case the head of a division has been reduced to a lower clerkship, and the Democratic politician has been appointed in his place; and the old incumbent, in his reduced grade and at his reduced pay, is performing all his old work, and the new incumbent does practically nothing. But this is civil-service reform.

Mr. President, there is but one thing about this showing that can be offensive to my friends on the other side of the Chamber whose constituents are following them in frantic pursuit for the offices. There are still here and there a few places worth the holding remaining in the hands of Republicans who, instead of "fixing conventions" and mustering the voters at the polls, are attending to the duties of their office; but these cases I must remind my friends are few and all the while becoming less and less.

My friend from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] has seen to it that out of thirty-nine Presidential post-offices in his State but one holds over. I am not sure that he, perhaps, the "late postmaster" at Somerset, has not gone.

My brilliant friend from Missouri [Mr. Vest], in association with his indefatigable colleague [Mr. Cockrell], has looked to it that out of seventy-nine Presidential post-offices in his State seventy-five were changed. Either of these Senators can tell better than I whether since October 23, to which time my figures come down, either of the other four has been allowed to stay.

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. Gorman], who marshals his party in the national elections, has been a little more forbearing in his treatment of the post-offices, for, in late October, I find that four of these places remained unchanged. Possibly this may have been in view of the coming election, since when reform may have exhausted itself by completing the sweep. But he has looked more carefully after the Federal offices under the Secretary of the Treasury, as every Presidential appointment, from collectors of the port down to local appraisers, has been changed with the exception of the collector of customs at Annapolis.

My friend from North Carolina [Mr. Ransom], who will have all the Presidential postmasters in his State, as I hope, in his Senatorial race next year, has quietly proceeded to have every one of them changed, at which none of us, of late, have heard any grumblings from his colleague [Mr. Vance] as to the impracticable theories of the Administration.

South Carolina, out of eighteen Presidential post-offices, had in October but one holding over, and all of the customs and internal-revenue officers in that State are new.

Louisiana has twelve Presidential post-offices, all being new appointees.

Indiana, under the charge of the eloquent Democratic Senator from that State [Mr. Voorhees], has not been forgotten, and out of eighty-seven Presidential post-offices, only those at Crown Point, Goshen, and Union City remained in October unchanged.

The Florida Senators must be surprised to learn that one Republican postmaster was left at Eustis, out of seventeen Presidential post-offices. I commend this accidental escape to their immediate attention.

How it has happened that in Delaware, with but six

Presidential post-offices, a Republican postmaster still holds at Newark, is an anomalous condition yet to be explained.

In the Northern States, where there are no Democratic Senators and but few Representatives in the other branch of Congress, somebody has been equally effective in the cause of reform.

Colorado has twenty-eight Presidential post-offices, only two of which remained unchanged in October.

Iowa has one hundred and twenty-four Presidential post-offices, and of these, seven remained unchanged.

Kansas has one hundred and ten Presidential post-offices, and out of these the postmasters at Augusta, Cawker City, Frankfort, Hays City, Humboldt, and Lindsborg have escaped the axe.

In my own State, out of thirty Presidential post-offices, five remained unchanged at the date already given.

In Massachusetts the Democratic party has maintained an indifferent, and indeed sullen, attitude toward the Administration, because of the fact, that, out of one hundred and twenty-six Presidential post-offices, twenty-three, up to the date of the last election, remained in the hands of Republicans.

In Michigan, out of one hundred and six Presidential post-offices, fourteen remain.

In Minnesota, out of fifty-one, six remain.

In Nebraska, out of seventy, six remain.

In New Hampshire two Republicans, out of thirty-two Presidential post-offices, remain as spared monuments of mercy.

In New York, out of two hundred and nineteen Presidential post-offices, forty-seven remain in Republican hands, or did previous to the last election.

This is not so bad a showing, after all, in the cause of reform; and for the further satisfaction of my friends upon the other side of the Chamber, and for the encouragement of the average Democratic politician in the country, I am glad to be able to say that the Administration has lost no vigor in this work of removal. Indeed, wherever an examination has been made, showing the rate of changes from month to month, it has been discovered, that, although the number of removals to be made is less, the percentage of change is constantly increasing.

The *Civil Service Record* of Boston, a good authority upon this subject, not long ago investigated the unclassified service in the Interior Department, and reports the rapidity with which the changes have been made, as follows: "On Oct. 1, 1886, the percentage of changes was 71; on Jan. 1, 1887, the percentage was 78; on July 1, 1887, the percentage was 90."

At this rate, it can be easily seen that the remaining small percentage will soon be removed. The cry of "Kill, kill," as in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, grows louder as the number of victims increases.

I have said before that I did not claim that all of these changes had been by removals; but a significant fact attending the pledges and promises of this civil-service-reform Administration is, that, as the terms have expired, not one in five hundred of the old incumbents has been reappointed. It goes without saying, and nobody raises a question, that their successors will always be Democrats, notwithstanding the President has said that he will not encourage a horde of office-seekers to besiege the Departments of the Government and his door for rewards for partisan work.

## PART III.

**"Offensive partisanship" in office, and political assessment of office-holders — The law, and interpretation thereof by President Cleveland's executive order, and Commissioner Oberly's letter.**

Sections 11 and 14 of "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," approved January 16, 1883, are as follows:

SEC. 11. That no Senator, or Representative, or Territorial Delegate of the Congress, or Senator, Rep-



representative, or Delegate elect, or any officer or employé of either of said Houses, and no executive, judicial, military, or naval officer of the United States, and no clerk or employé of any department, branch, or bureau of the executive, judicial, or military, or naval service of the United States, shall, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, or be in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription, or contribution, for any political purpose whatever, from any officer, clerk, or employé of the United States, or any department, branch, or bureau thereof, or from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 14. That no officer, clerk, or other person in the service of the United States shall, directly or indirectly, give or hand over to any other officer, clerk, or person in the service of the United States, or to any Senator or member of the House of Representatives, or Territorial Delegate, any money or other valuable thing on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.

President Cleveland, in July, 1886, issued an order forbidding all officers of the Government from offensively participating in political conventions and elections, in the following language:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
Washington, July 14, 1886.

*To the Heads of the Departments in the service of the General Government:*

I deem this a proper time to especially warn all subordinates in the several departments and all office-holders under the general Government against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities. Office-holders are the agents of the people—not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the Government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials. They should also constantly remember that their party friends from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

The influence of Federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair, and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns. Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges, but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding. A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easy, in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place and a consideration of the necessity under our form of government of political action free from official coercion. You are requested to communicate the substance of these views to those for whose guidance they are intended.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Civil-service Commissioner Oberly, in a letter to the Illinois Democratic Association, Sept. 29, 1887, added his interpretation of the statute, in the following terms:

Now, does it not follow that officers, clerks, and other persons in the service of the United States, who are organized for political purposes, and who by initiation fees, dues, and contributions defray the expenses of this organization, are violating sections 11

and 14 of the civil-service act? They are giving—they are handing over—to officers, clerks, or other persons in the service of the United States, and those persons, acting as officers of the association, as the representatives of the associated officers, clerks, and other persons in the service of the United States, are receiving money for political purposes, money to be applied to the promotion of political objects.

Another of the Civil-service commissioners joined Oberly in interpreting the statute in accordance with President Cleveland's famous Executive order.

## PART IV.

**In 1886 and 1887, President Cleveland permits Scandalous Interference by Democratic Office-holders in Elections—He participates himself, and contributes Money—Democratic Campaign Assessments in the Government Printing House.**

Senator Hale, in his speech of Jan. 11, 1888, in the Senate,—referring to President Cleveland's order to the heads of departments, of July 14, 1886, given in Part III. of this chapter,—said:

These plain declarations of the President form a policy under which, if properly followed, the civil service of the country would indeed be divorced from politics. The Independents felt this, and, taking new courage from the President's declarations, and forgetting how far the performance had fallen short of his promises in appointments and removals, still clung, in many cases, to the Democratic organization.

The civil service commissioners, or at least two of them, interpreted the statute in accordance with the President's instruction, and this added weight to the Executive direction. But the leaders and the masses of the Democratic party felt by this time that they clearly understood the situation, and at this point began to be clearly marked the change of tone among these leaders in their comments upon the President. They realized fully that in view of coming elections the party must ride two horses; that the President was to steadily maintain in all his public declarations the cause of civil-service reform, with the view of retaining the support of the Independents; but that, as in the case of appointments and removals, no real obstruction was to be placed in the way of any and every office-holder participating, whenever he chose, in caucuses and conventions, and in the elections which followed.

Whether the advantages to be derived from this double presentation first became clearly discernible to the President's eye or to the eyes of his party leaders is not a matter of importance. The beauties of the situation, to a party which had straddled and presented two fronts upon almost every great question before the people, were at once apparent, and the President and his party, while speaking in different voices, were at once reconciled and came to bed together.

The conventions in the different States and in the Congressional districts at once fell under the old management, and were conducted as in the palmy days of Democracy, previous to the war.

In the Indiana election, in November, 1886, the participation of Federal office-holders in the primaries, and subsequently in the election, raised a scandal of which papers in that State, at the time and afterwards, were full. In the closely contested districts these men left their business and their homes, and devoted themselves to securing the nomination and election of the members to whom they had owed their appointments. In the Matson district, in the Holman district, and especially in the Fort Wayne district, the intrusion of Federal office-holders into every stage of the canvass previous to the nominating conventions and elections was so offensive that honest people revolted, and de-

feated the Democratic candidate. Whoever will read the testimony offered in the Lowry-White contested election case will find ample proof of this statement.

When 1887 came round the President's declarations and proclamations were treated as waste paper, and the President himself seems by this time to have fallen into such harmony with the spirit of his party that he not only acquiesced in this wholesale disregard of his previously expressed sentiments and directions, but himself joined in the movement. His most intimate friends, both in and out of office, took charge of the conduct of conventions and elections in the year which was considered as having so close a bearing in its results upon the great coming battle of 1888.

At the Saratoga meeting of the Democratic State committee of New York, when the preliminaries of what then looked like the dawning contest between the national Administration and the State administration were to be settled, Deputy Collector John A. Mason and Second Auditor William F. Creed, of the New-York custom-house, were most prominent and active.

At the Pennsylvania State convention more than forty of the Federal officials of that State appeared to marshal the forces of the Administration. The names of some of these have been furnished me as taken from a Democratic newspaper: E. J. Bigler, collector of Internal revenue; D. O. Barr, surveyor of the port of Pittsburgh; McVey and Ryan, special Treasury agents; Fletcher, chief clerk in a bureau of the Navy Department; Glozier, hull inspector; Guss, oleomargarine inspector; Chester and Warren and Bancroft, from the Philadelphia mint, and many others. In Baltimore the naval officer, the appointment clerk, Higgins, and Indian Inspector Thomas, Customs Agent Mahon, Postmaster Brown and his assistant, United-States marshal and deputies, deputy collector of Internal revenue, and a host of clerks, inspectors, and janitors monopolized the direction of the entire campaign.

I might go on and give like instances in other States, but I leave that to be more fully brought out by the committee which I hope will take this matter in charge.

MR. HAWLEY. May I make an inquiry?

MR. HALE. Certainly.

MR. HAWLEY. Is the Senator certain that these men have not been indignantly and virtuously removed?

MR. HALE. Not only have I yet to learn of a removal for such action, but I have yet to learn of any censure being visited upon one of these men. I do not know of a case where the President has put his strong hand upon these men and made it seen that he meant to perform what he had promised. In fact, so gross was the violation of every principle of reform and of the President's directions and pledges that even the "Evening Post" declared that "this playing fast and loose with orders and promises, which the President is now permitting among those around him, will be used in the campaign with terrible effect." But the President has not hesitated to deal deadly blows at reform with his own hand. A remarkable manifestation of the desire of the people for a practical reform in the selection of important officers was shown in the city of New York previous to the last election. Public suspicion had for a long time rested upon officials in the municipal government, and had at last demanded and secured an investigation, which disclosed the most corrupt and shocking practices on the part of municipal officials, implicating them and well-known parties outside in extensive schemes involving corruption and bribery.

Public indignation, expressed through almost the entire press of New York, was aroused, the intervention of the courts was sought, and from time to time trials of the accused had proceeded in some cases to conviction of the criminals. The work was by no means completed, and as the time for the election of a district attorney who should represent the State and the public in the conduct of these trials came near, a pronounced and general movement grew up in favor of the selection of Mr. Delancy Nicoll, an able and brilliant young Democratic lawyer, who had found thrown upon him, as an assistant in the district attorney's office, the burden of largely managing and conducting the hitherto successful prosecution of these cases.

Nobody claimed that the movement for Mr. Nicoll had its origin in any party preference. It came from the people, and the demand was taken up by the newspapers. With few exceptions the Republican, Democratic, and Independent press demanded the nomination and election of Mr. Nicoll in the interest of reform

and good government. He was nominated by different independent organizations, endorsed by all of the civil service reform associations and newspapers, and, although a Democrat, accepted generally by the Republicans.

Here was a plain, spontaneous, earnest, honest movement on the part of the people in the direction of reform. It would seem to have been political wit on the part of the Democratic managers in New-York City to have accepted this movement and to have joined in the election of a man who had always been a Democrat, but whose character and services were so high that good men demanded generally that he should be retained in the public service. But, as I have said, long before this the Democratic leaders had found that in the practical management of politics they were in the saddle, and the nominating conventions of the two branches of the New-York Democracy joined in rejecting Mr. Nicoll and in setting up as his opponent an old-fashioned, worn, bruised, and battered New-York City politician, whose personal character was not high, and who had been a crony of and a beneficiary at the hands of Tweed in the worst days of New-York City's corruptions.

The business men of New-York, the Independents, the Reformers, and Republicans generally accepted the issue, and a contest almost unequalled in intensity and bitterness ensued. Here, Senators, was the opportunity for the President not only to say but to do something for reform. If, in accordance with his declarations in favor of non-interference of Federal office-holders in elections, he had, including himself as the head of all Federal official life, determined to keep aloof from the contest, he still might in many ways have breathed expressions giving aid and comfort to the men in New-York City who were fighting against thieves and robbers and bribe-takers and bribe-givers in the interest of good government. All of the so-called reform element in New-York City that had hitherto adhered to the President, looked to him for some such expression. How bitterly were they disappointed! The President was now completely in the hands of the party leaders in New-York, whose stern rule had always been to support regular nominations and to shoot down bolters and deserters.

While the contest was at its thickest, and men everywhere throughout the country turned their eyes expectantly upon the result, and when the battle had become one of national importance, and when the issues were, seemingly, well nigh evenly balanced, a great Tammany Hall ratification meeting was held in the interest of Mr. Fellows, the Tammany Hall and county Democratic candidate for district attorney in opposition to Mr. Nicoll. I have before me a full report of the proceedings of this meeting and of the parties who participated therein. Their names have not been found upon the lists of any civil-service reform association heretofore made known to the public. General John Cochrane called the meeting to order. Congressman S. S. Cox presided. State Senator Raines of Monroe was followed by the candidate, Col. Fellows, and Hon. Charles A. Dana, editor of "The Sun." Speeches were also made by George Blair and Congressman William McAdoo of New Jersey. The following letter was read:

"It will be impossible for me to comply with your courteous invitation to meet with those who propose to ratify to-morrow evening the nomination of the united Democracy. With a hearty wish that every candidate on your excellent ticket may be triumphantly elected, I am yours very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

The report of the meeting further says that Gov. Hill wrote that a previous engagement prevented his attendance, and said a good word for the Democratic State and local tickets, and that William M. Springer of Illinois telegraphed to Colonel Fellows that he hoped that he would be elected, as did also Senator Gorman of Maryland.

The "Reformers," Mr. President, were out in great force that night. The extent of the President's contribution in money to the election of the New-York ticket I am not aware of. It has been stated to have been in the form of a check for \$1,000, and I have never seen the statement denied.

Of this attitude of the President, Mr. Carl Schurz said, only a few days later:

"What malignant enemy of President Cleveland was it that induced Mr. Cooper?"—

[He referred to Mayor Cooper, the old mayor]  
 "to extort from him that most unfortunate letter intermeddling in New-York city politics on the side of the typical 'dead-beat' as a candidate for an office which is the guardian of the public honor? If the President had had a true friend in your councils that friend would have strained every nerve to confirm his disinclination to descend from the high dignity of his office; that friend would not have failed to remind him of 1882, when the meddling of the national administration with New-York State politics resulted in the most sweeping opposition victory on record; that friend would have struggled to the bitter end against the publication of the President's letter after the new revelations concerning Mr. Fellows's career, in ignorance of which, I have no doubt, that letter was written, and after learning which I trust he would wish it never had been written.

"I shall say nothing in extenuation of the fact that the President permitted himself to be so misused. But certain it is that the bitterest enemies of the President and of the Democratic party could not have dealt them a more vicious blow. For more than thirty years I have been an attentive observer of political events, and never, never have I witnessed more wanton recklessness of party leaders, sacrificing the interests and good name of a great municipality, the character of a national administration, as well as the interests of their party and cause, to their blundering folly or their small selfishness."

"To set at rest in Mr. Schurz's mind the question which he raises as to the President's interference being deliberate and determined, I read the following letter, which likewise appeared and was used in this remarkable campaign:

"NEW YORK, November 4.

"Ex-Mayor Edward Cooper has received the following letter from President Cleveland:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, Nov. 2, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR: I do not think the newspaper clippings you send and now before me amount to enough to even raise a doubt concerning my desire for the success of both the State and the New York local tickets in the coming election. You know that I am very much inclined to abstain from any interference with New-York City campaign, fully believing the people of that city to be quite competent to manage their affairs. I surely ought not to be considered any interference, however, when I say in reply to your letter that the newspaper extracts which you inclose totally misrepresent my wishes and hopes in regard to the fate of your Democratic local ticket. I shall be very much pleased to see it entirely successful. I know nothing which, if I were a voter in New York, would prevent my support of Mr. Fellows's candidacy without the least misgivings as to his fitness and with considerable personal satisfaction. Please present my congratulations to Mr. Hewitt upon his excellent letter published this morning.

"Yours, very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"HON. EDWARD COOPER."

In Massachusetts, where removals from office, though numerous and covering nearly all the important appointments, were not so sweeping as in other States, dissatisfaction existed in the Democratic party, which plainly manifested itself in the State convention. The President's appointments were criticised, the retention of a few Republicans in office was denounced, the platform was made to suit the spoilsmen, and instead of renominating Mr. Andrew, who had to some extent represented the reformers, in heading the Democratic ticket last year ex-Congressman Lovering was set up in his place, and the convention adjourned with a howl against reform and with the avowed purpose of getting along without and snubbing the reformers. So plain was the purpose and the bias of the Democratic party in the State that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the so-called Independents who had voted the Democratic ticket in the last Presidential election determined to withhold their votes from Mr. Lovering, and in the end many of those votes were cast for Gov. Ames, his competitor.

The President did not fail here to add to the discomfort of his Independent allies. When Collector Saltonstall, who visited Washington a few days previous to the elections, where he had several interviews with the President, returned to Boston, he declared in an in-

terview, which gave great hopes to the Democratic politicians of Massachusetts, that he had in his interviews with the President found him "to be a very close observer of events and thoroughly informed concerning the issues of the campaign in the State." He said that "the President spoke in terms of praise of Mr. Lovering whom he considered a perfectly honest man, who would make a good governor, and he hoped to see elected;" and he declared that—

"Notwithstanding the attack in the Worcester convention upon the Federal management of offices in Massachusetts, he had no doubt that the Massachusetts Democracy were in full accord with himself and his administration, and he hoped this might be proven by a majority the next Tuesday in favor of Mr. Lovering."

It is to the credit of the Massachusetts Independents that this endorsement by the President of candidate Lovering availed little; but nothing could have more plainly shown the entire abandonment on the part of the President of the positions he had previously taken in favor of divorcing the civil service of the Government from politics.

Another subject closely connected with this question and specially provided for in the statute, is that of assessments for political purposes imposed upon the officers, clerks, and employees of the Government. The whole course of the Republican party upon this was thoroughly gone over in the debate which arose here in the Forty-seventh Congress, in which the distinguished gentleman now our minister at the German court, then a prominent member of this body and the author of the Pendleton civil service bill, took part.

In that debate the course of the Republican party was most fully justified, and it was shown clearly that whatever contributions had been made by officials, clerks, and employees of the Government toward maintaining the organization and conducting the campaigns of the party had been voluntary, and that no exactions had been laid and no threats or coercion resorted to, to enforce contributions. The amount derived from all these sources in a single year was small compared with the entire expenses involved in a political campaign. But, Mr. President, a great hue and cry was raised throughout the country because of these voluntary contributions, and in the last years of the Republican administration they sank to almost nothing. The law was regarded and respected. The present Administration stood pledged to resist and destroy this evil equally with its pledges which I have adverted to in other directions. . . . My only comment upon the attitude of the Administration on this phase of the subject which I am discussing shall be to read the following:

[Washington Post, Nov. 1, 1887.]

#### Among the Democrats—Money for the New York Campaign.

"A representative of the New-York State Democratic committee opened headquarters for the receipt of contributions for the New York campaign in the rooms of the Columbia Democratic Club, at No. 419 Tenth street, yesterday. A large number of contributions were received, the first of which came from a young lady in the Government Printing Office signing herself 'Sincerely a Democrat.' The office will be open to-day at 4 o'clock, and remain open during the evening."

The following communication, which I read, appeared in the "Washington Republican" of Nov. 8, 1887. I have never seen any denial of the facts as therein given:

#### Civil-Service Reform.

"EDITOR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN: The following is a true copy of a receipt for money solicited from the employees of the Government Printing Office, with the understanding that the names of the parties contributing would be furnished the head of the office for favorable consideration:

NEW YORK, 10, 31, 1887.

Received from ——— fifty cents contribution to the New-York Democratic State Committee.  
 \$0.50. EDWARD MURPHY, Jr., Chairman.  
 G. P. O. Per C. V. II.

"The Government Printing Office was thoroughly canvassed. The cashier of the office went to every person entitled to vote in New York, and made it ap-

parent to them that they must go home and vote, and on their return furnish the name of the precinct in which they voted.

"Never in the history of the office has there been such a complete system of obtaining money from both men and women for political purposes, and that in a manner that left no doubt in the minds of the employés that if the request was not complied with their places would be filled by others.

"The argument used to obtain money was about as follows: If Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, could contribute \$7,000, certainly a poor woman could pay 50 cents.

"WASHINGTON, November 7, 1887."

## PART V.

### How President Cleveland looks upon Public Office as "a Private Snap" — The Record of a Bogns Civil Service Reformer — A Terribly "Offensive" List of Democratic Appointments.

The New-York *Tribune*, July, 1888, publishes more than twenty columns of Democratic appointments during the administration of President Cleveland, which serve to show the utter hollowness of his sham pretences of "reform" in the Civil Service, and more than justify the language recently uttered in the United-States Senate by Senator Plumb, to the effect that President Cleveland, instead of regarding "a public office" as "a public trust," evidently looked upon it as "a private snap." It is, of course, impossible in these pages to find room for this startling list of appointments, but the introductory synopsis of the same—thoroughly borne out as it is by the detailed cases which follow it—in itself constitutes a terrible indictment of President Cleveland's double-dealing with the advocates of Civil-Service reform, to whose votes he is so largely indebted for the great office which he now holds. The list is furnished from Democratic sources, and hence the more convincing to Democrats. The introductory synopsis is as follows:

Mr. Cleveland gained the Presidency as a reformer of the civil service. If he then desired the change of tariff he now urges, he deceived the people about it. The votes which turned the scale were obtained by his explicit promises that abuses in the civil service should be corrected, that appointments should be made for merit only, and that qualified and faithful officers should not be removed for partisan reasons. In his letter of acceptance, Aug. 18, 1884, he said:

"The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should neither be expected nor allowed to do unquestionable party service."

In case of his election, he declared that reform should prevail, so that:

"The unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease; and the public departments will not be filled by those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places."

In his letter to Mr. Curtis, Dec. 25, 1884, he said:

"The lessons of the past should be unlearned, and such officials, as well as their successors, should be taught that efficiency, fitness, and devotion to public duty are the conditions of their continuance in public place, and that the quiet and unobtrusive exercise of

individual political rights is the reasonable measure of their party service."

To show that he thoroughly understood the pernicious tendencies which he pledged himself to resist and overcome, he declared in his letter of acceptance:

"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received, and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger."

How have these pledges been kept? The President has become a candidate for re-election. But has he purified the public service? Has he been faithful to civil-service reform, which means, according to "The New-York Times" (May 31, 1884),

"The essential principle of reform is the absolute abolition of patronage, the complete and permanent separation of the public service, in its administrative branches, from politics."

In the following pages, evidence regarding the actual conduct of the President, and his exercise of the appointing and removing power, is presented. It is evidence mainly from Democratic sources. Out of 1,045 editorials or despatches quoted, only 249 are from "The Tribune" and all other Republican journals; more than three-quarters are from papers which are now supporting Mr. Cleveland for re-election. While great care has been taken to omit statements by these supporters of the Administration which were afterward found erroneous, it is possible that, in some instances out of so many, satisfactory corrections have been overlooked, and if in any case this has happened, "The Tribune" will promptly publish a correction.

It appears that in seventeen cases the civil-service law has been directly violated by appointments, and in seven by removals; that the intent of the law has been violated in nine other appointments specified and in sixty-five removals, besides 386 cases in which the facts without names are given. Acts of offensive partisanship by officials of Mr. Cleveland's selection are specified in 151 cases, while many others are described. But it is within the personal knowledge of every intelligent citizen that the entire army of officials is as actively at work in the cause of party as it ever was in the days of Pierce and Buchanan, before civil-service reform was undertaken. Official statements, more than a year ago, showed that above four-fifths of the officials under President Cleveland had been changed during his administration, so that in August, 1887, the resolutions of the National Civil-Service Reform League declared:

"The change in the unclassified civil service is so great as to forebode its complete partisan reconstruction by the close of the Administration."

The changes during the past year have substantially finished this "complete partisan reconstruction;" undoubtedly much more than nine-tenths of the officials are now men selected by Mr. Cleveland, and selected because they are Democrats. Men have been appointed in a great majority of cases expressly for partisan services. The appointing power has been used to reward party workers, from Mr. Manning, chairman of the Democratic State Committee in New York, and the chairmen in Ohio, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and many other States, down to the very clerks and doorkeepers who served during the campaign which resulted in Mr. Cleveland's election. The names of fifty-seven notorious party hacks who have been selected for office represent a great army. The appointing power has been used to support thirty-five relatives of the President, his wife, his cabinet officers, prominent Senators, and other officials, and in fourteen other cases specified to pay personal or political obligations.

In order to make places, a great number of tried and faithful public servants have been dismissed. A few illustrations, such as the dismissal of Mr. Bacon for the keeper of a Brooklyn gin-mill, are mentioned. In a host of cases partisanship has clearly dictated action in contemptuous disregard of public opinion, as when Benton and Stone were dismissed for making political speeches; the Democrat was reinstated and the Republican was refused; or in the case of Postmaster Wallace, dismissed for offensive partisanship and a successor appointed; Wallace proved that he

was a Democrat, and thereupon he was reinstated and the other man turned out. In notable cases the public service has been used to control nominations; thus Collector Bishop of Cincinnati packed a convention with officials to nominate his son for sheriff; Messrs. Benedict and Maynard appealed to postmasters to make a canvass of voters for the Democratic party. In at least three States, offices have been openly and shamelessly sold for cash, according to Democratic testimony. So "Harper's Weekly" admits that "President Cleveland has not been sustained by his party in civil service reform and yields to his party." "The New-York Sun" referring to the order against partisan activity of officials, says:

"It might be a good idea for President Cleveland to issue this proclamation again. At a moment when, to quote from his letter of acceptance, 'a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service' the President who appointed them, it would be especially fitting for Mr. Cleveland to recall his subordinates to the path of duty." (1885, April 9; "The New-York Sun," 4.)

The Democratic organ at the National Capital, "The Washington Post," declared in May:

"Mr. Cleveland is a candidate for the renomination—an earnest, eager, anxious candidate, armed and equipped at all points and possessed of all the advantages of a great number of friends and a powerful machine. Look out for the Cleveland machine, fellow-citizens. You may hear of it in Georgia to-day and in Maine to-morrow, but wherever it is you will find it in beautiful order and working as smoothly and as effectively as a Corlies engine. It has yet to meet an obstruction, and the delegates are pouring out of the hopper at all hours of the day and night. This being the truth, why not proclaim it?"

Thereupon "The New-York Sun" thus comments: "Better a public immolation of the President's shallow utterances of inept state-manship than a continuance of pretence and cant and sham." (1885, May 14; "The New-York Sun," 4.)

Finally "The Evening Post" sums up the record with the melancholy admission:

"The painful truth is that we doubt if a single Independent voter in this State, of the thousands who supported President Cleveland in 1884, any longer attaches any importance to the utterances of the members of the Administration on the subject of civil service reform, or any longer refuses to believe that the President's promises and professions have been violated or disregarded on a great scale, with the utmost boldness, in sundry places and in divers manners, and that men like Judge Maynard and Surveyor Beattie have actually been detailed or told off to practice as much civil service abuse as can be readily concealed or disguised when they are found out and exposed." (1885, May 28; "The New-York Evening Post.")

So sweeping a change of officials, governed by such motives, necessarily involves the appointment of some unworthy men. President Cleveland had appointed only seven Territorial Judges, when he stated in a published letter that one of them was "morally and professionally unfit." Within a week five of the seven were publicly named as answering the description, in the judgment of people where they lived and to whom they were best known. Three of the five the President has since retired for misconduct. Whether his judicial appointments were exceptionally unfortunate the following memoranda will help the public to judge.

This savory list includes two murderers and three rioters—one to be judge of the very court by which he had been imprisoned six weeks. It includes five persons who had been indicted or convicted for frauds against the revenue, appointed to be officers of the revenue service. It includes a jury-fixer, a dead beat, a lawyer guilty of defrauding clients and an attorney who had cleared notorious bandits by contriving a defeat of justice, all appointed to be judges. Persons were appointed pension agents who had been indicted for violating pension laws. Persons guilty of robbing the mails were appointed postmasters or mail-agents—one, when appointed, was in jail for robbing the very office to which he was appointed. Liquor-sellers, their sons or attorneys were appointed internal revenue officials. An impeached State Treasurer, defrauding county or town treasurers, seven forgers—

one of whom had served two terms for that offence, but "knew Cleveland personally," and men guilty of robbery, embezzlement, theft, malfeasance, tapping a church till, grand larceny, bribery, obtaining money under false pretences, of a printing steal, a mileage steal and a patent fraud, of keeping gambling houses and houses of resort for the vile of both sexes, of assault and battery, fist-fighting and insulting women, of assaulting a lady temperance lecturer with a club, of wife-beating, of blackmailing and selling offices and of selling official information, with an editor of a rogue's paper, and a Brooklyn police officer who was dismissed for arresting in her bed at 2 A.M. a sick woman against whom there was no charge, and compelling her to walk a mile to a station—all these are chosen instruments of reform.

Scarcely less offensive is the list of men who have been notorious for political crimes. Persons like Pillsbury and Chase, who tried to steal the State Government of Maine; like Higgins, Thomas, and Itaisin, who have stuffed ballot-boxes, and swindled decent citizens for years in Maryland; like the assistant of Mackin in Chicago election frauds, and of the convicted swindlers in Indianapolis, Columbus, and Cincinnati, appear among Mr. Cleveland's chosen instruments of reform. With them are Goode of Virginia, who got office by tissue ballot frauds; Shelley of Alabama, who bulldozed and swindled his way into Congress; Hull, the participant in Florida frauds; Holmes, who had a large part in robbing the people of Mississippi of self-government; Groome, who publicly advised murder for party's sake, and Meade, who justified the assassination of Print Matthews. All these have been placed in office, though some are now out because the Senate refused to confirm them.

The list of criminals embraces 137, not including 22 persons guilty of political crimes, of 59 other persons directly connected with the criminal classes. But besides these there are mentioned only 49 persons guilty of the crime of treason, though fully one-third of all the appointees of Mr. Cleveland, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, are of that class. Still less is there any attempt to enumerate appointments of copperheads, whose disloyalty once made them infamous, though 16 are named, and the new Chief Justice heads the list. Among the rebels, those who were the vilest in character come to the surface; like the person who wears a scarf-pin made of the skull of a Union soldier, or the one who hoped "Union blood would be deep enough for his horse to swim in." The men whose language about Lincoln and Grant, or about Blaine or the wives of Union veterans was too vile to be printed, have found appointments from Mr. Cleveland, with one who personally insulted Mr. Blaine, and another who insulted Gen. Logan, and two deserters from the Union army. There were living three years ago, perhaps, a dozen Rebels who had never sought removal of disabilities, and Mr. Cleveland selected three of these for foreign missions.

The same spirit selected Rebels, deserters, and revilers of Lincoln and Grant for officials of the pension service, with several men who had robbed the Government by forged or fraudulent applications, and one who had robbed the Grand Army by false pretences. He who signed the order to restore captured Rebel flags has naturally ousted many Union veterans, some so disabled that they could with difficulty find other employment, to make room for party tools. If loyal veterans are offended, so decent citizens well may be by the appointment of blackguards, like Melere and Button, notorious drunkards and "howling idiots." When one foreign minister is on the point of being put off a train for intoxication, and another plays poker while receiving foreign diplomats, and a third is the "boss poker player" of his State, and a fourth becomes notorious by the death of a wanton in a vile den; when another at Rome refuses to dine with any Catholic clergyman, and one who declares "Catholicism worse than paganism" is sent to Spain; when a minister at Colombia engages in a fist-fight with his secretary; when the ministers to Peru, Chili and Venezuela represent private claims of a doubtful sort; when the minister to England was the attorney for the Emma mine, by which many Englishmen were plundered, and the minister to the Argentine Republic descends in published despatches about the corruption of that government; when men are accredited to Governments which as editors they have most savagely assailed, and an old-clothes dealer gets a consulship in settlement of

a debt for campaign uniforms, and an unnaturalized Greek is sent to represent the United States in Turkey, at the time on the point of war with Greece; when Mr. Kelley is sent about Europe, hat in hand, hunting for a government which will consent to receive him — this great nation is hardly honored by its foreign representatives.

Perhaps the worst feature of the sad record is the persistency with which men have been appointed after their bad character or unfitness had been exposed. Volumes of evidence were placed before the President, and afterward Higgins, Thomas and Raisin were appointed. Beecher was put into three different offices which he disgraced. Baucroft, rejected for collector, was made superintendent of the railway mail service. In several cases records of indictments for crime were sent to the President, as in that of Warner, and the persons indicted were afterward appointed. He keeps the postmaster who thought a sheet of stamps was a circus poster and stuck it on the wall, but remarked that "the darned circus-riders looked all alike," and he retains in office the man who "drinks whiskey and plays poker like a gentleman." The President personally ordered the reinstatement of the Chief of Records who could not spell, after he had been discharged — the "fellow who spells appoint with one p and Democrat with an i." He suffers Goode and Upshaw to find lucrative places, after their full exposure in fraud; keeps Garland in his Cabinet, and has promoted Lamar after the same fraud had been aided by his official action.

Such is the Administration of President Cleveland as described by evidence drawn mainly from Democratic sources.

## PART VI.

### Congressional Investigation of Public Printer Benedict — The testimony tampered with, in his office — His removal demanded — The responsibility on President Cleveland — A damaging report.

A special committee appointed some months since by the House of Representatives to investigate Public Printer Benedict of the Government Printing Office at Washington, recently made its report. The minority of the committee is composed of Republicans; the majority, Democrats. The minority, in presenting its conclusions, says:

In addition to the committee being a partisan one, it is proper that we should add that the testimony was printed by the present public printer, who was supposed to be under investigation. Ordinarily this circumstance would not be deserving of notice, but when it came to the attention of the minority of the committee that the testimony was being tampered with and changed by that official, it became a very serious matter. To what extent this was done it is impossible to determine, but that it was done admits of no doubt.

For the purpose of making an investigation on that point a member of the minority addressed a letter, under date of Aug. 24, asking Capt. H. T. Brian, foreman of printing, to furnish him with the original copy, covering about 40 pages of the testimony, no suggestion being made why it was called for. That copy shows that the stenographer's work was "edited" in the Government printing office, in many instances questions and answers being changed, and in some instances entirely stricken out. In transmitting the copy, it is but right for us to say Capt. Brian accompanied it with the following letter:

"GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.  
Washington, Aug. 24, 1888.

"SIR: I send herewith, in accordance with your request, the copy of testimony from page 1165 to the end of volume. In doing so it is proper to state that the matter, as it now appears in the stereotype plates, is not in accordance with the changes made in the

copy, but that it was restored to the reporter's original notes under his direction after an examination of the changes made. In short, the matter in plates is now in the shape given it by the reporter himself.

(Signed)

"H. I. BRIAN,  
Foreman of Printing.

To Hon. J. H. Gallinger, House of Representatives."

Extended comment is unnecessary on this point. Even admitting Capt. Brian's statement to be exactly true, and we have no other proof at hand and cannot have unless we demand printed copy of the entire 206 pages of testimony from the plates as Capt. Brian says they now are, and compare it with the stenographer's copy, which would be a work of weeks to complete, it shows a laxity of official honor on the part of the public printer sufficient to warrant his immediate dismissal from office. That the copy was tampered with and changed admits of no doubt, as we have in our possession indubitable proof of that fact, and even if the stenographer prevented its consummation, it leaves Public Printer Benedict in the position of attempting to accomplish an unworthy and dishonorable act, for which either he should be removed or the administration of President Cleveland be held responsible for the retention in office of a man who does not hesitate to change records and falsify testimony.

A special despatch in the Boston Journal, Aug. 30, 1888, alluding to this minority report, says:

The report is very damaging to Benedict in regard to a paper contract that he refused to the Winona Paper Company, of Holyoke, at 8.4 cents a pound, and gave to a jobbing firm of Philadelphia, who took the chief clerk and the superintendent of the paper warehouse on a junket, at 9.2 cents a pound, the jobbers having previously tried to contract with the Winona Company for the paper, saying they were sure to get the contract because they "had a pull" with the printing-office. The report shows unusual delays and arrearages in the work of the printing-office, the introduction of expensive methods, and the collection of political assessments from employees by other employees in violation of the civil service law. It shows that the testimony on which the majority of the committee make serious and even criminal charges against the late Mr. Rounds was of a very worthless character.

The majority of the committee charged that large quantities of private work were done under Mr. Rounds, at the Government Printing-Office. The minority offer considerable testimony in rebuttal of this, and then quote from the evidence to show that Mr. Benedict and one of the head printers were asked whether the speeches made by the President in his Western trip last year were not printed at the Government Printing-Office, and both witnesses refused to admit or deny it.

## PART VII.

### The latest Phases of the Reform Sham — Democratic Assessments and "Contributions" for Campaign Purposes in 1888.

In the days of Republican Administration, whenever any request was made upon Republican office-holders for contributions for campaign purposes, the Democratic leaders and their Mugwump allies were utterly shocked, and wondered that such things could be; but mark the change!

How they do it in Ohio — The Confidential Assessment circular of the Ohio State Democratic Committee.

The following confidential circular speaks for itself:

OHIO STATE DEMOCRATIC  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.  
COLUMBUS, O., Aug. 16, 1888.

*My Dear Sir:* Presuming that you would like to understand the situation in Ohio at this juncture, I write to you in *strictest confidence* on the outlook. On a recent trip to New York and Washington we were deeply impressed with the necessity of making an intense and vigorous fight in Ohio. Information from a high authority convinces us that the *greatest struggle ever made in American politics* will be fought on Hoosier soil.

The plan of the opposition is to colonize every possible floating vote from Ohio in Indiana. Those high in the councils of the party look to us to check this dangerous scheme. Though hopeful of carrying the State and placing it in the Democratic column, our first and greatest object should be to keep every Republican at home. In order to do this will compel us to incur a large expenditure of money. To obtain this we must look in other directions than assessments on the State ticket, which, as you well know, will produce but a meagre sum. You will no doubt be annoyed by requests for donations from your local committees.

We sincerely regret that we are forced to appeal to your generosity for our committee. The only means we have thus far received are donations of \$100 each from a few Postmasters. Letters in the nature of a demand were sent out last year, which necessarily gave offence to many, and a few indiscreet individuals gave them to the press. Therefore, we hope you will give your most generous consideration. Letters of a similar character have been forwarded only to those whom we regard as the true and tried friends of our party.

Knowing how well you appreciate the fact that your term of office, to a certain extent, depends upon this year's result, we communicate with you freely and in strict confidence. Anxiously awaiting your early reply, I am, truly yours,

J. B. TOWNSEND, Chairman.

#### How they do it in Washington, D.C.

A dispatch from Washington, D.C., Aug. 28, in the N. Y. *Tribune*, after mentioning the damage to the Democratic party occasioned by President Cleveland's pension vetoes, and the necessity the managers of the President's canvass are under to do "something" to turn the tide of feeling, and that the "something" decided upon is the preparation and circulation of a campaign document devoted to a defence of said vetoes, proceeds to say:

This document, with which it is proposed to flood Indiana, Ohio, and other States which were loyal to the Government while Mr. Cleveland's Southern friends were seeking to destroy the Union, will contain, of course, citations from such of the veto messages only as contain no phrases which can be construed as insults to the soldiers and friends of the Union. The preparation of this document was begun some two weeks ago.

Where? In the Pension Bureau in this city—a public building which belongs not to Mr. Cleveland, nor to the Democratic National Committee, but to the Government of the United States.

By whom? By six clerks, or special examiners, more or less, of said Pension Bureau, who are paid by the United States, and assisted by scores of clerks and copyists, who, also, are paid from the Treasury of the United States.

The whole "outfit" is under the supervision and direction of "Physical Wreck" Black, who receives a pension of \$1,200 per annum, plus a salary of \$5,000 per year, and travelling expenses, which, in the course of the last year, exceeded those of the general of the Army of the United States. Black, again, is under the orders and subject to the control of the Democratic National Committee. Four of the six clerks, or special examiners, who are and have been employed on the document mentioned are named, respectively, James Kennelly, \$1,400 per year; Samuel R. Hersey, \$1,800; William Smith, \$2,000; and Abial W. Fisher, \$2,000. In their work, the six persons mentioned have been

authorized to call to their assistance such other clerks, copyists, etc., as may be necessary; and the archives of the Pension Bureau have been placed at their disposal for all purposes relating to their investigations and labors.

It is not too much to say that the adjudication and settlement of many claims of disabled veterans and needy widows have been postponed by, and on account of, this campaign work which is now in progress solely for the benefit of Grover Cleveland. He must feel like a sort of pensioner himself, although neither he nor his late substitute ever had his name actually placed on the rolls of the Pension Bureau, where Black's name "heads all the rest."

It is said that the work will be completed next week, and it may be hoped that the persons engaged upon it will then be permitted to resume their legitimate duties. It may be fairly estimated that by the time the work is done and the manuscript forwarded—postage free—to Chairman Brier, the actual cost of it in dollars, saying nothing of the demoralization and derangement of the office, or delay in the settlement of deserving claims, will not fall short of \$5,000, which, of course, must come out of the money appropriated for the administration of the pension service. This seems a small sum; it is a small sum. It is only a little more than four times Black's annual pension. Probably it is not more than one-third the amount "saved" by all of Cleveland's vetoes of individual pension bills; it is only one-half as much as he has contributed to the Democratic campaign fund out of his own salary; it only slightly exceeds the amount required to pay for a whole year the pension of fifty-two pensioners at the "total disability" rate of \$5 per month. It is cheap; but what do the Union veterans think of it—say the 13,000 needy and destitute veterans who are supported by public charity in almshouses, as Cleveland's substitute was?

Of course, there is another matter also to be considered. The clerks and others who are engaged in this work are liable to prosecution and punishment under the penal provisions of the Civil Service law, but they would lose their places speedily if they should refuse to do the task. The official or officials by and under whose direction or by whose consent such a thing is done, are liable to like prosecution and punishment. Moreover, a public officer who imposes an unlawful task upon a public employe is guilty of a diversion of public funds, and is liable to prosecution under the statute prescribing penalties for malfeasance in office and embezzlement of the public money. In a word, the matter is so serious as to demand a speedy and thorough investigation by Congress. It is a duty which cannot be shirked.

#### Another Instance of the Washington Method.

A Washington dispatch, Aug. 17, 1888, in the same journal:

WASHINGTON, AUG. 17 (Special).—It may interest George William Curtis and other Mugwumps to know that the foreman in charge of the document room at the National Democratic Committee rooms, at No. 10 West Twenty-ninth st., New York, is John B. Trainer, secretary of the Congressional Library Commission, acting under appointment by Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of the Interior and drawing a salary from the Government of \$1,800 a year. Mr. Trainer is one of the active ward politicians of Albany, and an intimate friend of Colonel Lamont's, which explains his appointment as secretary of the Library Commission.

#### How they do it in Illinois—Postmaster Judd's little game ludicrously exposed.

In the U. S. Senate, Aug. 30, 1888, Senator Cullom in the course of a speech said.

This Administration has been from first to last one of sham and pretence. It has made a pretence of economy, but has been the most extravagant one we have had for many years. It has made a pretence of favoring civil service reform, while there never has been one that so utterly disregarded it. I have in my hand a newspaper which gives an account of civil service reform in the great city of Chicago, in my own State, in connection with the post-office there, where the law party

of the Postmaster put a card upon his door, and sent cards to the various employees, telling them to come over and see him, and the account says that the ante-room of the distinguished lawyer, the partner of the Postmaster at Chicago, was full of people knocking at the door to get in to make their contributions, so that they might not lose their places.

On the following day, being taken to task for what he had said, by Senator Vest, Senator Cullom caused to be read to the Senate, an article which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1888, of which the following is a part:

"Please call and see me."

During the last few days nearly everybody connected with the post-office received a postal-card to this effect:

"DEAR SIR: Please call and see me at your early convenience on a matter of importance."

"E. B. ESHER,

"Room 38, Ashland Block."

Now, what was this matter of importance? A young man started out to penetrate the mystery. He went to Room 38, Ashland Block. Upon the door was neatly printed:

"Judd, Ritchie & Escher, law office."

"Judd, Ritchie & Escher," mused the young man. "Why, that is Postmaster Judd's law firm. That's funny." Then he went in and asked for Mr. Escher.

"That is my name," said the gentleman addressed, at the same time laying down his newspaper. Motioning the young man to a vacant chair, he inquired the nature of his business.

"I was told you wanted to see me," said the newcomer; "my name is Holland."

"Who told you?" asked Mr. Escher, eying the innocent-looking stranger somewhat suspiciously.

"Ed Robinson."

"Who is Ed Robinson?"

"He works over at the Post-Office."

"Do you work there too?"

"Yes, sir."

"In what department?"

"The Western mail-room."

Mr. Escher took out a roll of manuscript and appeared for a moment to be searching for the name of his visitor. Finding the search tedious and fruitless he looked up from his desk and eyed the stranger in a manner that witnesses subject to the legal gentleman's cross-examination have had great reason to dread.

"I don't find your name here," he said abruptly. "Who is your superior?"

"Mr. Wilbanks," replied the young man, growing somewhat nervous under the inquiry.

"Where's your card?" demanded the attorney sharply.

"Card!" repeated the young man blankly, "I don't—that is—er—I have not got any printed cards—I mean to say"—

The attorney kindly came to the assistance of his evidently embarrassed visitor, and dropping his stern "nisi prius" demeanor, he assumed a look in which patronage and kindness seemed to bubble forth from his every feature.

"Never mind. If you did not receive a card—a postal-card, I mean—you will do so. Now that you are here, however, I may as well tell you what I wanted you for. How much will you subscribe toward the Democratic national campaign fund?"

He stammered something about not being able to do much, but supposed he would have to come in with the rest.

Fixing the percentage.

"Let me see; what is your salary?" Mr. Escher inquired, perceiving the young man's hesitation.

"Only \$75 a month, but"—

"Ah—I see—a good contribution," broke in Escher gleefully. "Let me see—\$75—shall we say \$25? Yes, I think \$25 will about be satisfactory for a young man in your position."

At the same time he produced a book wherein a long string of names of contributors were inscribed, against each of which was set forth the amount promised. The majority had subscribed \$10, but many had

named \$15 as their limit. Perceiving that Holland was inspecting the list somewhat curiously, Mr. Escher hastened to explain that none of the signatures on that list were in as good a position as \$75 a month.

"I must tell you, Mr. Holland—I think you said that was your name—that the least you should give is \$25."

"But I have a wife and family," began the young man apologetically, "and, besides, as I am just going to housekeeping, \$25 is a big sum out of one month's money. By the way, when has this money to be paid?"

"It should be paid by the 1st of September, but in your case I think we may call it the 16th; and suppose we say \$20 instead of \$25, how will that suit?"

The visitor meekly acknowledged the condescension of his pseudo chief's partner, and appearing to become bold by the graciousness of the attorney, ventured to suggest \$15 as the limit to which his housekeeping fund should be taxed for the benefit of the present administration.

"All right, we will call it \$15, but do not tell any of the boys you only gave so little. Sign your name in this book, and just say 'Payable by September 16.'"

Thus requested, the young man nervously seized the proffered pencil and signed "J. P. Holland. Payable on or before September 16, \$15."

"I remember your name now," said Mr. Escher, as he took the pen. "I recollect sending you a notice to come and see me. You'll get it all right." Then he bade the young man good-day.

Mr. Escher sadly perplexed—a second call from the young man worries him.

Something like an hour later the same young man called again at the law office where Postmaster Judd is the principal partner. He asked for Mr. Escher.

"Mr. Escher is busy," said a tall, funeral looking clerk in reply to the reporter's inquiries.

A glimpse through the half-opened door of Mr. Escher's private office disclosed that gentleman seated at his desk expounding the law in its dual relationship to civil-service reform and Democratic success, to a couple of letter-carriers. His arguments seemed to be as brief and just as directly to the point as they had been when he was inculcating to "Ed Robinson's" friend the necessity of planking down the cold dollars for the good of the cause. His hearers in this case, however, seemed to have a great deal more to say. Their voices could be heard considerably above a mild whisper, and it sounded to the outsider much as though there was a kick being made.

Suddenly there was a silence, a scraping of chairs as of some one drawing up to a desk to sign his name, and an instant later the two letter-carriers appeared in the doorway of the office. Their flushed faces and far from enthusiastic looks plainly told that the interview had not been a pleasant one, and that they were glad it was over.

"Mr. Escher is disengaged now," said the funeral looking youth.

Mr. Escher is surprised.

Entering the office the young man handed to Mr. Escher his card:

"J. P. Holland, Chicago Tribune."

The lawyer motioned to his visitor to take a chair, at the same time bending over his desk to read the inscription on the card.

As he did so his hand mechanically sought the open subscription book which lay on the desk, and before he had taken his eye from the offending pasteboard the tell-tale book had been doubled up in the hand furthest from where the reporter sat.

"What can I do for you, sir?" said the lawyer at length, looking up.

"The Tribune would like to know something about the Democratic campaign fund," the reporter began, when suddenly the look of horrified perplexity which began to creep over the lawyer's face caused him to stop.

Perplexity, anxiety, indignation, dismay, and horror succeeded each other with lightning rapidity in the expression of the attorney's mobile features.

"The Tribune?—er—I don't understand," he stammered whenever the reporter repeated the query for information.



"Impossible!" muttered the attorney, *sotto voce*; "it cannot be—but yet—" and the remainder of his thoughts expended themselves in the region of his astonished brain.

"Well, sir,"—suddenly drawing himself up and facing the reporter with an expression in which could be read a determination to be as candid and outspoken as a deaf-mute oyster,— "what can I do for you?"

"The *Tribune* would like to know something about the Democratic campaign fund," repeated the reporter for the third time.

Again the look of agonized perplexity crept into the lawyer's face, and, spite of his evident intention to show a bold front, he replied:

"Haven't I seen you somewhere before?"

"Yes, sir; about an hour ago."

"*Chicago Tribune!*" the puzzled lawyer repeated to himself, taking up the card which had been lying before him. "Where did I see you?"

"Right here."

"But how can that be? Didn't you bring me a card?"

"No, sir; I didn't have one to bring."

"Strange!" he replied, as if trying to recall the incidents of the interview with the reporter.

"Ed Robinson sent me, you remember," suggested the latter, noting the perplexity of his interlocutor.

"Oh, I see! You work at the post-office. Ah! that's different," as though a load of care had suddenly been taken off his mind.

"No, sir; I work at the *Tribune* office," responded the reporter.

**Mr. Esher locks the door.**

The incipient smile vanished, and the astonished lawyer rose to his feet and walked towards the office door.

Turning the key in the lock, he resumed his seat, and ran his fingers through his hair, as if trying mentally to grasp the situation before he proceeded further.

Soon the ludicrous side presented itself, and he faced around, smiling, to his visitor, to whom he extended his hand.

"Very clever, very clever, indeed. Now, what are you going to do about it?"

"Just as you say. All I want is information," the reporter replied, grasping the out-stretched hand.

"First of all, how about that \$15 subscription?"

"That was hardly fair. You see I have already remitted that money, or, at least, made myself liable for it."

"How so?"

"I have checked it off as paid—see," showing the book in which the reporter's signature was already succeeded by a number of other signatures for similar or less amounts. "By checking it off as paid I made myself liable to the national committee for that amount, and unless some one pays it I shall be just so much out of pocket."

"Isn't this a pretty steep sum for a poor fellow only earning \$75 a month, with a wife and family to support and just going house-keeping?"

"Not very—at least as compared with the assessments paid under a Republican administration."

"What was the rate of Republican assessments?" inquired the reporter.

"Much higher, I assure you. I should say, however, that this is not an assessment," the lawyer explained.

**Subscribers to the Fund—The Authority Mr. Esher has to act as Collector.**

"To whom were the postal-cards sent?"

"To everybody likely to contribute—Government employes and others."

"Would you mind showing me one of the postal-cards?"

"What good would it do you?"

"My object is to learn if there is anything of the 'stand and deliver' about the message which the letter carriers seem so reluctant to answer."

"Nothing of the kind—there's no reluctance on their part—they come willingly. I can give you the names of several who have called here, but, whom I

have sent away without obtaining their signature, because I didn't think they could afford anything."

Mr. Esher fumbled among the pile of postal-cards as he spoke, and presently drew forth one from the heap. Holding it flat in his out-stretched palm so that the edges alone could be seen by the reporter, he continued:

"This young fellow is a lad of sixteen. He came up here and would have signed his name for \$10 willingly, but I told him to ask his father before doing so."

"What was the boy's salary?"

"I don't remember," replacing the card and throwing a blotting-pad over the pile.

"We have several instances of this kind—young men of seventeen or eighteen who want to subscribe, but whom I send away to get their parents' consent."

"Did any of them come back yet?"

"Not yet—at least not to my recollection."

"About how much does each man subscribe?" asked the reporter, the memory of that \$15 still ranking in his mind. "Do they all prove as generous as reporters?"

"I would rather be excused from answering that question. You see, it would have a bad effect on future subscriptions."

"But can't you give me an idea—was I generous or niggardly?"

"If the truth must be told," the lawyer answered pleasantly, "you were rather above the average."

"What would you call the average, then?"

"About 1 per cent for the lower-priced men, and rather more for those earning larger salaries."

**He is not employed by the Government.**

"Are you in any way employed by the Government, Mr. Esher?"

"Most emphatically no. My authority in the matter emanates directly from the Democratic National Committee."

"To prove the truth of his assertion, Mr. Esher produced the book in which the reporter had written his name. A hasty glance at its pages as they were being turned over, enabled the reporter to estimate the number of subscribers who had pledged themselves. The book is about thirty-six leaves thick, and each page contains about twenty lines. As nearly as could be judged the book is about a third filled with names, which would give somewhere in the neighborhood of five hundred signatures.

On the inside of the front cover is the following:

"Mr. Edward B. Esher is duly authorized to collect subscriptions for the Democratic national campaign fund.

"ERSKINE M. PHELPS,

"Member of the Democratic National Committee."

"There you see my authority," exclaimed the attorney.

"But how came the national committee to select you as collector?" queried the reporter.

"I don't know—indeed I may admit that I was surprised when I learned of the appointment."

**Mr. Judd's position.**

"Did Mr. Judd tell you?"

"No, sir," indignantly. "In this connection Mr. Judd has no more to do with me than you have: in fact, hardly as much. Ask him and you will find the facts to be just as I have stated."

"But, if Mr. Judd did not actually inform you of the appointment, does it not look as though the fact of your position as his law partner may have had something to do with it?"

"Not in the least."

"Don't the men feel that in answering your politely emphatic postal-card they would take their life or their job in their hands by refusing?"

"Not in the least. They come willingly; and I tell each one of them immediately he enters this office, before I mention subscription, that what I am about to say does not affect his position in any way, and that his refusal to subscribe should he feel so inclined, will in no event be considered against him in relation to his work."

The earnestness of this declaration, delivered with a force of eloquence such as no "twelve men good and true" could have withstood, would have carried conviction even to the sceptical reporter's mind had he not suddenly remembered a little incident earlier in the afternoon, wherein "a young man with a wife and family, about to go to housekeeping," had been held up, and this polite introduction of the subject omitted.

Ignoring the discrepancy as likely to lead off the subject of Mr. Judd's connection with the fund, he asked:

"Does Mr. Judd know of this collection being made in his office?"

"This is not his office: it is my office," answered the wary lawyer.

"Well, does he know of the collection being taken up in your office, then?"

"I suppose so; but, I repeat, he has nothing whatever to do with it. I act directly for the national committee. I don't know who suggested my name to them. I only returned from Europe this summer, and on my return I was informed that I had been selected."

"I suppose, then, Mr. Judd would not countenance the collection did he know that the fact of his name being associated with yours in business, acted as a sort of compulsion on the men?"

"Of course he would not."

#### A Point he had Studied — Mr. Esher couldn't be caught by Civil-Service Laws.

Changing the subject, as further questions on this point only promised to bring out further denials of the postmaster's complicity, tact or expressed, in the matter, the reporter inquired:

"How about the civil-service act? Is this not a direct violation of it?"

The question seemed to please the lawyer hugely. He had evidently been expecting it all through the unwilling cross-examination to which he had found himself in a measure compelled to act the part of candid witness. Smiling benignantly on the legally untutored scribe, he answered:

"I had studied that law thoroughly before I undertook any part in this matter, and I would suggest that you do the same."

The abashed reporter acknowledged his ignorance on the subject from a strictly legal standpoint, and suggested that it would be well to enlighten the public how the act could be so narrowly skimmed and yet successfully evaded.

"If you will consult the act you will find that it prohibits the collection of funds for party purposes from Government employees on two conditions: First, the funds must be collected inside a Government building; and, secondly, the party making the collection must be a Government official."

"Now you can clearly see," he continued, "that this is not a Government office. I pay rent for this place, and the Government has no more to do with it than you have; so far I am not breaking the law. Secondly, I am not a Government official. I was employed at the post-office until last spring, but since then I have found my legal practice all I could manage, so I gave up my Government position. If you can find any clause in the act which will bring me under its penal provisions, I would like to hear about it. Mr. Phelps also is as free of Government fetters as I am, and I fail to see how the act reaches him."

"But Mr. Judd—he can hardly be said to be outside the prohibited circle," the reporter suggested.

"I have already told you a dozen times that Mr. Judd has nothing whatever to do with this fund," answered the lawyer in tones of vexation.

#### Things he would like left out.

Quickly changing the tone and theme of the conversation, Mr. Esher reverted to the scheme whereby he had given the whole business away to the reporter. "After all," he continued, "I don't think it was hardly the square thing for you to do—coming to me as you did, telling me the yarn about 'Ed Robinson.' Now, as a favor to me, I would ask you not to say any-

thing about that interview. I would have been ready to give the 'Tribune' all the information I have given you, and there's no use giving me away."

As the reporter failed to respond with becoming alacrity, to Mr. Esher's request to kill a good story, the gentleman redoubled his taffy.

"Will you promise me one thing, like a good fellow?" the lawyer entreated.

"If it be in my power, certainly."

"Well, as a personal favor, I ask you not to write anything of the scheme you put up on me to get this information."

The reporter's memory instantly reverted to the fact that the "copy" of the first interview had been prepared before the second visit.

"I won't write a single line on the subject."

"Thank you very much," replied the gratified lawyer, unlocking the door, and bowing the reporter out.

#### They were waiting to see him.

The ante-room was by this time filled with letter-carriers and others waiting patiently, and the looks of pitiful inquiry which met the reporter on emerging from the sanctum were not the strongest possible confirmation of the alleged willingness which Mr. Esher had expatiated so largely upon.

Two weary-looking carriers rose at once to face the music of the inner room, but before they could enter Mr. Esher appeared in the doorway and beckoned his funeral lieutenant to a confab on the aspect of affairs.

At the elevator the reporter met two more letter-carriers hurrying like snails to their chief's office. Entering the elevator on its upward journey, he engaged in conversation with the boy in charge.

"Lots of letter-carriers in this building," he observed.

"Pears so—guess dar mus' be sum'fin' like a lawsuit agin de Guv'nment—dey's comin' heah a week or mo' now—guess dar's som'fin' upsettin' 'em—dey all looks black'n'er thunder, an' goes off wuss'n' dey come."

"How many of them do you think there have been?"

"I dunno. Mus' ha' been hundreds—comin' an' goin' all de time—pears likes'f dar's gwine to be a strike or som'fin' er de sort—nebber seed sich a lot of mad lookin' pos'men—shuah."

Thanking the darkey for the information, the reporter left the building.

#### What the Mugwumps think of it.

The "Chicago Daily News" (Mugwump pro-Administration paper), Aug. 24, 1888, commenting upon this amusing exposé, says:

Few people, even among the most offensively partisan Democrats, will regret the exhibition which the Democratic Campaign Committee has made of itself in Chicago. It was a matter of public notoriety that the management of the Chicago post-office was imbecile almost to the point of being doddering. There was no possibility of blunder which this management has not fathomed and tried. It was patent that it was clumsy, stupid, and ineffective in every possible direction in which clumsiness, stupidity, and ineffectiveness could be indecently exhibited. Yet it was into the diplomatic hands of S. Corning Judd, the architect of all these failures, that the Democratic Committee confided the delicate and dangerous task of making the public servants in Chicago stand and deliver. We are not talking now of the immorality of this forced levy. Evidently neither Judd nor the committee recognizes any immorality in the transaction; they see in it practical politics and nothing else. But we can not help pointing out the fatuity which put such a task as this into the care of the diplomatic Judd. He was just as certain to do those things which neither he nor the committee wanted done—just as certain, by his left-handed, crass ineptitude, to erect the illegal levy upon the post-office employees into a public scandal—as though an asinine exposure of the committee's contempt for the civil-service law, its shameless defiance of the letter and the spirit of the Democratic platform, and its impudent breach of President Cleveland's promises were the ends to which all were working.

The whole affair was worthy of the men and the tools. They have got what they deserved, and what every one who knows Mr. Judd would have naturally and logically expected. The whole episode would be ludicrous if it were not so humiliating. The spectacle of the Machiavellian Judd covering his tracks by the secret and inscrutable device of having his law partner make the assessments; the ingenious idea of notifying the clerks by postal-card to come and be mulcted; and finally the brilliant strategy which Mr. Judd's partner displayed in unbosoming himself to a reporter — all go to make a picture of practical politics which we commend to all practical politicians as an example of what can be done by a man who puts his mind to it.

After all, it is harder to forgive an ass than a knave, especially an ass that masquerades as a knave and then falls at the first hurdle and tangles his hind legs in his halber. Perhaps the powers that in their wisdom give us postmasters may learn from this little example some of the general plans and specifications of the postmaster they have given us.

#### How Civil Service Reform works in Pennsylvania.

In the United States Senate, Aug. 20, 1888, Senator Hale said:

For a time the Administration sailed under the pretext that it was a civil service reform administration. Investigation and examination showed that whatever had been the evils under old administrations they were ten times increased under the present administration. There was never an administration that made wholesale and sweeping removals like this. There was never an administration that prostituted its office-holding force to the uses of party politics like this. There has never been illustrated or shown in the history of the Government any such instance of the power of an administration being used to break down malcontents and protestants in the Democratic party as has been shown by this civil service reform Administration.

Testimony taken by a committee of the Senate, of which I have the honor to be chairman, shows that in the State of Pennsylvania discipline was resorted to by the national Administration, every power of the Government was brought to bear to break down the resisting force against the Administration and its theories inside of its party in the person of Mr. Randall. Nothing that could be brought to bear in the way of patronage but was bestowed to pay men in terms for deserting the standard of Mr. Randall, so that the Administration might control the party organization in that State. It was shown that in the assessing and the collecting of money for political purposes, in turning post-offices and custom-houses into sluice-ways through which might run contributions for party purposes, nothing had ever been equal to it; and yet upon the heels of that the President issued a new order, which I hold in my hand, in which he declared that the civil-service rules must be enforced with greater strength and with greater rigor, as if that would be a remedy!

#### President Cleveland's Ten thousand dollar contribution to the Democratic Campaign Fund — Private Secretary Lamont defends Campaign contributions by office holders.

Recently the wires flashed the peculiar news all over the country that President Cleveland had contributed \$10,000 to the Democratic Campaign Fund and that other large amounts had been given to the same fund by the members of his cabinet. The following telegram in the *Boston Globe* (Democratic) is corroborative:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27. — The reported \$10,000 campaign contribution from the President was the theme of discussion up town and down town to-day. When asked by a reporter about the story Colonel Lamont said:

"I don't see anything very startling about that story. It is well known that the President has always openly and above-board been in the habit of making such contributions as his means justified toward defraying the necessary legitimate expenses of his party's campaigns whether he has been a candidate for office or not, and this year is not likely to be an exception. The expenses for documents, meetings, etc., in a national campaign covering the whole country, run up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Somebody must pay, and none could be expected to more cheerfully than those who are supposed to have a personal interest in their party's success. The President will, as heretofore, assist the Democratic party in this manner as far as he thinks fair and proper, just as I suppose General Harrison and General Flak will aid the Republican and Prohibition parties. I don't know what sum he will give, and I don't understand that it is any of my business, but I am sure the sum you mention (\$10,000) is not unusually large."

To the further question of whether or not the story published was true the colonel refused to reply, saying: "That is all I have to say on the subject. I think the statement published to the effect that such large sums have not been given before is all nonsense."

#### Logical Deductions.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* makes the following calmly logical deductions on the subject:

If the contributions of the President and his Cabinet to the Democratic campaign fund do not constitute pernicious partisanship, and if it is not a violation of the doctrine that Federal officeholders cannot decently, although they may legally, contribute to partisan success, then there is no such thing as logic and consistency in this crooked world. And if it is not more to be condemned in those who should set an example of reform than in subordinates, then there is no such thing as reason.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Democratic Rascality and Republican Honesty—The Official Record.

*"We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots. . . . Public money . . . for public purposes only."*—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

*"The money now lying idle in the Federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually."*—Democratic National Platform, 1888.

*"To the victors belong the spoils."*—Andrew Jackson.

#### PART I.

##### What Democracy "Means" by "Honest" Civil Service Reform—Light from the Past.

"Retrenchment, Economy, and Reform," as a slogan, were early patented by the Pecksniffian Democracy. In 1828, in the House of Representatives, the partisans of Andrew Jackson, the founder of modern Democracy, raised the cry of "extravagance and fraud" against the then existing National administration—that of the younger Adams. After a protracted and acrimonious debate, an investigation was ordered by the House, but Mr. Hamilton, its chairman, in his report to the House utterly fails to convict the younger Adams or his administration of either extravagance or corruption, or even to raise a presumption of either; and in history that administration stands unsurpassed by any which preceded it, or has followed, for practical statesmanship of the highest order, for incorruptible integrity, for its success in the management of the affairs of the nation, and for exalted patriotism. Nevertheless, the Democracy clamored against it. They denounced it for extravagance and fraud. They fabricated the infamous "bargain and corruption" libel against Adams and the chivalrous Henry Clay, charging that the Democracy, by Adams and Clay in the House of 1824-25, had been cheated out of the Presidency—charges which their authors subsequently confessed were not "only false" in themselves, but were "impossible to be true," but which they clamorously urged in every vile form, and literally lied Adams down. Thus it was that the Democracy originally succeeded to power and place.

##### "To the Victors belong the Spoils."

On March 4, 1829, Andrew Jackson, pledged to retrenchment, economy, and reform, was inaugurated President of the United States. Proclaiming the maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils," Jackson let slip the "Furies of the Guillotine" in a wholesale proscription of the old and tried officials of former administrations. John Q. Adams, in the preceding four years, had made but 12 changes—all for cause. In the preceding 40 years, all his predecessors together had made only 132 changes—of these Jefferson had removed 62; but Jackson, in the genuine spirit of a Democratic reformer, in one year removed, it was estimated, 1,500 officials—in one year nearly 12 times as many as by all his predecessors from the beginning of the Government. The officials removed were experienced, capable, and trusty. The character of those who filled their places is attested by the "reform" which followed.

**Democratic confession of "great pecuniary loss"—The Harlan Committee developments.**

After many failures to obtain an investigation into the corruptions or malpractices of Jackson's rule, all investigations into which had been systematically defeated in both Houses of Congress by Jackson's partisan friends, and the packing of committees by Speaker James K. Polk, the House, in 1839, when Jackson had retired to the shades of the Hermitage, and when awe of the President was not so great as under pugnacious Old Hickory, took the matter into its own hands, and elected a committee for the purpose, with Hon. James Harlan, of Kentucky, as its chairman. The develop-

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Mr. Owen, in his report from the Democratic minority of the Harlan committee, thus confesses the facts proved:

That the country has sustained great pecuniary loss, no man can doubt; that the national character has suffered deep humiliations and disgrace, no man can hesitate to admit. But losses like these are incident to all governments; no one is free from them. The annals of our own afford numerous instances of peculation, committed at every period of its short existence under all and every administration, and all and every fiscal system which has been adopted and carried into practice; no matter who has been the fiscal agent, the Government has sustained loss; it must be so until man becomes honest. — *Reports of Committees, 23th Cong. 3d sess., Vol. 2, 1833-1839, page 254.*

And so on throughout all all the departments—in the War and Navy as in the Treasury, while the Post Office Department was bankrupt through systematic plunder.

#### More plunder for the Democrats.

In 1840 these Democratic reformers were swept from office by the election of General William H. Harrison as President. In 1845 they were restored to power and plunder through the election of Polk.

The Mexican war—a war forced upon our and the Mexican people by the high-handed usurpations of President Polk in pursuit of the extension of slave territory—exactied an expenditure of hundreds of millions and the lives of 25,000 of our citizens. Corruption in the Government stalked unrestrained. The Eli Moores, the Purdys, the Morrisses, the Patrick Collinses, the Beards, the Scotts, the Kennerlies, the Denbys, and the Wetmores—a host of pillagers, Indian agents, sub-Indian agents, contractors, disbursing officers of the army and navy, navy agents, pension agents, marshals, receivers of public moneys, commercial agents, surveyors, inspectors, and collectors of the customs—plundered millions from the people.

#### Democratic Denunciation of Democratic Corruption.

In the Senate of the United States, February 11, 1847, Mr. Westcott, a Democratic Senator from Florida, indignantly declared:

I warn the Democracy of this country, the people of this country, that they do not know one twentieth part of the corruption, the feulent, reeking corruption, in this respect, in the Government for years past. I tell the people of this country that the Government and institutions of this country have been and will be used as a machine to plunder them for office-beggars, and to perpetuate the possession of political power. I solemnly believe, if the people of the United States knew the manner in which their Government was con-

ducted, if they could all be assembled at the city of Washington, they would be excited to kick up a revolution in twenty-four hours, which would tumble the President, heads of departments, both Houses of Congress, Democrats and Whigs, head over head into the Potomac; and I believe they would act right in doing so.

#### More Democratic "looting" under Pierce and Buchanan.

These reformers, in 1849, were again ousted from power by the election of General Zachary Taylor as President, but were again restored in 1853 through the success of the Democracy in the election of General Franklin Pierce as Chief Magistrate.

Under Pierce, Washington "rings" rejoiced in mammoth fraud in the building of the Capitol wings and in the extension of the Treasury building, and were encouraged in their pillage by Pierce's "outlaws of the Treasury." The actual and proposed plunder was immense. The aggregate amount of spoils proposed in the first Congress under Pierce was estimated at \$300,000,000! — \$120,000,000 in obedience to the decree of the Ostend conference for the purchase of Cuba; 20,000,000 for the Gadsden purchase, and so on in like acts—all for the aggrandizement of slavery. The maladministration of the Post Office Department under Campbell, Pierce's Postmaster-General, rivalled that under Barry and Kendall. Even "the sale of letters and papers was made an item of revenue." "Bank-bills, checks, and insurance policies were sold in piles," and a Connecticut mill, buying two thousand of these, exposed the crime.

Buchanan's administration in its vile malpractices and plunder, and its tyranny in support of slavery, was but a continuation of Pierce's. Even Hon. Roger A. Pryor, a stalwart pro-slavery Democratic member from Virginia in the House, was forced in very shame to cry out:

"From the by-ways and highways of the Government the rottenness of corruption sends forth an insufferable stench. Why are the people so patient? Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?"

And Mr. Winslow, who makes the report of the Democratic minority of the Covode Committee in 1860, while in effect admitting the corruptions and crimes of Buchanan's administration, pleadingly urges in extenuation.

"No government has ever yet existed in which the executive branch has been able to secure everywhere faithful and trustworthy agents. In a country as extensive as is ours, it is hardly to be expected that we could be more successful than other people. We must expect occasional breaches of duty, occasional betrayal of trusts, so long as our present imperfect nature exists."

#### Comparison between John Q. Adams's administration and the plundering Democratic administration succeeding it.

Under the administration of John Q. Adams, denounced by the Democracy for "extravagance and fraud," the heaviest net annual expenditure was \$13,296,041.45. Under Jackson, under the solemn Democratic pledges of "retrenchment and re-

form," the net annual expenditures suddenly doubled, even trebled those of Jackson's last year (1836), being \$37,243,214.24! Under Polk they increased to \$53,801,569.37; under Pierce to \$65,032,339.76; and under Buchanan, in 1861, to \$72,291,119.70!

The aggregate net ordinary expenditures of the younger Adams' administration were . . . . . \$51,671,943 99  
Of Jackson's last four years . . . . . 104,051,745 81  
Of Van Buren's four years . . . . . 110,683,428 21  
Of Polk's four years . . . . . 116,381,026 34  
Of Pierce's four years . . . . . 232,820,632 35  
Of Buchanan's four years . . . . . 261,155,809 62

The average annual net ordinary expenditures were:

Under J. Q. Adams . . . . . \$12,917,985 99  
Under Jackson (Democratic economy) . . . . . 26,012,936 45  
Under Van Buren (Democratic economy) . . . . . 27,670,857 05  
Under Polk (Democratic economy) . . . . . 26,095,256 58  
Under Pierce (Democratic economy) . . . . . 58,205,158 09  
Under Buchanan (Democratic economy) . . . . . 65,288,952 41

A constantly increasing scale, doubling under the wholesale plunder and corruption of Jackson and Van Buren, and closing under those of Pierce and Buchanan at five times the figures which, under the younger Adams, the Democrats denounced as evidences of extravagance and fraud.

## PART II.

### Democratic Pretensions to "Reform," "Economy," and "Honesty"—The Vanishing Surplus—A Queer State of Things.

The present Democratic Administration came into power with the battle-cries of "Reform" in the civil service, "Economy" of appropriations, and "Honesty" in the collection and expenditures of the revenues. In the chapter on "Civil Service," the extraordinary character of President Cleveland's ideas of "reform" has been thoroughly ventilated, and shown to be a mere "sham." The sort of "economy" which his administration and the Democratic House believe in, was abundantly exposed as another sham by Senator Allison, in his speech in the Senate, Aug. 28, 1888 [see Table of Annual Estimates and Appropriations, in Statistical chapter], in which he said:

He had a table prepared, and he would have it printed with his speech, showing the appropriations for the last eight years. The total of the appropriations for the current fiscal year, not including what are called the "permanent appropriations," was \$306,000,000. The total last year was \$248,000,000, or some \$58,000,000 less than this year. He had explained a good many of the items of increase. The River and Harbor Bill and the Appropriation bills were accountable for a little more than \$30,000,000 of this \$58,000,000. Adding to the \$306,000,000 what were known as the "permanent appropriations" (appropriations that are not drawn into annual appropriation bills, and that amounted to \$115,000,000) there was a total appropriation for the current fiscal year of \$421,000,000 as against an estimated revenue of \$440,000,000. These two sums included both the expenditures and revenues of the Post Office Department. So that the appropriations for the current year were within \$19,000,000 of the

estimated revenues of the current year. He called attention to the fact that, comparing the four years of President Arthur's administration with the four years of President Cleveland's, the excess of expenditures in the last four years was \$95,303,053.

As to the "honesty" of this Democratic Administration in the collection and expenditure of the revenues—about which there have been such loud protestations—that is yet an open question; a question open to very grave doubts when it is remembered how many outrageously disreputable characters have been placed in positions of responsibility and trust by President Cleveland. It is a question that probably will hereafter be thoroughly investigated by a Republican Congress and a Republican Administration; and it will surprise few should that investigation result in exposing systematic corruption and plundering of the public moneys by President Cleveland's appointees quite equal to such as was indulged in past Democratic Administrations.

### What has become of the Great Surplus?—A queer state of things.

According to the report of Secretary Folger, December, 1883, the last Republican Administration must have left a surplus revenue of some \$85,000,000 per annum—enough, as he suggested, to pay the whole interest-bearing debt in less than fifteen years from the time President Cleveland's Democratic Administration came in. The National Democratic Platform of 1888, upon which President Cleveland now stands, declared that "the money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than \$125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than \$60,000,000 annually." This shows a decrease of \$25,000,000 per annum of surplus revenue collected and accounted for. Whether this or any other decrease is occasioned by inefficient or dishonest Democratic collections—or arises from other causes, such as the operation of the existing tariff—is a question hereafter to be determined. But since that Democratic platform was promulgated, a still more singular circumstance has come to light, and the people learn with astonishment that the surplus has almost entirely disappeared! The following telegram in "The New-York Tribune," Aug. 29, 1888, covers the matter:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—The mysterious disappearance of the alleged surplus is the one topic of engrossing interest at the Capitol. After all the ponderous logic which has been expended on this subject and the didactic essays which have been transmitted to Congress by the Executive to the exclusion of other topics of pressing public importance, the ridiculous outcome is irresistibly comical. Friends and foes alike are wondering over it. The facts as stated in "The Tribune" dispatches are corroborated to-day by official figures given out on the joint authority of the Committees of Appropriation of both House and Senate. Instead of a demoralizing, hideous, and dangerous surplus of a hundred and fifty millions or so there are hardly twelve and a quarter millions in sight, and even this amount is liable to be whittled down still further by demands from sources not included in Congressional appropriation bills, as pointed out in these dispatches yesterday.

There is no dispute as to the figures given. In

round numbers the appropriations passed, or pending in conference and on the way to certain adoption, are as follows: Army, Navy, Indian, Diplomatic and Consular, Pension, Legislative and Judicial, Post Office, Military Academy, River and Harbor, Fortifications, and sundry civil bills—\$288,764,000. Deficiency bills resulting from the failure of the last Democratic House to appropriate the absolutely necessary amounts for the known requirements of the public service—\$19,227,000. Public Buildings and miscellaneous relief bills—\$5,636,000; permanent appropriations—\$115,040,000; all of which (with the smaller details, herein omitted, added thereto) make a total prospective expenditure of \$428,269,520 (being an increase of \$64,084,730 over the appropriations of last year, against a prospective revenue of \$440,563,734, — thus leaving a possible surplus of \$12,294,213, which, if the Mills bill should pass, would be converted into a deficiency of more than \$60,000,000.

The clerks of the House and Senate committees in giving out these figures state in fairness that there is a reduction in the Fortification bill as passed by the House of two and a half millions and a duplication of a similar item in another bill of three millions. But against this there are pending numerous public building bills in transit to the Executive, which will probably receive approval, unless the member urging them is of the "Allentown" persuasion; and in the estimates as given, no account is taken of the numerous private pension bills. These sources together, will more than offset the allowances made on the Fortification account, and the figures can therefore stand.

Net surplus in sight \$12,294,263. For this sum the industries of the country have been called upon to stand still, and the wheels of legislation have been blocked. This exposure, of course, leaves the newly enlisted Administration organs in a plight which it is charitable to call humiliating. They denied with robust rhetoric the statements of The Tribune and other well-informed journals, just as they would deny, with adequate inducement, the revolutions of the earth, and assert with brother Jasper that the "sun do move." Official statements from the Democratic Appropriations Committee now disprove their denials.

On both sides of the Capitol the denouement is regarded with much amusement. Republican Senators admit that the joke is on them as well as on the House, and that in accepting and attempting to treat seriously the cry of a dangerous surplus they "leaped before they looked." *They propose to look now, and look very thoroughly into this whole question, including the method of keeping the Treasury balances.*

Should President Cleveland and a Democratic House be again returned to power, the country may depend upon it that the day is not distant when the "condition that confronts us" will be *how to meet deficiencies by direct taxation*, rather than how to get rid of a surplus.

### PART III.

#### What the Republican Party "Did" in the Matter of Honest Civil Service Administration—A Wonderful Comparative Record—Official Table of Losses.

Let us now look at the Republican record for honesty and economy in administration, and answer, where, in the history of civil government on the face of the earth, so pure a record be found? In his official report to the Secretary of the Treasury, July 16, 1882, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Green B. Raum, said:

SIR: I have the honor to report that the annual examination of the offices of the 126 collectors of internal revenue throughout the United States has been completed, and that it has been found that the entire collections of internal revenue taxes for the

past fiscal year, amounting to \$146,520,273.71, have been accounted for and turned into the treasury. It is, further, my pleasant duty to report that, during the past *six fiscal years*, the sum of \$748,881,071.01 has been collected from internal revenue taxation, and paid into the Treasury without any loss by defaultation.

The expenses of collection for the last fiscal year (including the expenses of this office) will be found, on final adjustment, not to exceed \$5,108,300, or less than 3½ per cent on the amount collected. The expenses of collection for the six years have been about \$27,087,300, or 3.6-10 per cent on the amount collected. This sum has been disbursed without loss to the Government.

And from the date of that report to the conclusion of the Republican Administration, *there was no loss at all!*

#### Analysis of receipts and disbursements and losses under Democratic and Republican rule.

During the seventy-two years of our Government, prior to 1861, a period mainly controlled by the Democracy, the aggregate collections and disbursements were \$4,710,481,157.63. During the period from 1861 to 1875, under Republican rule, the aggregate collections and disbursements, in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democracy in rebellion, reached the prodigious sum of \$25,576,202,805.52, or over five times greater under the Republicans than under the Democracy. The aggregate losses under the Democracy in the period prior to 1861 were \$24,441,829.32, or \$5.17 in every \$1,000; under Republicans the aggregate losses were only \$14,666,776.07, or only 46 cents in every \$1,000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under the Republicans were over 11 times greater than under Democratic rule, yet the aggregate losses under Democratic reform were nearly \$10,000,000 greater than under the Republicans, and in the ratio of losses to every \$1,000 were nearly 10 times greater.

Under the administration of Andrew Jackson, that model of Democratic "reform," the aggregate collections and disbursements were only \$500,081,747.75; but under that of General Grant (in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democratic rebellion) they reached the immense sum of \$10,842,922,583, nearly 22 times greater under Grant than under Jackson. Under Jackson the aggregate losses were \$3,761,111.87, or \$7.52 in every \$1,000. Under Grant, only \$2,846,192.12, or 24 cents in every \$1,000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under Grant were nearly 22 times greater than under Jackson, yet the aggregated losses under Jackson were nearly \$1,000,000 greater than under Grant, and in the ratio of losses in \$1,000 were over 22 times greater than under Grant. Under Van Buren the ratio of losses in every \$1,000 was nearly 49 times greater than under Grant, and in like ratio under all the administrations of Democratic reform. Under the latest, prior to the war, that of Buchanan, the ratio of losses in every \$1,000 was \$3.81—16 times greater

than under Grant. What they have been under Cleveland, the people will learn when he is displaced by a Republican President who will not close the avenues of accurate information.

**Tabulation of Losses in receiving and disbursing the Public Moneys.**

The following tabulation condensed from tables furnished by the Treasury Department, August 13, 1884, exhibits the total receipts and total disbursements of the Government from its organization to June 30, 1883, with the amount of losses, and the ratio of such losses per \$1000 to the aggregate received and disbursed, arranged in periods of administration from that of President Washington to that of President Arthur inclusive—and in the two periods, prior to the Rebellion and

subsequent to it, the dividing date between such two periods being June 30, 1861. The original tables gave the *details* both of receipts and disbursements—the receipts comprising those from “Customs,” “Post-office,” and “all other sources,” and the disbursements comprising “War, Navy, Pensions, and Indians,” and “Miscellaneous.”

From this tabulation it will be found that while prior to the war the losses on each \$1000 collected and disbursed averaged \$5.21, those since the war, under Republican Administrations, have averaged only 39 cents; and that while the last Democratic Administration prior to the war, that of Buchanan, lost \$3.81 on every \$1000 received and disbursed, the last Republican Administration has lost less than 2 mills ( $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ ) on every \$1000 received and disbursed.





## CHAPTER XV.

## The Fisheries and Retaliation.

*"We arraign the present Democrat Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing-vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing-vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry, and an indispensable source of defence against a foreign enemy." — Republican National Platform, 1888.*

## PART I.

## General Butler's History of the Fisheries Question from the beginning down to President Cleveland's Treaty.

No more lucid statement of the Fisheries Question has been made than that of Benjamin F. Butler, in his speech at Tremont Temple, Boston, Aug. 31, 1888, in which he gave the entire history of the subject — the result, he said, of ten years of observation and study — in the following brief and thoroughly understandable shape:—

Before the Revolution, as British subjects, we had all the rights and liberties of Englishmen in all the fisheries, from Hudson Bay to Florida, along the Atlantic coast, and all its inlets, bays, and indentations.

In framing the treaty of peace, the English Commissioners proposed that when we gave up Canada we should give up our claims to the fisheries. But John Adams, on our behalf, — to his high honor be it spoken, — replied that he would sooner keep on with the war than give up a single right to our fisheries; and so the liberties of the United States in all the fisheries were guaranteed by the treaty of peace in 1783, and we continued in the enjoyment of all the rights that Canada or anybody else had in fishing down to 1816, untroubled by England, and without claim on her part that we had not the fullest right to fish that any British subject ever had in Canadian waters.

The war of 1812 was fought and a treaty of peace was had, and in that treaty of peace nothing was said about the fisheries whatever. Our boundary on the Pacific coast was treated of therein, which had never been treated of in any treaty before, but nothing was said upon our rights and liberties on the Atlantic Ocean, or its waters, and we went on in the full enjoyment of them until about 1817, when, some question arising, it was suggested by England that the law of nations held that when war was declared between two countries having treaty relations, such declaration of war of itself abrogated and set aside all former treaties, and so the war of 1812 annulled all our treaties with England, although nothing was said about it then by either country; and as nothing had been said on the subject of the fisheries in the treaty of peace of 1815, the United States lost all her rights of fisheries.

One would have supposed that, if the law of nations abrogated the treaty of peace of 1783, that the rights of both parties would have stood as if that treaty had not been made, and then we should have the fisheries just as we had always had them.

## The Treaty of 1818.

England was just then the conqueror of Napoleon. Full of her triumph, she showed more than her usual and characteristic arrogance and oppression toward weaker nations, as she deemed the United States, and our statesmen dealing with the question who have managed our controversies with England, and who were of that kind with which we have been afflicted during much of our national life, were simply cowed.

The treaty of 1818 was thus bullied out of us, in which it was agreed that "The inhabitants of the said United States shall have forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands; on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbors and creeks, from Mount Joly on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company." . . . "And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America not included within the above mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbors for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever."

That, in my judgment, was simply a disgraceful surrender of many of our rights, but we had left the right to take fish anywhere except within the three miles of the coasts, bays and harbors therein named. Now that three-mile limit is treated in international law as being the extent to which a cannon throws a shot, and to be the line to which any nation can claim jurisdiction as against any other nation on the open sea.

Our fishermen went on fishing under that treaty, and took shelter from storms in the bays and harbors, and entered them for wood and water, until the year 1820, when some Canadian claimed that the words "within three miles of the bays, coasts and harbors" were to be construed to mean a line extended from a point three miles from one headland of a bay to a point three miles from the other headland of the bay, however wide apart those two headlands might be or deep the bay might be. And as no part of the coasts of those bays were straight lines it was impossible for a fisherman to tell when he was within or without the three-mile line, because there might be another headland of a bay somewhere that would scoop him in

### The Three-Mile Limit Clause.

The British claim expressed itself substantially in these words: "That the line should run from a point three miles outside of a headland to a like point three miles outside of another headland, and include all within it, however wide the bay." This construction would take a large part of the Bay of Fundy, although a part of Maine is on its shores.

We protested against such construction, and brought it to the attention of the British Government, who replied that they would submit the construction of the treaty to the attention of the crown lawyers and be governed by their opinion, and the crown lawyers unanimously decided that the line must run from headland to headland, as claimed by Great Britain, because if it did not the word "headland" in the treaty would have no meaning, nor be of any use in it.

Well, we rubbed our eyes and looked at the treaty, and could not find that word "headlands" in the treaty at all, anywhere; but being then a weak nation we were forced into acting upon, as final, this dishonorable interpretation of a plain provision of a treaty. . . .

But we never agreed that that was the true interpretation of the treaty. We claimed always the distance to be three miles from that point of the shore opposite where an American vessel lay, and that is the only true construction of the treaty in the mind of any just and honorable man, and we have never yielded that claim except as far as it is done by the abortion of a treaty just rejected by the Senate.

The contention drew its slow length along until about the years 1851-52, when Webster notified the world that the British line would not be admitted.

### Reciprocity Treaty and its Termination.

On the part of Canada a treaty of reciprocity was desired and was attempted to be obtained then, as now, by seizures and threats. In Pierce's administration in 1854, a convention as to certain reciprocity between Canada and the United States was agreed upon and substantially lived up to, so that there was no trouble on the fishery question from that time until 1864, when, by an overwhelming vote of both houses of Congress, the treaty was terminated, after Canada became the home of the criminals from the United States who had committed treason, and wished to go somewhere where they could continue so to do with safety under the British flag. . . .

Canada amused herself in 1867, '68, and '69, after the war, wanting reciprocity again, with persecuting our fishermen as much as possible, enacting laws that they must be licensed if they fished in her waters, and, I believe, succeeded in getting 251 of our fishing vessels to pay \$1 per ton for a license to fish one year. And then they put it up to \$2, and at last only 25 paid. The sale of vessels on the Canadian coast at that time were some 800, which to my mind shows, that, if the matter is left to our fishermen, they can take care of themselves.

### The Settlement of 1871.

In 1871, however, after the treaty of Washington had been settled, so far as the Geneva award was concerned, it was agreed that the questions about our fisheries might be settled by the Canadians fishing down on our coast and we fishing upon theirs as much as each liked for ten years, and their fish to come into our ports free, this convention at the end of that period to be determined by a notice of two years. That three arbitrators, one to be selected by each party, and one to be selected by the two Governments, should hear and determine what we ought to pay, in addition to allowing free fishing and free fish to be imported, for the privilege of our fishermen fishing in Canadian waters within three miles of the shore. In other words, to determine what the fish were worth swimming in the sea that we might catch out of it, and dry the salt. But the convention was express that all the arbitrators must join in the award. The British Minister and our Secretary of State agreed on the Charge d'Affaires of Belgium as the third arbitrator. The referees had the hearings at Halifax, some of which I attended. Our arbitrator was a very kindly, good-natured gentleman, who knew nothing about the case, and was, naturally, an indolent man, who had

never seen a mackerel until after it was cooked. But it is fair to say he had some pluck; and when the other two arbitrators, the Englishman and the Belgian, agreed to \$5,500,000 as pay for the fish while they were in the sea, which our fishermen did catch, which would not bring \$500,000 after they were salted and packed on Long Wharf, he refused to sign that award.

When the hearing began, the London "Times" said it was no use to have a hearing, as all three of the arbitrators, by the terms of the convention, would have to agree to sign the award; and, as the American man would never agree, the hearings would be useless. But after the Belgian and British arbitrators had agreed, the British turned around and said the convention required but two to sign the award, and that we ought to pay over the award.

I was in Congress at the time, and I objected to doing it. I did the best I could to prevent that swindle. As usual, British influence carried it, and no resistance or contention was had about it, and the money was paid over. Not only that, there was a very fine service of plate procured by our Government and presented to the Belgian Charge d'Affaires for his efforts on the arbitration. The British Government did more. They took him away from the position of Charge d'Affaires at the city of Washington and made him Charge d'Affaires near the Court of St. James, where he exists to this day, for aught I know.

### Cessation of the Fishery privilege under Treaty of 1871.

After the ten years were out, about 1883, we gave notice that the fishing privilege, which we paid so much for, should cease. We did not want to run up a new bill for the next ten years.

The British Government, as well as the Canadians, did every thing they could to prevent putting an end to the articles of the convention of 1871, but nothing would move the American Congress upon that subject. No sooner were those articles closed than Canada set up the most vigorous action to bring about a treaty of reciprocity by which her fish and fish oil and other things could be put into our ports in return for a cessation of the right of our fishermen to fish within the three-mile limit, which they themselves in 1868 had licensed to be done for \$1 a ton of the capacity of the vessel. But they found for once our Government determined no longer to be either browbeaten or inveigled, and thereupon the Canadian Parliament passed laws, sustained by the home Government, by which our fishing vessels were seized without any pretence of right whatever. Armed cruisers fitted out by a Province of the British empire came out to capture vessels sailing under the American flag, which captures were carried into port, and condemned by provincial judges. Every possible construction was put upon the words in the treaty defining our rights against us, and where the treaty of 1818 gave to our fishermen, as does international law, the right to go into ports for shelter in time of storm, and to obtain wood, water, and provisions, one of our vessels was seized by the Canadian officers because, instead of buying wood, he bought coal, he having a coal and not a wood stove on board.

### The Fishermen's Wrongs—President Cleveland Proposes a Treaty Commission—The Republican Senate declares against it—Congress almost unanimously enacts a retaliatory Measure.

Every thing of commercial rights was taken away from our fishermen. No respect was paid to our flag. Representation after representation of these things was made to our Government. Protests were entered by the fishermen. The State Department was called upon to exercise some force in the matter, but not having any, they didn't expend any. To such extent had it come that in December, 1885, the President in his annual message recommended to Congress the making of a commission to adjust and settle the disputes that arose on these fishery questions, and in 1886 the Senate adopted a resolution by a majority of 25 declaring that no such commission ought to be established; and it also investigated the questions of these outrages, and finding that they were still continued, reported a bill to give the President full power

to retaliate, by enacting that the Canadian vessels should have no more rights and privileges in American ports than were given to American vessels in Canadian waters. Also giving the President full power, in his discretion, to carry that retaliation as far as he chose. That was passed by a vote of 40 to 1 in the Senate and by a vote of 256 to 1 in the House of Representatives. One would suppose that a President with such a law behind him, more unanimous than any other law that was passed in Congress under the years and nays, would have put in force all its provisions to ascertain at least whether they were sufficient to accomplish the object. But nothing was done, and the outrages still went on.

At last a British emissary came over here as a member of a commission to settle these claims of ours, as was alleged, and although Congress had refused to give the President the power that he asked to establish such commission, neither House voting in favor of it, he did what no other President ever did do — deliberately appointed the commission that he had asked to have power granted him to appoint, which had been refused.

#### President Cleveland's Treaty.

I shall not go into the discussion of that unauthorized and rejected treaty, because it is dead beyond resurrection. It gave up everything that our fathers had claimed of right in regard to the fisheries. It even extended that objectionable three-mile line by making a provision that it might be a five-mile line. It was a British treaty, and, if not bought by British gold, it was largely incited by British dinners. But I must quit this. There is an old Latin maxim against it: "De mortuis nil nisi bonum." "Say nothing of the dead but good."

There was a remarkable sequence to that treaty. It was supported in the Senate by all of the President's friends, and especially by one gentleman from Alabama who accomplished the unparalleled feat of speaking 36 hours in favor of it, and perhaps I ought to say speaking pretty well, except that he repeated over and over and over again, and all those who spoke on the same side assented to it, that if the treaty was rejected war with England was inevitable. How sensible men in the Senate could believe or say that it is impossible to conceive. War has always been a barometer in Wall street, and if it approaches stocks fall.

But lo! the moment that treaty was rejected, the President sends to the Senate a very threatening message against Canada, and asks for power to control the commercial relations, and says that he asks it because that will be the surest means of compelling the Canadians to do what they are wanted to do, and he asks for power to do the very harshest things that could be done to Canada, upon the plea that he wants to prevent the outrages which have been going on now since 1885, or nearly three years, without his having before said a word about controlling them. The first question that springs to the lips is, "Is the President in earnest?" If yes, let him enforce retaliation for the outrages by the power he has had since March, 1887. If he will do that he will show that this paper is the message of a statesman, and not of a campaigner on the stump.

## PART II.

### Text of President Cleveland's Retaliation Message.

Following is the text of the Message of President Cleveland to Congress. after the refusal of the U. S. Senate, Aug. 21, 1888, by the decisive vote\* of 27 Democratic "yeas" to 30 Republican "nays," — to ratify his proposed Fisheries Treaty.

\* The vote in detail was as follows:

YEAR.—Messrs. Bate, Beck, Berry, Blackburn, Blodgett, Brown, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Daniel, Faulkner, George, Gorman, Gray, Hampton, Harris, Jones of Arkansas, McPherson, Morgan, Pusco,

#### To the Congress:

The rejection by the Senate of the treaty lately negotiated for the settlement and adjustment of the differences existing between the United States and Great Britain, concerning the rights and privileges of American fishermen in the ports and waters of British North America, seems to justify a survey of the condition to which the pending question is thus remitted.

The treaty upon this subject concluded in 1818, through disagreements as to the meaning of its terms, has been a fruitful source of irritation and trouble. Our citizens engaged in fishing enterprises in waters adjacent to Canada, have been subjected to numerous vexations, interferences and annoyances, their vessels have been seized upon pretexts which appear to be entirely inadmissible, and they have been otherwise treated by the Canadian authorities and officials in a manner inexcusably harsh and oppressive.

This conduct has been justified by Great Britain and Canada by the claim that the treaty of 1818 permitted it, and upon the ground that it was necessary to the proper protection of Canadian interests.

We deny that treaty agreements justify these acts, and we further maintain that, aside from any treaty restraints of disputed interpretation, the relative positions of the United States and Canada as near neighbors, the growth of our joint commerce, the development and prosperity of both countries, which amicable relations surely guarantee, and above all, the liberality always extended by the United States to the people of Canada, furnished motives for kindness and consideration higher and better than treaty covenants.

While keenly sensitive to all that was exasperating in the condition, and by no means indisposed to support the just complaints of our injured citizens, I still deemed it my duty for the preservation of important American interests which were directly involved, and in view of all the details of the situation, to attempt by negotiation to remedy existing wrongs and to finally terminate, by a fair and just treaty, these ever-recurring causes of difficulty.

I fully believe that the treaty just rejected by the Senate was well suited to the exigency, and that its provisions were adequate for our security in the future from vexatious incidents and for the promotion of friendly neighborhood and intimacy, without sacrificing in the least our national pride or dignity.

I am quite conscious that neither my opinion of the value of the rejected treaty nor the motives which prompted its negotiation, are of importance in the light of the judgment of the Senate thereupon. But it is of importance to note that this treaty has been rejected without any apparent disposition on the part of the Senate to alter or amend its provisions, and with the evident intention, not wanting expression, that no negotiation should at present be concluded touching the matter at issue.

The co-operation necessary for the adjustment of the long standing national differences with which we have to deal, by methods of conference and agreement, having thus been declined, I am by no means disposed to abandon the interests and the rights of our people in the premises, or to neglect their grievances; and I therefore turn to the contemplation of a plan of retaliation as a mode which still remains of treating the situation.

I am not unmindful of the gravity of the responsibility assumed in adopting this line of conduct, nor do I fail in the least to appreciate its serious consequences. It will be impossible to injure our Canadian neighbors by retaliatory measures without inflicting some damage upon our own citizens. This results from our proximity, our community of interests, and the inevitable commingling of the business enterprises which have been developed by mutual activity.

#### What national retaliation means.

Plainly stated, the policy of national retaliation manifestly embraces the infliction of the greatest harm

Payne, Pugh, Ransom, Reagan, Vest, Walshall, Wilson of Maryland. — 27.

NAYS.—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Chace, Chandler, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Evarts, Farwell, Frye, Hale, Hawley, Hiscock, Hoar, Ingalls, Jones, Mauderson, Mitchell, Platt, Plumb, Quay, Sabin, Sawyer, Sherman, Spooner, Stewart, Stockbridge, Teller, and Wilson of Iowa. — 30.

upon those who have injured us, with the least possible damage to ourselves. There is also an evident propriety as well as an invitation to moral support, found in visiting upon the offending party the same measure or kind of treatment of which we complain, and as far as possible within the same lines. And above all things the plan of retaliation, if entered upon, should be thorough and vigorous.

These considerations lead me at this time to invoke the aid and counsel of the Congress and its support in such a further grant of power as seems to me necessary and desirable to render effective the policy I have indicated.

The Congress has already passed a law, which received Executive assent on the 3d. day of March, 1887, providing that in case American fishing vessels being or visiting in the waters, or at any of the ports of the British dominions of North America, should be, or lately had been, deprived of the rights to which they were entitled by treaty or law, or if they were denied certain other privileges therein specified, or vexed and harassed in the enjoyment of the same, the President might deny to vessels and their masters and crews of the British Dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports, or harbors of the United States, and also deny entry into any port or place of the United States of any product of said Dominions, or other goods coming from said Dominions to the United States.

While I shall not hesitate, upon proper occasion, to enforce this act, it would seem to be unnecessary to suggest that, if such enforcement is limited in such a manner as shall result in the least possible injury to our own people, the effect would probably be entirely inadequate to the accomplishment of the purpose desired.

I deem it my duty, therefore, to call the attention of the Congress to certain particulars in the action of the authorities of the Dominion of Canada, in addition to the general allegations already made, which appear to be in such marked contrast to the liberal and friendly disposition of our country as, in my opinion, to call for such legislation as will, upon the principles already stated, properly supplement the power to inaugurate retaliation already vested in the Executive.

Actuated by the generous and neighborly spirit which has characterized our legislation, our tariff laws have since 1866 been so far waived in favor of Canada as to allow free of duty the transit across the territory of the United States of property arriving at our ports and destined to Canada, or exported from Canada to other foreign countries.

#### Privileges denied to American Fishermen.

When the Treaty of Washington was negotiated in 1871 between the United States and Great Britain, having for its object very largely the modification of the Treaty of 1818, the privileges above referred to were made reciprocal, and given in return by Canada to the United States in the following language, contained in the XXXIXth Article of said treaty:

"It is agreed that, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this treaty, goods, wares, or merchandise arriving at the ports of New York, Boston, and Portland, and any other ports in the United States which have been or may, from time to time, be especially designated by the President of the United States, and destined for Her Britannic Majesty's possessions in North America, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the territory of the United States, under such rules, regulations and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Government of the United States may from time to time prescribe; and, under like rules, regulations, and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, from such possessions, through the territory of the United States, for export from the said ports of the United States.

"It is further agreed that, for the like period, goods, wares or merchandise arriving at any of the ports of her Britannic Majesty's possessions in North America, and destined for the United States, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the said possessions, under such rules and regulations and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Governments of the said possessions may from time to time prescribe;

and, under like rules, regulations, and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without payment of duties, from the United States through the said possessions to other places in the United States, or for export from ports in the said possessions."

In the year 1886, notice was received by the representatives of our Government that our fishermen would no longer be allowed to ship their fish in bond and free of duty through Canadian territory to this country; and ever since that time such shipment has been denied.

The privilege of such shipment which has been extended to our fishermen was a most important one, allowing them to spend the time upon the fishing grounds which would otherwise be devoted to voyage home with their catch, and doubling their opportunities for profitably prosecuting their vocation. In forbidding the transit of the catch of our fishermen over their territory in bond and free of duty, the Canadian authorities deprived us of the only facility dependent upon their concession, and for which we could supply no substitute.

The value to the Dominion of Canada of the privilege of transit for their exports and imports across our territory, and to and from our ports, though great in every aspect, will be better appreciated when it is remembered that, for a considerable portion of each year, the St. Lawrence River, which constitutes the direct avenue of foreign commerce leading to Canada, is closed by ice.

During the last six years the imports and exports of British Canadian provinces carried across our territory under the privileges granted by our laws amounted in value to about two hundred and seventy millions of dollars, nearly all of which were goods dutiable under our tariff laws, by far the greater part of this traffic consisting of exchanges of goods between Great Britain and her American provinces, brought to and carried from our ports in their own vessels. The treaty stipulation entered into by our Government was in harmony with laws which were then on our statute-book, and are still in force.

#### What is specifically recommended.

I recommend immediate legislative action conferring upon the Executive the power to suspend by proclamation the operation of all laws and regulations permitting the transit of goods, wares and merchandise in bond across or over the territory of the United States to or from Canada. There need be no hesitation in suspending these laws arising from the supposition that their continuation is secured by treaty obligations; for it seems quite plain that Article XXIX. of the treaty of 1871, which was the only article incorporating such laws, terminated the first day of July, 1885. The article itself declares that its provisions shall be in force "for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII. of this treaty."

Turning to Article XXXIII., we find no mention of the XXIXth article, but only a provision that Articles XVIII. to XXV., inclusive, and Article XXX., shall take effect as soon as the laws required to carry them into operation shall be passed by the legislative bodies of the different countries concerned, and "that they shall remain in force for the period of ten years from the date at which they may come into operation, and further until the expiration of two years after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same."

I am of the opinion that the "term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII," referred to in Article XXIX as the limit of its duration, means the period during which Articles XVIII to XXV, inclusive, and Article XXX, commonly called the "Fishery Articles," should continue in force under the language of said Article XXXIII.

That the Joint High Commissioners who negotiated the treaty so understood and intended the phrase is certain, for in a statement containing an account of their negotiations, prepared under their supervision and approved by them, we find the following entry on the subject:

"The transit question was discussed, and it was agreed that any settlement that might be made should include a reciprocal arrangement in that respect for the period of which the Fishery Articles should be in force."

In addition to this, a very satisfactory evidence supporting this construction of the language of Article XXIX, it will be found that the law passed by Congress to carry the treaty into effect furnishes conclusive proof of the correctness of such construction. This law was passed March 2, 1873, and is entitled, "An act to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed in the City of Washington, the 8th day of May, 1871, relating to the fisheries." After providing in its first and second sections for putting in operation Articles XVIII to XXV, inclusive, and Article XXX of the treaty, the third section is devoted to Article XXIX as follows:

"Sec. 3. That from the date of the President's proclamation authorized by the first section of this act, and so long as the articles eighteenth to twenty-fifth inclusive, and article thirtieth of said treaty shall remain in force according to the terms and conditions of article thirty-third of said treaty, all goods, wares and merchandise arriving, etc. etc."

—following in the remainder of the section the precise words of the stipulation on the part of the United States as contained in Article XXIX, which I have already fully quoted.

Here, then, is a distinct enactment of the Congress limiting the duration of this article of the treaty to the time that Articles XVIII to XXV, inclusive, and Article XXX should continue in force. That in fixing such limit it but gave the meaning of the treaty itself, is indicated by the fact that its purpose is declared to be to carry into effect to the provisions of the treaty, and by the further fact that this law appears to have been submitted before the promulgation of the treaty to certain members of the Joint High Commission representing both countries, and met with no objection or dissent.

There appearing to be no conflict or inconsistency between the treaty and the act of the Congress last cited, it is not necessary to invoke the well-settled principle that in case of such conflict the statute governs the question.

#### Canada's Enjoyment of American Laws.

In any event, and whether the law of 1873 construes the treaty or governs it, Section XXIX of such treaty, I have no doubt, terminated with the proceedings taken by our Government to terminate Articles XVIII to XXV, inclusive, and Article XXX of the treaty. These proceedings had their inception in a joint resolution of Congress passed May 3, 1883, declaring that in the judgment of Congress these articles ought to be terminated, and directing the President to give the notice to the Government of Great Britain provided for in Article XXXIII of the treaty. Such notice having been given two years prior to the 1st day of July, 1885, the articles mentioned were absolutely terminated on the last named day, and with them Article XXIX. was also terminated.

If by any language used in the joint resolution it was intended to relieve section 3 of the act of 1873, embodying Article XXIX of the treaty, from its own limitations, or to save the article itself, I am entirely satisfied that the intention miscarried. But statutes granting to the people of Canada the valuable privileges of transit for their goods from our ports and over our soil, which has been passed prior to the making of the treaty of 1871, and independently of it, remained in force; and ever since the abrogation of the treaty, and notwithstanding the refusal of Canada to permit our fishermen to send their fish to their home market through her territory in bond, the people of that Dominion have enjoyed without diminution the advantages of our liberal and generous laws.

Without basing our complaint upon a violation of treaty obligations, it is nevertheless true that such refusal of transit, and the other injurious acts which have been recited, constitute a provoking insistence upon rights neither mitigated by the amenities of national intercourse, nor modified by the recognition of our liberality and generous considerations.

The history of events connected with this subject makes it manifest that the Canadian Government can, if so disposed, administer its laws, and protect the interests of its people, without manifestations of unfriendliness, and without the unneighborly treatment of our fishing vessels, of which we have justly complained; and whatever is done on our part should be

done in the hope that the disposition of the Canadian Government may remove the occasion of a resort to the additional Executive power now sought through legislative action.

I am satisfied, that, upon the principles which should govern retaliation, our intercourse and relations with the Dominion of Canada furnish no better opportunity for its application than is suggested by the conditions herein presented, and that it could not be more effectively inaugurated than under the power of suspension recommended.

While I have expressed my clear conviction upon the question of the continuance of section twenty-nine of the treaty of 1871, I, of course, fully concede the power and the duty of the Congress, in contemplating legislative action, to construe the terms of any treaty stipulations which might, upon any possible consideration of good faith, limit such action; and, likewise, the peculiar propriety in the case here presented of its interpretation of its own language as contained in the laws of 1873 putting in operation said treaty, and of 1883 directing the termination thereof; and if in the deliberate judgment of Congress any restraint to the proposed legislation exists, it is to be hoped that the expediency of its early removal will be recognized.

#### Canadian Tolls and Charges.

I desire, also, to call the attention of Congress to another subject involving such wrongs and unfair treatment to our citizens as, in my opinion, require prompt action. The navigation of the Great Lakes, and the immense business and carrying trade growing out of the same, have been treated broadly and liberally by the United States Government, and made free to all mankind, while Canadian railroads and navigation companies share in our country's transportation upon terms as favorable as are accorded to our own citizens. The canals and other public works built and maintained by the Government along the line of the lakes are made free to all. In contrast to this condition, and evincing a narrow and ungenerous commercial spirit, every lock and canal which is a public work of the Dominion of Canada is subject to tolls and charges.

By Article XXVII. of the treaty of 1871 provision was made to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence, and other canals in the Dominion of Canada on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, and to also secure to the subjects of Great Britain the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

The equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion which we were promised in the use of the canals of Canada did not secure to us freedom from tolls in their navigation, but we had a right to expect that we, being Americans and interested in American commerce, would be no more burdened in regard to the same than Canadians engaged in their own trade; and the whole spirit of concession made was, or should have been, that merchandise and property transported to an American market through these canals should not be enhanced in its cost by tolls many times higher than such as were carried to an adjoining Canadian market. All our citizens, producers and consumers, as well as vessel-owners, were to enjoy the equality promised. And yet evidence has for some time been before the Congress, furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury, showing that while the tolls charged in the first instance are the same to all, such vessels and cargoes as are destined to certain Canadian ports are allowed a refund of nearly the entire tolls, while those bound for American ports are not allowed any such advantage. To promise equality, and then in practice make it conditional upon our vessels doing Canadian business instead of their own, is to fulfil a promise with the shadow of performance.

I recommend that such legislative action be taken as will give Canadian vessels navigating our canals, and their cargoes, precisely the advantages granted to our vessels and cargoes upon Canadian canals, and that the same be measured by exactly the same rule of discrimination.

The course which I have outlined and the recommendations made relate to the honor and dignity of our country and the protection and preservation of the rights and interests of all our people. A Government does but half its duty when it protects its citizens at home, and permits them to be imposed upon and

humiliated by the unfair and overreaching dispositions of other nations. If we invite our people to rely upon arrangements made for their benefit abroad, we should see to it that they are not deceived; and if we are generous and liberal to a neighboring country, our people should reap the advantage of it by a return of liberality and generosity.

These are subjects which partisans should not disturb or confuse. Let us survey the ground calmly and moderately, and having put aside other means of settlement, if we enter upon the policy of retaliation let us pursue it firmly, with a determination only to subserve the interests of our people and maintain the high standard and the becoming pride of American citizenship.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Aug. 23, 1888.

### PART III.

#### Senators Edmunds, Hoar, Hale, and Sherman on the Retaliatory Message — The Senate Discussion.

On Aug. 24, 1888, after the reading in the Senate of President Cleveland's message on Retaliation, Mr. Sherman moved to print and refer the same to the Committee of Foreign relations, whereupon a debate ensued, in which the ground was completely knocked from under the President's feet, in the following weighty utterances:

##### Senator Edmunds's Powerful Speech.

MR. EDMUNDS. — On that motion I would like to say a word, although I am in favor of it. If I had been five or six years younger than I am, I should have been surprised at that message. But I am not, and I am not only very highly gratified at the patriotic expression of hopes and wishes (almost intentions) of the President of the United States in reference to the protection of American interests and rights; but the peculiarity of the situation is that, having had a statute providing for self-defence approved by the President of the United States and passed by the substantially unanimous vote of both Houses (if that made any difference to his duty in faithfully executing the laws), and after full consideration of all its points and bearings, the extent to which it should go, the objects to which it should be limited, and the circumstances under which it should be brought into play, 18 months have gone by and we are now informed by the President of the United States (for I take it that that is what he means, although no word of that kind is in the message), that no step of any kind has been taken to carry into execution the plain provisions of that law. It is true that the law did not require the President to put it into effect in the way of self-defence (as I prefer to call it, rather than retaliation) until a case should have arisen of wrong and injustice which should satisfy him that American rights and interests were being unjustly dealt with. Now what has happened since the passage of that act? If nothing has happened, if there have been no instances of injustice, of denial of American rights, of unjust treatment of American citizens in the Provinces of the Dominion, then of course the President has been entirely right in taking no step in reference to the matter. If, however, in his opinion (as he now states it) there have been instances of denial of just rights to American citizens engaged in the business described in the act of 1857, why is it that the President has not taken any step in the exercise of the powers which the law imposed upon him and in the exercise of the high duty which the Constitution imposes upon him of taking care that the laws are faithfully executed? Here was a law which he was to execute when the contingency should arise, or on the existence of a particular fact, and, when he was satisfied that the fact existed, then it was made his duty to take steps to obtain redress in the method which the statute pointed out.

So that we have now the case of a period of nearly eighteen months during which, as he states in his message, action has been called for. He tells us that in one instance, in 1886, an American fishing vessel, catching fish on the high seas outside of the ten and of the twenty mile delimitation and sailing (as a purely commercial enterprise) to a port of British North America for the purpose of sending her cargo of fish by rail to Boston, was by general orders (sweeping orders) denied that privilege. Now the President says that was a great and most important and grievous injury to American interests and to American rights. Why has he been silent for eighteen months with the whole power of the law in his hands? And why has he remained inactive? Doubtless under the patriotic advice of the gentlemen who compose his cabinet, and doubtless with the most patriotic motive, — that it might be best to submit to what is now declared to be a grievous wrong (with the means at hand to redress or to defend against it), and to enter into a discussion with the wrong-doer to provide for a new arrangement on a broader basis of British territoriality, and a new arrangement on a broader basis of British free trade. And so I must suppose that these important and urgent powers, which Congress unanimously put into his hands to be exercised as a duty in case he found the facts to exist which were described in the statutes, have been suspended by executive authority (by prerogative, as I think it is mentioned in some of the minority reports of some committee as being one of the prerogatives of the President), just as an English king in the olden time would undertake to suspend an act of Parliament, not to carry it into effect so long as you can talk with the nation which was continuing, even while talking, the very wrong now so fully and well set forth in this message. I must confess my astonishment at such a course of action on the part of the President of the United States; I must express my surprise and regret, not (using the language of the message) the regret of a partisan, but the regret of a citizen, that for more than a year, with the means in his hands to redress it, he has failed to take any step, and now sends to us a message asking that additional powers be given (as he supposes) on a broader field of retaliation, and covering other topics, be given him. I must suppose, under the principle which he has already acted upon, that, until these powers are given him, he will do nothing at all.

MR. PRESIDENT, it is very odd, this business. I wish to call attention to one incident in this message which struck me with a good deal of surprise. We apparently do not know what was the course of the negotiations which led to this treaty. We apparently do not know what sub-stipulations and engagements and understandings and protocols and gossip and declarations existed. Here we find in this message (a thing to which I wish to call special attention) a discussion as to whether the 29th article of the treaty of 1871 is in force or not. The Canadian Government has not refused to tranship fish on the ground that that article was not in force. It has made no such pretension. It has refused to tranship fish on the ground that that article did not override the convention of 1818, by which an American fishing vessel was not to come within three miles of the land.

In discussing at some length the point as to whether Art. XXIX of the treaty is still in force, Mr. Edmunds brought out the fact, that less than a year ago Secretary Bayard had written a letter to Senator Reagan, distinctly admitting that the State Department still considered Art. XXIX of the treaty of 1871 to be in force. In that letter Secretary Bayard said:

Only the fishery articles of the treaty of Washington were abrogated. The remaining articles, comprising those which relate to commercial intercourse between the United States and British North American possessions, are still in force.

He also discussed the intent of Congress in limiting the existing retaliatory act to matters connected with the fishery interests, and then continued:

Now, it will be seen that one of the very things about which the President is now for the first time apparently solicitous was brought to the attention of the two Houses of Congress pending the passage of the law of 1887, and that the Senate was of opinion that the provisions contained in that law, as it was proposed, and as it finally passed, were entirely adequate to the protection of American rights and interests in the respects in which they had been intruded upon and assailed. The message of the President contains a reference to some topics of discontent which he has for the first time communicated to Congress, although they are very old ones, and although the attention of Congress was called to them in reports of committees a very long time ago, touching canals, etc. This act of 1882 does not touch those topics at all, because the basis on which the President is to exert the powers given him in that act refers to the treatment of American vessels in Canadian ports, and not to the treatment of Americans in the Welland or other canals. What that act referred to was really the fishery question. When the Canadian authorities denied to American fishermen the right to tranship their fish from Halifax to Boston or New York, the President was justified in denying, and it was his duty to deny to Canadian fish, transportation across our country, or any other Canadian goods just as far and as fast as he should deem it adequate redress for the wrong committed on us. It was within the competency, and was the duty of the President to inform the British Government that we regarded that 29th article of the treaty as no longer in force, because it could not be in force on the one side, and not the other side at the same time, and it is that which previous Presidents and Secretaries of State have done to the honor and benefit of the American name and American interests. As we stand now, we have got as the only fishing wrong which the President mentions as of crying and great importance the denial by the Canadian authorities, persisted in, as the President says, from 1886 until now, and still continued, of the right of American fishermen to tranship their fish from Halifax to Boston or New York, while Canadian fishing-vessels or any other British vessels coming into any of our ports are, by force of this article and our friendly laws, authorized to tranship their fish to Canada, or from Canada to New York for exportation, without the payment of duties. That is the fact, and the President tells us that it has existed now for two years. Following that fact, which the President says is a gross outrage, is the statute of the United States, which says that if he is satisfied that such a fact exists, he shall apply the means of redress which the statute has put in his hands. Why does he not do it? I should have been glad, intellectually, if the President had said in this message what the reasons are, what the impediments are to his endeavoring to execute faithfully the statute of the United States on a state of circumstances which he officially reports to exist, when that statute makes it his duty to employ the means which the law has given him. Oh, no! I believe that in the time of the late war (if I may refer to that without any offence to any one) it was said that the more troops a certain Union general (and perhaps more than one general) was supplied with, the greater difficulty he found in moving on the enemy, and that he continually telegraphed to President Lincoln that he could not go until he had more troops. Does the President really mean to say that he cannot take any step provided in the act of 1887 until Congress shall give him further power, and particularly and chiefly the very powers which the Senate thought it was unfit to give him? Alas, Mr. President, I think it is an infinite pity that in so simple a case an adequate and full statute—the force or weakness of which has never yet been tested by the first step—should remain unexecuted and in a state of “innocuous desuetude” until the President of the United States may see whether Congress will not put more ammunition into his hands before he fires the first gun.

#### Senator Hoar ridicules the attitude of the President and Democratic Senators.

Senator Hoar said that confession was good for the soul, and that it was a subject of considerable satisfaction to a benevolent mind to witness the workings of the grand Democratic confessional which seems to have established itself in the White House. The

Senate had received a message within three months from the President which contained this language: “I believe the treaty will be found to contain a just, honorable and therefore satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have clouded our relations with our neighbors on our northern border.” The whole subject matter of the relations of the United States with Canada, so far as in February last they seemed to require the removal of any cloud, had been dealt with in a treaty which the President of the United States had sent to the Senate; and which he, the head of the Department of State, and every Democratic Senator who had dealt with the subject so far as he (Mr. Hoar) remembered, loudly and vociferously declared removed every cause of offence and prevented its existence in the future. And they had been told when they pointed out grievance after grievance, and insisted on their removal, that they were proposing retaliation; that that was a most abhorrent and abominable thing, never to be thought of; and that if they did not look out they would get the country into a war. The Senators on the Democratic side of the chamber had fairly lain down before the demands and threats and pretensions of the little Dominion of Canada. They thought they were lying down by the side of the President to comfort him in his own position. But now behold! Poor men, the President undertook to get up, and, shaking the dust from his own coat, to leave them where they had placed themselves. If this thing now set forth, and which had been affirmed by Republican Senators, who had raised two committees to address themselves to the subject, that Canada has been all this time violating the treaty of 1871 in regard to our use of her canals and other transportation facilities, if that was true, as Republican Senators averred, how happened it that the Administration in negotiating this treaty had been dumb during the last two years on that subject? If when the representatives of Great Britain were in Washington the Administration had called attention to this breach of faith on the part of Canada—to this wrong which the President now said demanded instant and prompt measures of retaliation—and they rejected the demand for redress, how happened it that that part of the negotiation had been kept wholly secret from the Senate and the people? How happened it that the President had sent a treaty which was claimed to remove every cause of offence and complaint? If, on the other hand, he didn't call this to the attention of the representatives of Great Britain, in what an attitude did he now seek to place the people of the United States or how would they have been placed but for the rejection of the treaty? He would have had a long negotiation with Great Britain and would have declared to her that the results were perfectly satisfactory, and then, the moment the treaty to which she had consented had been ratified and accepted, he would have been prepared to turn round upon her with this hostile measure of retaliation. Had the President believed all the time that he was urging this treaty as a complete solution of this matter that it was not a complete solution and that this grave cause of offence still existed?

Mr. Hoar said the facts had been in the possession of the Secretary of the Treasury several years. He quoted a resolution of the Senate calling for information and the Secretary's reply and cited Treasury circulars issued to customs officers giving instructions in relation to the handling of Canadian merchandise in bond in support of his theory that the Administration itself believed it had absolute power to do everything it should choose in the matter. The message, he said, was a repetition of the policy pursued in regard to the purchase of bonds. This Administration wanted to pile up a great surplus in the Treasury in order that it might be used as an argument for the attack on our protective system, and accordingly it affected to have grave doubts whether the law gave the Secretary power to expend that surplus for bonds of the United States; and, after the mischief was already done, and the surplus was piled up and distributed among the national banks, without interest, the President sent in a communication saying he thought he ought to have authority to expend it in buying bonds. When both branches of Congress passed a resolution stating that the President had that right, he said, “Well, I guess I have,” and proceeded to make his purchases. Here were two unquestionable acts (the Treasury circulars) affirming the power to suspend this business as the



Administration sees fit, to impose such terms, regulations and conditions as the Secretary may see fit, and yet with that power the President allows it to slumber during all these years, when, as he informs us, these outrages on the part of Canada were going on, and now comes in and asks the Senate and House of Representatives to grant him power which he knows perfectly well he has the right to exercise. How could he reconcile it, either with our honor or dignity, if this treaty had been ratified, to immediately turn round and say to Great Britain: "Now I have got this treaty signed I am going to declare non-intercourse with you on another ground which I never mentioned in the negotiations." If the patriotic spirit of the majority of the Senate had not rejected the treaty the American people would never have heard from the Executive a slip of a desire to affirm and maintain and defend and establish their rights in relation to the system of transportation. It was idle for the President to undertake at this time to cover up his retreat and cover up his surrender by undertaking to come to the front in regard to this matter.

**Senator Hale declares the Message "a desperate expedient to recover lost ground."**

Mr. Hale characterized the President's message as a desperate expedient to recover lost ground, and a confession that the attitude taken by him and his Administration as to the treaty was an attitude that had no account or force in it. Nothing had shown the wisdom and patriotism of the course taken by Republican Senators in rejecting the treaty as worthless so clearly as this message. After having failed in the treaty the President found fault with the statute of retaliation, and said that there was not power enough given to him to retaliate against Canadian aggression. And yet his Secretary of the Treasury had found power enough in the statutes to give to British steamships and to the Canadian Pacific Railway permission to transport goods from one American port, San Francisco, to another American port, and thence to the terminus of that railway. He held that under the retaliation act the President had ample power. It was an act that was farther reaching and farther extensive than any act that had ever been called upon to be put in exercise by an Administration. If the grievances recited existed now they had existed for the last two years.

**Senator Sherman on the Message.**

Mr. Sherman confessed that the message of the President gave him more pleasure than he usually derived from messages coming from that high authority. But he thought that it was a movement to supply lost ground. If the President had based his treaty on the principles laid down in his message there would have been no difficulty about the treaty, and it would have been ratified by a unanimous vote, because the message did assert the rights of American citizens. The principal point made by the President had been whether the XXIXth article of the treaty had been abrogated by the notice given in 1883 and by the subsequent action of Congress. The President's arguments on that point appeared plausible, but it seemed that the Commerce Committee on the retaliation bill had taken a different view. But, whether that article was abrogated or not, the power of the President under existing laws was ample and full. The message of the President was a sign that he was willing to stand with the Senate in the position taken by it.

Mr. Sherman proceeded to speak of the discriminating tolls on the Canadian canals, and said that they ought not to be submitted to. Reciprocal rights ought to be insisted upon. The matter of sending goods through Canada to Portland was a matter of importance and benefit to the people of both countries, and if conducted fairly and properly there could be no complaint about it. He proceeded to speak of the financial policy of the Administration and said that of all the financial management that he had read of in story or song, it was the worst. He spoke of the countless millions that had been lost through the Administration declining for nearly three years to use the surplus in purchasing bonds, although both Houses had declared that the Secretary of the Treasury possessed the power to do so. But the President had doubted his power in that case just as he doubted it in this. And again he came to Congress and demanded more power. "Why," said

Mr. Sherman, "he has power to bring the Canadians to terms in twenty-four hours. A mere declaration on these two points, that we will not allow fresh fish to come free into our markets as long as our fishermen are denied their rights, and that we will not allow them to discriminate against us in the canals and the great transportation lines, will bring them to terms. If we deal with them on principles of justice and right we will win their favor rather than provoke their opposition."

"I believe that the result of such a mode of dealing with them would be the union of the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of the United States, and that would be best of all. The friction about these fisheries troubles, upon the question of canals between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, upon the question of shipping goods from San Francisco to Portland, and upon occurrences in Manitoba is likely to continue. All these circulating subjects are likely to increase from time to time, as they are increasing, until the time may come when the two great nations may be involved in a most dangerous controversy — which God forbid."

"I believe, therefore, that the policy of generosity and of liberality would bind these two countries together in one harmonious government, and that is what we all ought to desire to see."

## PART IV.

### The Twenty-ninth Article — Representative Hitt's Conclusive Showing that it is still in Force.

Congressman Hitt, formerly assistant Secretary of State, and now on the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, speaking of the 29th article of the treaty of Washington, said:

The language of the act of Congress of 1873, based upon that article, does imply upon its face that the article was to run for the same period — and only for the same period — as the fishery articles. The article itself, however, while not contradicting that, contains nothing to enforce that view; it only provides that its duration is to be ascertained by the same method as that of the fishery articles; it is to last for ten years, and further till two years after due notice. Now, assuming from the language of the law of 1873 that the purpose was that the 29th article should cease at the same time as the fishery articles, there is a question as to whether the twenty-ninth article is now in force, or whether it lapsed three years and more ago. But it is a well-established principle of law that when the meaning of a contract is in dispute it is to be construed in accordance with the conduct of the parties. In this case both the parties up to last Thursday have treated the twenty-ninth article as in full force and terminable only after two years' notice. In any court of justice that would be conclusive. No court would allow a man to suddenly repudiate a contract that he had acknowledged himself to be bound by for three years and more after the date when he now says the contract ceased.

We passed a retaliation act last year, drawn with the express understanding that the twenty-ninth article was in force. The method of retaliation that the President now proposes was discussed then, and was dropped because the twenty-ninth article was in the way. Secretary Bayard then held that that article was in force; and to get around it, Mr. Belmont proposed to exclude cars coming from Canada, without in terms excluding the contents of the cars, on the ground that the contents had the right of transit under the twenty-ninth article, but the cars had not. This was abandoned as being a mere evasion. Secretary Bayard wrote to the conferees on the Interstate Commerce Bill, in January, 1887, that all of the commercial articles of the treaty were in full force; and last winter, in the negotiation of the fishery treaty, he and Messrs. Putnam and Angell treated the twenty-ninth article as in full force. Now, the President's argument is plausible in a technical view of words; but can we, in view of our own record on this matter, set up the claim now, in

dealing with a great nation, that the article is not only dead, but that it died more than three years ago, although we were entirely unconscious of it ourselves? If there is any force in the legal maxim that the expression of one thing is the exclusion of the other, it has a bearing on this matter.

Article 33, determining the duration of the fishery articles, expressly enumerates Articles 18 to 25 and Article 30, and the omission of Article 29 should be presumed to have some significance. President Arthur gave notice to England of the abrogation of Articles 18 to 25 and Article 30, but he said nothing about Article 29, yet the treaty manifestly contemplates notice as preliminary to terminating any part of it. The method of retaliation which the President recommends would relieve the Dominion Government from the expense of supporting the International Railway out of the public treasury. That road, which exists only for political reasons, would then find ample commercial reasons for existence. It now runs one small train each way daily. The President's method of retaliation would force to that road a business that would enable it to pay a profit to the Canadian Government, who own it, and run it at a great loss. St. John and Halifax would gain business at the expense of Portland and Boston, and the Central Vermont would lose traffic. It would play right into the hands of the Tory rulers of Canada, who are trying, in spite of nature, to force Ontario and Quebec into close union with the maritime Provinces and separate them from the States.

## PART V.

### The Republican Senate asks President Cleveland to sustain some of his Assertions by Documentary Evidence — Senator Cullom's Resolution — The President's Double Game.

On Aug. 28, 1888, a resolution previously offered by Senator Hoar, was amended on motion of Senator Edmunds, and in its amended form was agreed to by the Senate in the following form:

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested, if not in his judgment incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate copies of all communications, if any, addressed by his direction to the Government of Great Britain, remonstrating with that Government against the wrongs and unfair treatment to our citizens by the action of the Canadian Government in refunding to vessels and cargoes which pass through the Welland and other Canadian canals nearly the entire tolls if they are destined to Canadian ports, while those bound for American ports are not allowed any such advantage, and the breach of the engagement contained in the treaty of 1871, whereby Great Britain promised to the United States equality in the matter of such canal transportation; also copies of any demand made by his direction upon Great Britain for the redress of such wrongs, and the replies of Great Britain to such communication and demand. And also that there be communicated to the

Senate copies of all papers and information touching the matter of the refusal of the British Government or that of any of her North-American dominions to allow the entry at Dominion seaports of American fish or other cargoes, for transporting in bond to the United States since the first day of July, 1885. Also that he communicate to the Senate what instances have occurred since the 3d of March, 1887, of wrongs to American fishing vessels, or other American vessels in the ports or waters of British North America; and what steps, if any, have been taken in respect thereto.

#### The Cullom Resolution.

On August 30, Senator Cullom offered the following resolution in the Senate, which (at the time of writing) is still pending:

*Whereas*, the President of the United States, in his message of Aug. 23, 1888, concerning our relations with Canada, advises Congress that article 29 of the treaty of Washington, which provided for the transit of goods, wares and merchandise in bond over the territory of the United States to or from Canada is no longer in force; and

*Whereas*, in the same message the President also advises Congress that section 3 of the act of March 1, 1873, passed to carry into effect the provisions of said article 29, is no longer in force; and

*Whereas*, section 3005 of the Revised Statutes only authorizes the transit through the territory of the United States of merchandise destined for Canada and arriving from abroad at New York, Boston and Portland in Maine (or at such other ports as may be specially designated by the Secretary of the Treasury): therefore

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be and is hereby directed to inform the Senate whether the transit in bond over or across the territory of the United States without the payment of duty, of goods, wares and merchandise coming from Canada has been permitted since July 1, 1885, when article 22 of the treaty of Washington and section 3 of the act of March 1, 1873, are said to have ceased to be in force, and, if so, to what extent and by what authority of law.

#### President Cleveland's Double Game — "Ways that are Dark."

The following despatch appears in the Boston Journal:

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4. The information comes from apparently trustworthy sources that simultaneous with the transmission of the President's recent retaliation message to Congress a private communication was transmitted by the Government of the United States to the British Government at London, assuring it that it need have no anxiety as to any official action that would be taken under the authority that the President had asked of Congress if it should be granted. Assurance was given that the United States would furnish no *casus belli* in connection with the matter. This throws light on the despatches from Canada, showing that while some Government officials there are ranting and attempting to excite the people, the Canadian authorities, who are directly responsible for the policy of the Government, are playing a different tune from that of a few weeks ago. There are more than intimations that the United States has only to ask for what it wants and it will get it.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### Statistical Tables.

#### No. I.—Popular Vote for President.

From 1868 to 1884 inclusive.

STATES.	1868.		1872.		1876.		1880.		1884.	
	Grant (Rep.)	Seymour (Dem.)	Grant (Rep.)	Greeley (Lib.)	Hayes (Rep.)	Tilden (Dem.)	Garfield (Rep.)	Hancock (Dem.)	Blaine (Rep.)	Cleveland (Dem.)
Alabama ....	76,366	72,088	90,282	79,444	68,230	102,002	56,221	91,185	59,591	93,951
Arkansas ....	22,112	19,078	41,373	37,027	38,609	58,071	42,436	60,775	50,895	72,927
California ....	54,583	54,077	54,020	40,718	78,614	75,845	80,348	80,426	102,416	89,288
Colorado .....					By Legislature.		27,450	24,647	36,290	27,723
Connecticut ....	50,995	47,952	50,638	45,880	59,034	61,934	67,071	64,415	65,923	67,199
Delaware .....	7,623	10,980	11,115	10,206	10,752	13,381	14,133	15,275	12,951	16,964
Florida .....	By Legislature.		17,763	15,427	23,849	22,923	23,554	27,964	28,031	31,766
Georgia .....	57,134	102,722	62,550	76,356	50,446	130,088	54,086	102,470	48,603	94,667
Illinois .....	250,303	199,143	241,944	184,938	278,232	258,601	318,037	277,321	337,474	312,355
Indiana .....	176,548	166,980	186,147	163,632	208,011	213,526	232,164	225,522	238,463	244,999
Iowa .....	120,390	74,040	131,566	71,196	171,327	112,099	183,927	105,845	197,089	177,316
Kansas .....	31,048	18,990	67,048	32,970	78,322	37,902	121,549	59,801	154,406	90,132
Kentucky ....	39,566	115,890	88,766	99,995	97,156	159,690	106,306	149,068	118,122	152,951
Louisiana ....	33,263	80,225	71,663	57,029	75,135	70,636	38,637	65,067	46,547	62,540
Maine .....	70,493	42,460	61,422	29,087	66,300	49,823	74,039	65,171	72,209	52,140
Maryland .....	20,438	62,357	66,760	67,687	71,981	91,780	78,515	93,706	86,699	96,932
Massachusetts ..	136,477	59,408	133,472	59,260	150,093	108,777	165,205	111,960	146,724	122,451
Michigan .....	128,550	97,069	138,455	78,355	166,334	141,095	185,341	131,594	192,669	149,835
Minnesota .....	43,545	28,075	55,117	34,423	72,962	48,790	93,903	53,315	111,923	70,144
Mississippi .....			82,175	47,288	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750	43,599	76,510
Missouri .....	86,800	65,628	119,196	151,434	145,029	203,077	153,567	208,609	202,929	235,988
Nebraska .....	9,729	5,439	18,329	7,812	31,916	17,554	64,979	28,523	76,912	54,291
Nevada .....	6,480	5,218	8,413	6,236	10,383	9,508	8,732	9,613	7,193	5,578
N. Hampshire ..	38,191	31,224	37,168	31,424	41,539	38,509	44,852	40,794	43,249	39,183
N. Jersey .....	80,131	83,201	91,656	76,456	103,517	115,962	120,556	122,565	123,440	127,798
New York .....	419,883	429,883	440,736	387,281	480,207	521,949	555,544	534,511	562,005	563,154
N. Carolina .....	96,769	84,601	94,769	70,094	108,417	125,427	115,874	124,208	125,068	142,952
Ohio .....	280,223	238,606	281,852	244,321	330,698	323,182	375,048	340,821	400,082	368,280
Oregon .....	10,901	11,105	11,819	7,730	15,206	14,149	20,619	19,948	26,860	24,604
Pennsylvania ..	342,290	313,382	349,589	212,041	384,122	366,157	444,704	407,428	473,804	392,785
Rhode Island ..	12,993	6,548	13,665	5,329	15,787	10,712	18,195	20,779	19,030	12,391
S. Carolina .....	62,501	45,237	72,290	22,703	91,870	90,906	58,071	112,312	21,733	69,890
Tennessee .....	56,628	26,129	85,655	94,391	89,566	133,166	107,677	128,191	124,078	133,258
Texas .....			47,406	66,500	44,800	104,755	57,893	156,428	93,141	225,309
Vermont .....	44,167	12,045	41,481	10,927	44,092	20,254	45,567	18,316	39,514	17,231
Virginia .....			93,468	91,654	95,553	139,670	84,020	128,586	139,556	145,497
W. Virginia .....	29,175	20,306	32,315	29,451	42,698	56,455	46,243	57,391	63,096	67,317
Wisconsin .....	108,857	84,707	104,997	86,477	130,668	123,927	144,400	114,649	161,157	146,459
Total .....	3,015,071	2,709,613	3,597,070	2,834,079	4,033,295	4,284,265	4,454,416	4,444,952	4,851,981	4,874,986
Majority .....	303,458		762,991		Over all.	157,394	9,461	Plurality	* Plurty.	23,005

In 1872 the Straight Democratic ticket (O'Connor) received 29,489 votes, and the Prohibition ticket (Black), 5,608.

In 1876, Cooper (Greenback) received 81,737 votes, and Smith (Prohibition), 9,522 votes. The "Anti-Secret Society ticket," 539 in all. There were 1,778 votes returned as "scattering," or "imperfect."

In 1880, Weaver (Greenback) received 308,573 votes; Dow (Prohibition), 10,305; "American" ticket, 707; and 989 "imperfect and scattering."

In 1884, Butler (Greenback) received 175,370 votes; St. John (Prohibition), 150,369; imperfect or scattering, 14,904.

Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.
1828.	1,156,328	1810.	2,410,772	1852.	3,142,877	1864.	4,024,792	1876.	8,424,073
1832.	1,217,691	1844.	2,098,608	1856.	4,053,967	1868.	5,724,624	1880.	9,290,947
1836.	1,498,205	1848.	2,872,906	1860.	4,676,553	1872.	6,431,149	1884.	10,067,610

\* According to the "count" — which was by no means certain.

## No. II. — Electoral Vote for President and Vice-President.

From 1868 to 1884, inclusive.

STATES (38).	1868.				1872.						1876.				1880.				1884.			
	PRES.		V. P.		PRESIDENT.		V. P.		§		PRES.		V. P.		PRES.		V. P.		PRES.		V. P.	
	Grant.	Seymour.	Coffey.	Blair.	Grant.	Hendricks.	Brown.	Jenkins (Ga.)			Hayes.	Tilden.	Wheeler.	Hendricks.	Garfield.	Hancock.	Arthur.	English.	Blaine.	Cleveland.	Logan.	Hendricks.
Alabama	8	8			10				10		10			10	10			10		10		10
Arkansas	5	5			†	†	†	†	†		6	6		6	6	6		6	7		7	7
California	5	5			6				6		6	6		6	1	5	1	5	8		8	8
Colorado											3	3		3	3	3		3	3		3	3
Connecticut	6	6			6				6		6	6		6	6	6		6	6		6	6
Delaware	3	3	3		3				3		3	3		3	3	3		3	3		3	3
Florida	3	3			4				4		4	4		4	4	4		4	4		4	4
Georgia					6	2			6		4	11	4	11	11	11		11	12		12	12
Illinois	16	16			21				21		21	11		11	21	11		11	22		22	22
Indiana	13	13			15				15		11	15		15	15	15		15	15		15	15
Iowa	8	8			11				11		5	11		11	11	11		11	13		13	13
Kansas	3	3			5				5		5	12		12	5	5		5	9		9	9
Kentucky	11	11			8	4			8		8	8		8	8	8		8	13		13	13
Louisiana	7	7			†	†	†	†	†		8	8		8	12	8		12	8		8	8
Maine	7	7			7				7		7	7		7	7	7		7	6		6	6
Maryland	7	7			8				8		8	8		8	8	8		8	8		8	8
Massachusetts	12	12			13				13		13	13		13	13	13		13	14		14	14
Michigan	8	8			11				11		11	11		11	11	11		11	13		13	13
Minnesota	4	4			5				5		5	5		5	5	5		5	7		7	7
Mississippi	*	*	*		8				8		8	8		8	8	8		8	9		9	9
Missouri	11	11			6	8	1		6		15	15		15	15	15		15	16		16	16
Nebraska	3	3			3				3		3	3		3	3	3		3	5		5	5
Nevada	3	3			3				3		3	3		3	3	3		3	3		3	3
New Hampshire	5	5			9				9		9	9		9	5	5		5	4		4	4
New Jersey	7	7			9				9		9	9		9	9	9		9	9		9	9
New York	33	33			35				35		35	35		35	35	35		35	36		36	36
North Carolina	9	9			10				10		10	10		10	10	10		10	11		11	11
Ohio	21	21			22				22		22	22		22	22	22		22	23		23	23
Oregon	3	3			3				3		3	3		3	3	3		3	3		3	3
Pennsylvania	26	26			29				29		29	29		29	29	29		29	30		30	30
Rhode Island	4	4			4				4		4	4		4	4	4		4	4		4	4
South Carolina	6	6			7				7		7	7		7	7	7		7	9		9	9
Tennessee	10	10			12				12		12	12		12	12	12		12	12		12	12
Texas	*	*	*		8				8		8	8		8	8	8		8	13		13	13
Vermont	5	5			5				5		5	5		5	5	5		5	4		4	4
Virginia	*	*	*		11				11		11	11		11	11	11		11	12		12	12
West Virginia	5	5			5				5		5	5		5	5	5		5	6		6	6
Wisconsin	8	8			10				10		10	10		10	10	10		10	11		11	11
Total	214	71	214	71	286	42	18	2	286	47	185	184	185	184	214	155	214	155	182	219	182	219

## No. III. — The Present Electoral College Compared with the Old.

STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.
Alabama	10	10	Maine	7	6	Oregon	3	3
Arkansas	6	7	Maryland	8	8	Pennsylvania	29	30
California	6	8	Massachusetts	13	14	Rhode Island	4	4
Colorado	3	3	Michigan	11	13	South Carolina	7	9
Connecticut	6	6	Minnesota	5	7	Tennessee	12	12
Delaware	3	3	Mississippi	8	9	Texas	8	13
Florida	4	4	Missouri	15	16	Vermont	5	4
Georgia	11	12	Nebraska	3	5	Virginia	11	12
Illinois	21	22	Nevada	3	3	West Virginia	6	6
Indiana	15	15	New Hampshire	5	4	Wisconsin	10	11
Iowa	11	13	New Jersey	9	9			
Kansas	5	9	New York	35	36	Totals	369	401
Kentucky	12	13	North Carolina	10	11			
Louisiana	8	8	Ohio	22	23	Majority	185	201
Northern Electoral Votes						231		
Southern Electoral Votes						138		

\* No Vote. † Rejected. ‡ Cast on second Wednesday of December. § 19 scattering.

## No. IV.—Our Population in 1880.

BY STATES AND TERRITORIES.

Native and foreign-born, sex, color, and race.

[From Census of 1880.]

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Native.	Foreign-born.	White.	Colored.	Chinese.	Japanese.	Indians.
Alabama.....	1,263,505	622,629	639,876	1,252,771	9,734	662,185	600,103	4	..	213
Arkansas.....	802,525	416,279	386,246	792,175	10,350	591,531	210,666	133	..	195
California.....	864,694	518,176	346,518	571,820	292,874	707,181	6,018	75,132	86	16,277
Colorado.....	194,327	129,131	65,196	154,537	39,790	191,120	2,435	612	..	154
Connecticut.....	622,700	305,782	316,918	492,708	129,992	610,769	11,547	123	6	255
Delaware.....	146,608	74,108	72,500	137,140	9,468	120,160	26,442	1	..	5
Florida.....	269,493	136,444	133,049	259,584	9,909	142,905	126,690	18	..	180
Georgia.....	1,542,180	762,981	779,199	1,531,616	10,564	816,906	725,133	17	..	124
Illinois.....	3,077,871	1,586,523	1,491,348	2,494,295	583,576	3,031,151	46,368	209	3	140
Indiana.....	1,978,301	1,010,361	967,940	1,834,123	144,178	1,688,798	39,228	29	..	246
Iowa.....	1,624,615	848,136	776,479	1,362,965	261,650	1,614,600	9,516	33	..	466
Kansas.....	996,096	536,667	459,429	886,010	110,086	952,155	43,107	19	..	815
Kentucky.....	1,648,690	832,590	816,100	1,589,173	59,517	1,377,179	271,451	10	..	50
Louisiana.....	939,946	468,754	471,192	885,800	54,146	454,954	483,655	489	..	848
Maine.....	648,936	324,058	324,878	590,053	58,883	646,852	1,451	8	..	625
Maryland.....	934,943	462,187	472,756	852,137	82,806	724,693	210,230	5	..	15
Massachusetts.....	1,783,085	858,440	924,645	1,339,594	443,491	1,763,782	18,697	229	8	399
Michigan.....	1,636,937	862,355	774,582	1,248,429	388,508	1,614,560	15,100	27	1	7,249
Minnesota.....	780,773	419,149	361,624	613,097	267,676	776,884	1,564	24	1	2,300
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	567,177	564,420	1,122,388	9,209	479,398	650,291	51	..	1,857
Missouri.....	2,168,380	1,127,187	1,041,193	1,956,802	211,578	2,022,826	145,350	91	..	113
Nebraska.....	452,402	240,241	203,161	354,988	97,414	449,764	2,385	18	..	235
Nevada.....	62,266	42,019	20,247	36,613	25,653	53,556	488	5,416	3	2,803
New Hampshire.....	346,991	170,526	176,465	300,697	46,294	346,229	655	14	..	63
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	559,902	571,194	909,416	221,700	1,092,017	38,853	170	2	74
New York.....	5,082,871	2,565,322	2,517,549	3,871,492	1,211,379	5,016,022	65,104	909	17	819
North Carolina.....	1,399,750	687,908	711,842	1,366,008	3,742	867,242	531,277	.....	1	1,230
Ohio.....	3,198,062	1,613,936	1,584,126	2,801,119	396,943	3,117,920	79,900	109	3	130
Oregon.....	174,768	103,381	71,387	144,265	30,503	163,075	487	9,510	2	1,694
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,891	2,136,655	2,146,236	3,695,062	587,829	4,197,016	85,535	148	8	184
Rhode Island.....	276,531	133,030	143,501	202,538	73,993	269,939	6,488	27	..	77
South Carolina.....	995,577	490,408	505,169	987,891	7,686	391,105	604,332	9	..	131
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	769,277	773,082	1,525,657	16,702	1,138,831	403,151	25	..	352
Texas.....	1,591,749	837,840	753,909	1,477,133	114,616	1,197,237	393,384	136	..	992
Vermont.....	332,286	166,887	165,399	291,327	40,959	331,218	1,057	.....	..	11
Virginia.....	1,512,565	745,589	766,976	1,497,899	14,666	880,858	631,616	6	..	85
West Virginia.....	618,457	314,495	303,962	600,192	18,265	592,537	25,886	5	..	29
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	680,909	635,428	919,072	405,425	1,309,618	2,702	16	..	3,161

Total in the States: 49,371,340; comprising 25,075,619 males and 24,295,721 females—of whom 42,871,566 are natives and 6,499,784 of foreign birth—42,714,479 being whites, 6,518,372 colored, 93,782 Chinese, 141 Japanese, 44,560 Indians.

Arizona.....	40,440	28,202	12,238	24,391	16,049	35,160	155	1,630	2	3,423
Dakota.....	135,177	82,296	52,881	83,382	51,795	133,147	401	238	..	1,391
District of Col..	177,624	83,578	94,046	180,502	17,122	118,006	59,596	19	4	5
Idaho.....	32,610	21,818	10,792	22,636	9,974	29,013	53	3,373	..	165
Montana.....	39,159	28,177	10,982	27,638	11,521	35,385	346	1,765	..	1,663
New Mexico.....	119,565	64,496	55,069	111,514	18,051	109,721	1,015	57	..	9,772
Utah.....	143,963	74,509	69,454	99,969	43,994	142,423	232	501	..	807
Washington.....	75,116	45,973	29,143	59,313	15,803	76,199	325	3,186	1	4,405
Wyoming.....	20,789	14,152	6,637	14,939	5,850	19,437	298	914	..	140

Total in the Territories: 784,443; comprising 443,201 males and 341,242 females—of whom 604,284 are native and 180,159 foreign-born—688,491 being whites, 62,421 colored, 11,683 Chinese, 7 Japanese, and 21,841 Indians.

Total in States and Territories: 50,155,783; comprising 25,518,820 males and 24,636,963 females—of whom 43,475,840 are native and 6,679,943 foreign-born—43,402,970 being whites, 6,580,793 colored, 105,465 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 Indians.

No. V. — Population, 1810-1880.

By States and Territories at each Census.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.	1840.	1830.	1820.	1810.
Total.....	50,155,782	38,558,371	31,443,321	23,191,876	*17,009,453	†12,866,020	9,633,822	7,230,881
Alabama.....	17 1,262,505 16	996,992 13	964,201 12	771,823 12	590,756 15	309,527 19	127,901 ..	.....
Arizona.....	44 40,440 46	9,658 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	25 802,525 26	484,471 25	435,450 26	209,897 25	97,574 28	30,388 26	14,255 ..	.....
California.....	24 864,694 24	560,247 26	379,994 29	92,597 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	35 194,327 41	39,864 38	34,277 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	28 622,700 25	537,454 24	460,147 21	370,792 20	309,978 16	297,675 14	275,148 9	261,942
Dakota.....	40 135,177 45	14,181 42	4,837 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	38 146,608 35	125,015 32	112,216 30	91,532 28	78,085 24	76,748 22	72,749 19	72,674
Dis. of Columbia.....	36 177,624 34	131,700 35	75,080 33	51,687 28	43,712 25	39,834 25	33,639 22	24,023
Florida.....	34 269,493 33	187,748 31	140,424 31	87,445 27	54,477 26	34,730 ..	.....	.....
Georgia.....	13 1,542,180 12	1,184,109 11	1,057,286 9	906,185 9	691,392 10	516,823 11	340,985 11	252,433
Idaho.....	46 32,510 44	14,999 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	43 3,077,871 42	2,539,891 41	1,711,951 11	851,470 14	470,183 20	157,445 24	55,162 24	12,282
Indiana.....	61 1,078,301 61	1,080,637 61	1,350,428 7	988,416 10	685,866 13	343,031 18	147,178 21	24,520
Iowa.....	10 1,624,615 11	1,194,020 20	674,913 27	192,214 29	43,112 ..	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	20 996,096 29	264,399 33	107,206 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	8 1,648,690 8	1,321,011 9	1,155,684 8	982,405 6	779,828 6	687,917 6	564,135 7	406,511
Louisiana.....	22 939,946 21	726,915 17	708,092 18	517,762 19	352,411 19	215,739 17	152,923 18	76,556
Maine.....	27 648,936 23	626,915 22	628,279 16	583,169 13	501,793 12	399,455 12	298,269 14	228,705
Maryland.....	23 934,943 20	780,894 19	687,049 17	583,034 15	470,019 11	447,040 10	407,350 8	380,546
Massachusetts.....	7 1,783,085 7	1,457,351 7	1,231,066 6	994,514 8	737,699 8	610,408 7	523,159 5	472,040
Michigan.....	9 1,636,937 13	1,184,059 16	749,113 20	397,654 23	212,267 27	31,639 27	8,765 45	4,762
Minnesota.....	26 780,778 28	439,706 39	172,023 36	6,077 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	18 1,131,597 18	827,922 14	791,305 15	606,526 17	375,551 22	136,621 21	75,448 20	40,352
Missouri.....	5 2,168,380 5	1,721,295 8	1,182,012 13	682,044 16	388,702 21	140,455 23	66,557 23	20,845
Montana.....	45 39,159 43	20,595 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	30 452,402 36	122,993 39	28,841 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	43 62,266 40	42,491 41	6,857 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	31 346,991 31	318,300 27	326,073 22	317,976 22	284,574 18	269,328 15	241,022 16	214,460
New Jersey.....	19 1,131,116 17	906,096 21	672,035 19	489,555 18	373,306 14	320,823 13	277,426 12	245,562
New Mexico.....	41 119,569 37	91,874 34	93,516 32	61,547 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	1 5,082,871 1	4,389,759 1	4,880,735 1	3,097,394 1	2,428,921 1	1,918,608 1	1,372,111 2	959,049
North Carolina.....	15 1,399,750 14	1,071,361 12	992,622 10	869,039 7	753,419 5	737,987 4	638,829 4	555,500
Ohio.....	3 3,198,062 3	2,665,290 3	2,339,511 5	1,980,329 3	1,519,467 4	937,903 5	581,295 13	230,760
Oregon.....	37 174,768 38	90,923 36	52,465 34	13,294 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	2 4,282,891 2	3,521,951 2	2,906,215 2	2,311,786 2	1,724,032 2	1,348,233 3	1,047,507 3	810,091
Rhode Island.....	33 276,531 32	217,353 29	174,620 28	147,545 24	108,830 25	97,199 20	83,015 17	76,931
South Carolina.....	21 995,577 22	705,606 18	703,708 14	658,507 11	594,398 9	581,155 8	502,741 6	415,115
Tennessee.....	12 1,542,559 9	1,258,520 10	1,109,801 5	1,002,717 5	829,210 7	681,904 9	422,771 10	261,727
Texas.....	11 1,591,749 19	818,579 23	604,215 25	212,592 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	39 145,963 39	88,786 37	40,273 35	11,380 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	32 332,286 30	330,551 28	315,098 23	314,120 21	291,948 17	280,682 16	236,905 15	217,895
Virginia.....	14 1,512,565 10	1,223,163 5	1,596,318 4	1,421,661 4	1,239,797 3	1,211,465 2	1,065,116 1	974,600
Washington.....	42 75,116 42	23,955 40	11,594 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	29 618,457 27	442,014 18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	16 1,815,497 15	1,054,070 15	775,881 24	395,391 30	39,943 ..	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	47 20,789 47	9,118 ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTE. — The small columns give population rank of each State and Territory.

No. VI. — Representative Apportionment.

The old apportionment was based upon a population within the States of 38,113,252; the present one upon a like population of 49,371,340. The representation in the House by States under the old apportionment and the present one stands thus:

STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.
Alabama.....	8	8	Iowa.....	9	11	Missouri.....	13	14	Rhode Island....	2	2
Arkansas.....	4	5	Kansas.....	3	7	Nebraska.....	1	3	South Carolina...	5	7
California.....	4	6	Kentucky.....	10	11	Nevada.....	1	1	Tennessee.....	10	10
Colorado.....	1	1	Louisiana.....	6	6	New Hampshire...	3	2	Texas.....	6	11
Connecticut.....	4	4	Maine.....	5	4	New Jersey.....	7	7	Vermont.....	3	2
Delaware.....	1	1	Maryland.....	6	6	New York.....	33	34	Virginia.....	9	10
Florida.....	2	2	Massachusetts...	11	12	North Carolina...	8	9	West Virginia...	3	4
Georgia.....	9	10	Michigan.....	9	11	Ohio.....	20	21	Wisconsin.....	8	9
Illinois.....	19	20	Minnesota.....	3	5	Oregon.....	1	1			
Indiana.....	13	13	Mississippi.....	6	7	Pennsylvania...	27	28	Totals.....	293	325

† Includes 6,100 persons in United States Navy.

† 5,318 persons in United States Navy.

## No. VII.—The Great Army of City Workers in Fifty American Cities.

[Census of 1880.]

CITIES.	Popula- tion.	Total in all occu- pations.	Per cent in occu- pations.	Agriculture.		Professional and personal.		Trade and transportat'n.		Manufacturing and mining.	
				No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.
New York .....	1,206,299	513,377	43	2,229	.....	160,109	31	138,036	27	213,003	42
Philadelphia .....	847,170	348,900	41	4,810	1	97,036	25	75,528	22	171,526	49
Brooklyn .....	506,665	209,065	37	981	.....	55,546	27	59,869	29	92,669	44
Chicago .....	503,185	191,760	38	1,190	.....	58,645	31	55,013	29	76,912	40
Boston .....	302,839	149,194	41	1,042	1	53,465	36	40,787	27	53,900	36
St. Louis .....	350,518	139,985	40	2,089	2	48,229	34	36,802	26	52,865	38
Baltimore .....	332,313	130,364	39	867	1	46,879	36	32,669	25	49,949	38
Cincinnati .....	255,139	100,454	39	1,196	1	29,068	29	22,904	23	47,286	47
San Francisco .....	233,959	104,650	45	1,965	2	33,060	33	30,150	29	37,475	36
New Orleans .....	216,090	78,336	36	2,032	3	36,686	47	20,510	26	19,108	24
Cleveland .....	160,146	56,919	36	694	1	17,021	30	12,974	23	26,230	46
Pittsburgh .....	156,389	52,173	33	466	1	20,792	40	9,711	18	21,204	41
Buffalo .....	153,134	54,647	35	1,091	2	17,890	33	12,387	23	23,289	42
Washington .....	147,293	57,262	39	463	1	34,931	61	8,566	15	13,272	23
Newark .....	136,508	49,066	36	556	1	9,118	19	9,409	19	29,983	61
Louisville .....	123,758	45,244	37	459	1	17,339	38	10,847	24	16,599	37
Jersey City .....	120,722	42,356	35	504	1	12,327	29	12,113	29	17,412	41
Detroit .....	116,340	39,245	34	394	1	12,518	32	9,588	24	16,745	43
Milwaukee .....	115,587	40,900	35	334	1	12,979	32	9,322	23	18,265	44
Providence .....	104,857	43,878	42	490	1	11,105	25	8,509	20	23,774	54
Albany .....	90,758	32,153	35	345	1	10,432	33	7,818	24	13,558	42
Rochester .....	89,366	34,276	38	518	2	8,624	25	7,224	21	17,910	62
Allegheny .....	78,682	25,958	33	253	1	8,655	33	5,487	21	11,563	45
Indianapolis .....	75,056	27,966	37	315	1	10,217	36	7,166	26	10,268	37
Richmond .....	63,000	24,550	39	132	1	10,745	44	5,225	21	8,448	34
New Haven .....	62,882	24,155	38	338	1	6,871	29	5,317	22	11,629	48
Lowell .....	59,475	29,781	50	296	1	4,855	16	2,811	10	21,819	73
Worcester .....	58,291	22,535	39	734	3	5,204	23	3,282	15	13,315	59
Troy .....	50,747	23,745	42	128	1	7,310	31	4,392	18	11,955	50
Kansas City .....	55,785	25,081	45	252	1	9,811	39	7,925	30	7,393	30
Cambridge, Mass. ....	52,669	20,021	38	249	1	6,180	31	4,519	23	9,073	45
Syracuse .....	51,792	20,409	39	250	1	6,112	30	4,617	23	9,430	46
Columbus .....	51,647	18,737	36	192	1	6,691	36	4,613	24	7,241	39
Paterson .....	51,031	22,570	44	113	.....	3,996	18	2,542	11	15,919	71
Toledo .....	50,137	17,991	35	334	2	6,065	34	5,081	29	6,211	25
Charleston, S.C. ....	49,984	20,325	41	492	2	10,060	50	4,639	23	5,134	25
Fall River .....	48,961	22,085	46	274	1	3,364	15	2,294	10	16,783	74
Minneapolis .....	46,887	21,302	45	432	2	7,345	34	4,604	22	8,921	42
Seranton .....	45,850	16,829	37	107	1	6,224	37	2,321	14	8,177	48
Nashville .....	43,350	16,738	39	172	1	7,701	46	4,248	25	4,617	28
Reading .....	43,278	15,623	36	148	1	5,169	33	2,456	16	7,850	50
Wilmington .....	42,478	19,281	45	1,207	6	7,287	38	2,221	12	8,566	44
Hartford .....	42,015	17,212	41	408	2	5,384	31	3,912	23	7,508	44
Camden .....	41,659	15,085	36	191	1	4,128	27	3,766	25	7,000	47
St. Paul .....	41,473	17,809	43	222	1	6,709	35	5,100	29	5,788	32
Lawrence, Mass. ....	39,151	19,153	49	142	1	2,425	13	1,748	9	14,840	77
Dayton .....	38,678	14,184	37	157	1	4,109	29	2,964	21	6,954	49
Lynn .....	38,274	16,728	44	143	1	2,547	15	2,344	14	11,694	70
Atlanta .....	37,409	17,078	46	314	2	8,614	50	3,952	23	4,198	25
Denver .....	35,629	15,737	44	424	3	5,127	32	3,764	24	6,422	41
Total .....	7,793,903	3,083,172	.....	33,134	.....	984,694	.....	743,734	.....	1,321,610	.....
Average per cent. ....			40	.....	1	.....	32	.....	24	.....	45

## No. VIII.—Value of Annual Production of this Army of Workers.

CITIES.	Value of Products.	CITIES.	Value of Products.	CITIES.	Value of Products.
New York .....	\$472,926,437	Detroit .....	\$30,181,416	Toledo .....	\$10,600,074
Philadelphia .....	324,342,935	Milwaukee .....	43,473,812	Charleston, S.C. ....	2,732,590
Brooklyn .....	177,223,142	Providence .....	42,597,512	Fall River .....	18,913,584
Chicago .....	249,022,948	Albany .....	21,751,009	Minneapolis .....	29,973,476
Boston .....	130,331,993	Rochester .....	26,478,266	Seranton .....	8,561,850
St. Louis .....	114,353,375	Allegheny .....	13,731,792	Nashville .....	8,597,278
Baltimore .....	78,417,304	Indianapolis .....	27,453,080	Reading .....	13,251,095
Cincinnati .....	105,259,165	Richmond .....	20,790,106	Wilmington .....	13,295,370
San Francisco .....	77,824,299	New Haven .....	24,040,225	Hartford .....	11,437,200
New Orleans .....	18,808,096	Lowell .....	33,935,777	Camden .....	7,644,703
Cleveland .....	48,604,050	Worcester .....	27,292,793	St. Paul .....	10,286,363
Pittsburgh .....	75,915,033	Troy .....	26,497,183	Lawrence, Mass. ....	25,058,246
Buffalo .....	42,937,701	Kansas City .....	6,382,681	Dayton .....	11,985,483
Washington .....	11,882,216	Cambridge, Mass. ....	26,605,688	Lynn .....	26,823,023
Newark .....	69,252,705	Syracuse .....	14,695,674	Atlanta .....	4,861,737
Louisville .....	35,423,203	Columbus .....	9,646,677	Denver .....	9,367,749
Jersey City .....	60,473,905	Paterson .....	26,603,350	Total .....	\$2,728,540,452

This manufacture, which supports about 5,000,000 people, is nearly half of the total product of manufactures in the United States, which, together with mining industries, represents one-third of the entire population of the country.



**No. IX. — Annual Estimates and Appropriations, 1882-1889 — Comparison of same during Administrations of Presidents Arthur and Cleveland.**

[From Senator Allison's speech in U.S. Senate, Aug. 29, 1888.]

**Regular Annual Estimates.**

1889.....	\$268,453,728 68	1885.....	\$215,082,346 32
1888.....	259,206,768 16	1884.....	270,003,235 21
1887.....	268,220,849 98	1883.....	257,001,200 46
1886.....	256,580,801 35	1882.....	197,035,484 93

Total..... \$1,052,442,148 17      Total..... \$639,122,366 94

Increase of estimates for 1886 to 1889, inclusive, over estimates for 1882 to 1885, inclusive.. \$113,319,791 23

**Table comparing by bills the regular annual appropriations, including deficiency and miscellaneous appropriations for the four fiscal years, 1882 to 1885, inclusive, with those for the four fiscal years, 1886 to 1889, inclusive.**

Title.	1889.	1888.	1887.	1886.
Agricultural .....	\$1,716,010 00	\$1,028,730 00	\$654,715 00	\$585,790 00
Army .....	*24,639,300 00	23,724,718 69	23,753,057 21	24,014,052 50
Diplomatic and consular .....	1,428,465 00	1,429,942 44	1,364,065 00	1,242,925 21
District of Columbia.....	5,046,410 32	4,284,690 66	3,721,050 99	3,622,683 20
Fortification .....	13,725,000 00	.....	.....	725,000 00
Indian .....	8,360,129 13	5,226,897 66	5,546,262 84	5,782,512 70
Legislative, etc.....	20,668,058 07	20,646,143 67	20,654,346 37	21,376,708 70
Military Academy.....	315,043 81	419,936 93	297,805 00	310,021 64
Navy .....	19,943,389 95	25,767,348 19	12,989,907 20	15,070,837 95
Pension .....	81,758,700 00	83,152,500 00	76,075,200 00	80,000,000 00
Post-Office .....	60,860,233 74	56,694,650 15	54,365,863 25	53,700,990 00
River and harbor.....	22,397,616 90	.....	14,473,900 00	.....
Sundry civil.....	126,300,000 00	22,386,540 96	22,662,810 58	26,079,257 49
Total .....	\$277,058,356 92	\$243,761,999 35	\$236,558,483 44	\$212,490,779 18
Deficiencies .....	{ 14,688,249 20 }	.....	13,866,719 62	4,926,855 80
	{ 53,539,434 49 }			
Total .....	\$295,286,040 61	\$243,761,999 35	\$250,425,203 06	\$217,417,634 98
Miscellaneous .....	{ 8,606,256 32 }	4,811,991 49	13,489,410 19	2,177,648 20
	{ 12,500,000 00 }			
Grand total .....	\$306,392,296 93	\$248,573,990 84	\$263,914,613 25	\$219,595,283 18

Title.	1885.	1884.	1883.	1882.
Agricultural .....	\$480,190 00	\$405,640 00	\$427,280 00	\$335,500 00
Army .....	24,454,450 00	24,681,250 00	27,258,000 00	26,687,600 00
Diplomatic and consular.....	1,219,390 00	1,296,755 00	1,256,655 00	1,192,435 00
District of Columbia.....	3,559,835 64	3,507,247 96	3,498,846 68	3,375,617 44
Fortification .....	700,000 00	870,000 00	375,000 00	575,000 00
Indian .....	5,859,402 91	5,358,656 91	5,229,374 01	4,587,866 80
Legislative, etc.....	21,393,141 85	20,454,246 22	20,038,000 65	17,675,508 99
Military Academy.....	814,563 50	318,657 50	335,557 04	322,435 37
Navy .....	14,980,472 59	15,894,434 23	14,819,976 80	14,566,037 55
Pension .....	20,810,000 00	86,575,000 00	100,000,000 00	68,282,506 64
Post-Office .....	49,040,400 00	44,489,520 00	44,645,900 00	40,957,432 00
River and harbor.....	13,949,200 00	.....	15,738,875 00	11,441,300 00
Sundry civil .....	22,299,434 30	23,679,575 44	25,589,358 06	21,984,194 12
Total .....	\$179,060,480 69	\$227,330,982 26	\$262,210,823 14	\$211,989,433 95
Deficiencies.....	7,057,509 00	2,749,941 49	25,689,951 10	5,092,138 92
Total .....	\$186,117,989 69	\$230,080,923 75	\$287,900,774 24	\$217,081,572 87
Miscellaneous .....	9,692,598 40	1,912,723 88	9,413,614 16	1,072,933 64
Grand Total .....	\$195,710,588 09	\$231,993,647 63	\$297,314,388 40	\$218,154,506 51

Total appropriations for four years, 1886 to 1889, inclusive..... \$1,038,476,164 20

Total appropriations for four years, 1882 to 1885, inclusive..... 943,173,130 63

Increase 1886 to 1889 over 1882 to 1885..... \$95,303,053 57

\* This is the amount of Army bill for 1889 as passed the House of Representatives.

† This is the amount of fortification bill for 1889, as passed the House of Representatives.

‡ This amount is approximated.

§ This is the amount of general deficiency bill as reported to the House of Representatives.

|| This amount (\$2,500,000) covers various bills pending for miscellaneous purposes, and is approximated.



## No. X. — Annual Appropriations.

For each fiscal year, from 1877 to 1888 inclusive.

Together with their coin value computed upon the average price of gold for each year.  
[Official.]

	1st Session 44th Congress. Fiscal Year 1877.	2d Session 44th Congress. Fiscal Year 1878.	1st and 2d Sessions 45th Congress. Fiscal Year 1879.	3d Session 45th Congress, & 1st Session 46th Congress. Fiscal Year 1880.	2d Session 46th Congress. Fiscal Year 1881.	3d Session 46th Congress. Fiscal Year 1882.
To supply deficiencies for the service of the various branches of the Government....	\$834,696 66	\$2,547,186 31	\$15,213,259 21	\$4,633,824 55	\$6,118,085 10	\$5,110,862 30
For legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Gov't.	16,057,020 82	15,756,774 05	15,868,694 50	16,136,230 31	16,532,008 93	17,797,397 61
For sundry civil expenses of the Gov't.	15,895,065 58	17,079,256 19	24,908,589 68	10,724,868 56	22,503,508 23	22,011,222 87
For support of Army.	27,621,887 90	13,539,932 90	51,279,679 39	26,707,300 00	26,425,500 00	26,687,800 00
For the Naval Service.	12,741,790 90	13,539,932 90	14,153,431 70	14,024,468 95	14,405,797 70	14,566,037 55
For the Indian Service.	4,567,017 63	4,827,665 69	4,734,875 72	4,713,478 58	4,857,262 72	4,687,866 90
For Rivers & Harbors.	5,015,000 00	.....	8,322,700 00	9,577,494 61	8,976,500 00	11,451,300 00
For Forts & Fortifications.	315,000 00	275,000 00	275,000 00	275,000 00	550,000 00	575,000 00
For supp't Mil. Acad.,	290,065 00	286,604 00	292,808 00	319,547 33	316,234 28	322,435 37
For service of Post-Office Department..	5,927,498 00	2,939,725 00	4,222,274 72	5,872,378 10	3,883,420 00	2,152,258 00
For Invalid and other Pensions, including deficiencies .....	29,533,500 00	28,533,000 00	29,371,574 00	56,233,200 00	41,644,000 00	68,282,306 68
For Consular and Diplomatic Service.....	1,189,797 50	1,146,747 50	1,087,535 00	1,097,735 00	1,180,335 00	1,191,435 00
For service of Agricultural Department.	.....	.....	.....	.....	253,300 00	336,500 00
For expenses of the District of Columbia.	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,425,257 35	3,379,571 44
For miscellaneous.....	4,134,691 93	1,425,091 49	2,226,390 29	2,985,123 77	4,950,332 01	1,128,006 15
Totals .....	124,122,010 92	84,358,983 13	172,016,809 21	162,404,647 76	155,830,841 32	179,578,999 86
Coin value of one dollar, paper currency,	92.7	97.6	99.8	100	100	100
Coin value of amount appropriated.....	115,061,104 12	86,236,415 53	171,672,775 69	162,404,647 76	155,830,841 32	179,578,999 86

	1st Session 47th Congress Fiscal year 1883.	2d Session 47th Congress Fiscal year 1884.	1st Session 48th Congress Fiscal year 1885.	2d Session 48th Congress Fiscal year 1886.	1st Session 49th Congress Fiscal year 1887.	2d Session 49th Congress Fiscal year 1888.
To supply deficiencies for the service of the various branches of the Government....	\$9,853,869 30	\$2,832,690 04	\$4,385,836 10	*\$3,332,717 30	†\$13,572,882 61	\$187,900 00
For legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Gov't.	20,822,907 65	20,763,842 55	21,556,901 65	21,405,660 70	20,809,781 46	20,772,720 67
For sundry civil expenses of the Gov't.	25,425,479 45	23,713,404 22	22,346,749 74	25,961,904 12	22,650,658 40	22,369,840 96
For support of Army.	27,032,099 18	24,681,250 00	24,454,450 00	24,014,052 50	23,753,057 21	23,724,718 69
For the Naval Service.	14,903,558 98	15,954,247 23	18,031,856 12	21,280,766 93	16,489,556 72	25,786,847 79
For the Indian Service.	5,219,803 91	5,398,656 91	5,903,151 26	5,773,328 56	5,561,262 84	6,234,397 66
For Rivers & Harbors.	18,048,875 00	.....	14,948,300 00	.....	14,464,900 00	.....
For Forts & Fortifications.	375,000 00	670,000 00	700,000 00	725,000 00	69,876 69	.....
For supp't Mil. Acad.,	335,557 04	318,657 50	314,563 50	309,902 14	297,805 00	419,936 93
For service of Post-Office Department..	1,902,177 90	Indefinite.	Indefinite.	Indefinite.	Indefinite.	Indefinite.
For Invalid and other Pensions, including deficiencies .....	116,000,000 00	86,575,000 00	120,810,000 00	60,000,000 00	76,075,200 00	83,152,500 00
For Consular and Diplomatic Service.....	1,256,655 00	1,206,255 00	1,225,140 00	1,242,925 00	1,364,065 00	1,429,942 44
For service of Agricultural Department.	427,280 00	406,640 00	480,190 00	580,790 00	654,715 00	1,028,730 00
For expenses of the District of Columbia.	3,496,060 47	3,505,494 97	3,504,255 54	3,622,663 20	3,721,050 99	4,264,590 66
For miscellaneous.....	5,888,993 69	1,806,434 75	7,600,003 86	2,268,398 15	10,184,570 90	4,694,635 33
Totals .....	251,428,117 57	187,911,566 17	137,451,397 77	170,608,113 60	209,659,382 91	193,035,861 13
Coin value of one dollar, paper currency,	100	100	100	100	100	100
Coin value of amount appropriated.....	251,428,117 57	187,911,566 17	137,451,397 77	170,608,113 60	209,659,382 91	193,035,861 13

\* Not including \$6,150,061.08 for the Naval Service for six months. † Includes \$6,500,000 pension deficiencies.  
; For the six months ending Dec. 31, 1884. || And pension reappropriations of about \$66,000,000.

No. XI. — Receipts and Expenditures for fiscal year 1888.

[Actual and estimated — Official.]

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, the revenue, actual and estimated, is given by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report of December 5, 1888, as follows:—

Receipts.

Source.	Quarter ended September 30, 1887.	Remaining three- fourths of the year.	Total.
	Actual.	Estimated.	
Customs .....	\$62,588,115 92	\$165,411,884 98	\$228,000,000 00
Internal revenue .....	31,422,039 49	88,577,960 51	120,000,000 00
Sales of public lands .....	2,820,890 23	7,379,109 77	10,000,000 00
Tax on national banks .....	912,411 69	1,087,588 31	2,000,000 00
Interest and sinking-fund, Pacific railways.....	446,090 81	1,553,909 19	2,000,000 00
Custom fees, fines, penalties, etc.....	273,201 10	876,798 90	1,150,000 00
Fees—consular, letters-patent, and lands .....	1,007,290 86	2,492,339 64	3,500,000 00
Sales of Government property.....	84,928 87	215,073 13	300,000 00
Profits on coinage, assays, etc.....	1,113,855 90	7,886,144 10	9,000,000 00
Deposits for surveying public lands .....	40,450 32	109,549 68	150,000 00
Revenues of the District of Columbia.....	356,400 11	2,043,599 89	2,400,000 00
Miscellaneous sources.....	1,462,355 02	3,037,644 98	4,500,000 00
Total receipts.....	\$102,328,397 82	\$280,671,602 18	\$383,000,000 00

The expenditures for the same period, actual and estimated, are as follows:—

Expenditures.

Object.	Quarter ended September 30, 1887.	Remaining three- fourths of the year.	Total.
	Actual.	Estimated.	
Civil and miscellaneous expenses, including public buildings, lighthouses, and collecting the revenue...	\$17,286,572 63	\$62,713,427 37	\$80,000,000 00
Indians .....	1,913,585 65	4,336,414 35	6,250,000 00
Pensions.....	29,156,382 17	50,843,617 83	80,000,000 00
Military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals .....	12,368,225 87	26,631,774 13	39,000,000 00
Naval establishment, including vessels and machinery, and improvements at navy-yards .....	3,735,240 89	12,264,759 11	16,000,000 00
Expenditures for District of Columbia .....	1,474,685 28	2,775,314 72	4,250,000 00
Interest on the public debt.....	12,162,181 68	32,337,818 32	44,500,000 00
Sinking-fund, including premium.....	43,024,277 84	8,793,507 64	51,817,785 48
Total expenditures.....	\$121,121,152 01	\$195,696,633 47	\$316,817,785 48

Total receipts, actual and estimated..... \$383,000,000 00

Total expenditures, including sinking-fund..... 316,817,785 48

Estimated surplus..... \$66,182,214 52

## No. XII.—Receipts and Expenditures.

From 1855 to 1888 inclusive.

[Official.]

## Net Revenue by Fiscal Years.

YEAR.	Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Direct Tax.	Sales of Public Lands.	MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES. Premiums on loans and sales of gold coin.	Other miscellaneous items.	Net Revenue.	Surplus Revenue.
1856....	\$64,022,863 50			\$8,917,644 93		\$1,116,190 81	\$74,056,699 24	\$4,485,673 45
1857....	63,875,905 05			3,829,486 64		1,239,920 88	68,965,312 57	1,169,694 91
1858....	41,769,020 96			7,513,715 87		1,352,029 19	46,635,765 96	*27,529,904 43
1859....	49,585,924 38			1,756,687 80		1,454,596 24	53,496,465 64	*15,584,511 10
1860....	53,187,511 87			1,778,557 71		1,008,930 25	56,064,607 83	*7,065,990 56
1861....	39,592,125 64			870,658 54		1,023,515 31	41,509,390 39	*25,036,714 50
1862....	49,056,397 62			1,795,331 73		915,122 31	51,898,455 43	*422,774,363 48
1863....	69,059,642 40	\$37,640,787 95		167,617 17		3,741,794 38	112,697,290 95	*602,043,434 22
1864....	102,316,152 99	109,741,134 10		475,648 96		30,331,401 25	284,624,771 60	*600,685,870 37
1865....	84,928,260 60	209,404,215 27		1,200,573 03		25,441,556 00	334,714,605 08	*963,840,619 33
1866....	179,049,651 58	309,526,813 42		1,574,734 12		29,036,314 23	558,032,629 06	*7,223,203 07
1867....	176,417,810 88	306,027,537 45		4,200,233 70		15,037,522 15	490,634,010 27	123,091,425 11
1868....	164,464,590 56	191,087,589 41		1,788,145 85		17,745,403 59	405,638,083 32	28,297,798 46
1869....	180,048,426 63	158,356,460 66		765,695 61		13,997,338 65	370,943,747 21	48,078,469 41
1870....	194,538,374 44	184,899,756 49		3,350,481 76		12,942,118 30	411,255,477 63	101,601,916 88
1871....	206,270,408 05	143,098,153 63		580,355 37		22,093,541 21	389,323,944 89	91,146,756 64
1872....	216,370,286 77	130,642,177 72		2,575,714 19		15,106,051 23	374,106,867 56	96,588,904 89
1873....	188,089,522 70	113,729,314 14		315,254 51		17,161,075 05	333,738,204 67	43,392,992 30
1874....	163,103,833 69	102,409,784 90		1,832,428 93		17,070,042 73	289,478,735 47	2,344,882 30
1875....	157,167,722 35	110,007,493 58		1,413,640 17		15,431,913 31	288,000,081 10	12,376,638 85
1876....	148,071,984 61	116,700,732 03		1,129,466 95		17,456,776 19	287,482,033 62	29,022,471 53
1877....	130,936,493 07	118,630,407 83		976,253 68		18,031,655 46	269,000,586 62	30,340,577 69
1878....	130,170,680 20	110,881,624 74		1,079,743 37		15,614,728 09	257,763,878 70	20,799,551 90
1879....	137,250,047 70	113,561,610 58		924,781 06		20,885,697 49	273,827,184 46	6,879,300 83
1880....	186,522,064 60	124,009,373 92		1,016,506 60		21,978,525 01	333,526,610 38	65,883,633 20
1881....	198,159,676 02	135,264,385 51		2,201,859 17		25,154,859 98	360,782,292 37	100,069,044 98
1882....	220,410,730 25	146,497,395 45		160,141 69		31,705,642 32	408,525,250 28	145,545,810 71
1883....	214,706,496 03	144,730,398 98		108,156 69		30,795,693 02	398,257,581 95	132,879,444 41
1884....	195,067,489 76	121,586,072 81		70,720 75		21,984,581 89	348,519,869 92	104,388,625 59
1885....	181,471,909 34	112,498,725 54		5,765,986 44		24,014,055 06	323,600,706 38	63,463,771 27
1886....	192,905,023 44	116,805,936 48		108,239 94		20,989,527 86	336,439,727 06	93,856,588 56
1887....	217,286,893 13	118,823,391 22		32,892 05		26,005,914 84	371,403,277 06	103,471,097 69
1888*	219,500,000 00	125,000,000 00		11,000,000 00		24,500,000 00	380,000,000 00	112,075,198 87

## Net Expenditures by Fiscal Years.

YEAR.	CIVIL AND MISCELLANEOUS. Premium on loans and purchase of bonds, etc.	Other civil and miscellaneous items.	War Department.	Navy Department.	Indians.	Pensions.	Interest on Public Debt.	Net ordinary expenditures.
1856....	\$385,372 90	\$32,124,214 07	\$16,948,196 89	\$14,001,781 06	\$2,769,429 55	\$1,298,208 95	\$1,953,822 37	\$69,571,025 79
1857....	363,572 39	28,164,532 97	19,261,774 16	12,747,976 83	4,267,543 07	1,392,068 01	1,678,265 23	67,785,707 66
1858....	574,443 08	26,429,609 57	25,453,383 60	13,984,551 09	4,926,728 91	1,217,488 47	1,567,055 67	74,185,270 39
1859....		23,700,295 14	23,243,822 38	14,642,989 73	3,625,027 24	1,220,578 29	2,638,463 96	69,070,976 74
1860....		27,976,434 22	16,409,767 10	11,514,964 86	2,949,191 34	1,102,926 15	3,717,314 62	63,130,598 39
1861....		22,267,010 46	22,361,150 44	12,420,857 89	2,841,338 26	1,036,064 06	4,000,173 76	66,546,644 89
1862....		21,408,491 16	394,368,407 36	42,668,277 09	2,273,223 45	853,095 40	13,190,324 45	474,761,818 91
1863....		23,256,965 39	599,298,600 83	63,221,863 64	3,154,357 11	1,078,891 59	24,729,846 61	714,740,725 17
1864....		27,505,599 46	690,791,842 97	85,725,964 67	2,629,838 77	4,983,924 41	53,685,421 69	866,322,641 97
1865....	1,717,900 11	43,047,658 01	1,031,323,360 79	122,612,945 29	5,116,837 08	16,338,811 13	77,397,712 00	1,297,555,224 41
1866....	5,476 51	41,096,961 54	284,449,701 82	43,324,118 52	3,247,064 56	15,605,352 35	133,067,741 69	820,809,416 89
1867....	10,813,349 38	51,116,223 72	95,224,415 63	31,034,011 04	4,642,531 70	20,936,551 17	143,781,591 91	357,542,673 16
1868....	7,001,151 04	53,009,867 67	123,246,648 62	25,775,502 72	4,100,682 32	23,782,386 78	140,424,045 71	377,340,284 86
1869....	1,674,690 05	56,474,061 53	75,501,990 61	20,000,757 97	7,042,923 06	28,476,621 78	130,694,242 80	322,865,277 80
1870....	15,906,555 60	53,237,461 56	57,655,675 40	21,780,229 87	3,407,938 15	28,240,292 17	129,235,498 00	309,633,500 53
1871....	9,406,794 74	60,481,916 23	35,799,991 82	19,431,027 21	7,426,997 44	34,443,894 88	125,576,565 93	292,177,188 29
1872....	6,958,286 76	60,984,752 42	35,372,157 20	21,249,809 99	7,061,728 82	28,543,402 76	117,337,839 72	277,517,962 67
1873....	5,105,919 69	73,328,110 06	46,323,138 31	23,526,256 79	7,951,704 88	29,359,426 86	104,750,688 44	290,345,245 33
1874....	1,385,073 55	69,641,593 02	42,313,927 22	30,832,587 42	6,692,462 09	29,038,414 66	107,119,815 21	287,133,873 17
1875....		71,070,702 98	41,120,645 98	21,497,636 27	8,384,656 82	29,456,216 22	103,093,544 67	274,623,392 84
1876....		66,938,373 78	38,070,888 64	18,963,309 82	5,966,538 17	28,257,395 69	100,243,271 23	238,459,707 37
1877....		56,252,066 60	37,082,735 90	14,959,935 36	5,277,007 22	27,963,752 27	97,124,611 58	238,660,069 93
1878....		63,177,703 57	32,154,147 85	17,369,301 37	4,629,200 28	27,137,019 08	102,500,641 65	236,954,326 80
1879....		64,741,555 49	40,425,660 73	15,125,126 84	5,296,109 08	35,121,482 39	105,327,949 00	266,947,882 63
1880....	2,795,320 42	55,713,529 76	38,136,916 22	13,536,984 74	5,945,457 09	36,777,174 44	95,757,575 11	267,642,957 78
1881....	1,061,243 78	64,416,324 71	40,466,490 55	15,686,671 66	6,514,161 09	50,059,279 62	82,508,741 28	260,712,887 59
1882....		57,219,750 98	43,570,494 19	15,032,046 26	9,736,747 40	61,345,193 95	71,077,206 79	257,981,439 67
1883....		68,676,022 21	48,911,382 53	15,293,437 17	7,362,590 24	66,012,573 64	59,160,131 25	265,048,137 54
1884....		70,920,433 70	39,429,603 36	17,292,601 44	6,475,969 29	55,429,228 06	54,578,378 48	244,126,244 33
1885....		87,494,258 38	42,670,578 47	16,021,079 67	6,552,494 63	56,102,267 49	51,386,256 47	260,226,925 11
1886....		74,166,929 85	34,224,152 74	13,967,887 74	6,089,188 17	65,404,264 03	50,590,145 97	242,453,138 50
1887....		85,264,825 59	34,601,025 85	15,141,126 80	6,194,322 69	69,000,000 00	47,741,377 29	267,292,179 97
1888*	8,270,842 46	72,952,360 80	34,522,436 11	16,926,437 65	6,249,307 87	80,288,508 77	44,715,007 47	267,924,801 13

NOTE.—The expenditures for interest on the public debt include amounts paid for interest on bonds issued to the Pacific railroads, as follows: In 1866, \$49,227.04; in 1867, \$54,786.47; in 1868, \$45,028.35; in 1869, \$1,794,857.65; in 1870, \$1,484,369.28; in 1871, \$3,874,145.98; in 1872, \$3,877,387.02; in 1873, \$3,874,710.72; in 1874, \$3,862,350.72; in 1875, \$3,863,930.72; in 1876, \$3,861,650.72; in 1877, \$3,890,258.53; in 1878, \$3,878,970.72; in 1879, \$3,874,800.72; in 1880, \$3,878,250.72; in 1881, \$3,878,441.24; in 1882, \$3,875,450.72; in 1883, \$3,877,887.27; in 1884, \$3,873,480.72; in 1885, \$3,876,090.72; in 1886, \$3,873,570.72; in 1887, \$3,863,400.72.

† Approximated.

‡ Actual.

No. XIII.—Public Debt Analysis, July 1, 1856, to July 1, 1887,  
[Official Treasury Statement.]

YEAR.	3 per cents.	3½ per cents.	4 per cents.	4½ per cents.	5 per cents.	6 per cents.	7 3-10ths per cents.	Total interest-bearing debt.
1856.....					\$3,632,000	\$28,130,761		\$31,762,761
1857.....					3,489,000	24,971,958		28,460,958
1858.....					23,538,000	21,162,838		44,700,838
1859.....					37,127,800	21,162,938		58,290,738
1860.....					45,476,300	21,164,538		66,640,838
1861.....					35,022,200	57,558,673		92,580,873
1862.....					\$57,926,116	154,318,225	\$122,582,485	365,804,826
1863.....					105,029,385	30,488,000	431,444,813	139,974,435
1864.....					77,547,096	30,488,000	431,444,813	139,974,435
1865.....					90,496,930	245,709,420	1,213,495,168	671,610,597
1865, Aug. 31.....					618,127	208,175,727	1,281,736,439	830,000,000
1866.....					121,341,879	201,982,665	1,195,546,041	813,460,621
1867.....					17,737,035	198,533,435	1,545,452,000	488,344,846
1868.....					801,361	221,586,185	1,878,308,984	37,997,196
1869.....	\$64,000,000				221,588,300	1,874,347,222		2,102,096,522
1870.....	60,125,000				221,588,300	1,708,317,422		2,046,455,722
1871.....	45,885,000		678,000		274,236,450	1,613,897,300		1,934,696,750
1872.....	24,665,000		678,000		414,567,300	1,374,883,800		1,814,794,100
1873.....	14,000,000		678,000		414,567,300	1,281,238,650		1,710,483,950
1874.....	14,000,000		678,000		510,628,050	1,213,024,700		1,738,650,750
1875.....	14,000,000		678,000		607,132,750	1,100,865,550		1,722,676,300
1876.....	14,000,000				711,685,800	984,969,650		1,710,655,450
1877.....	14,000,000			\$140,000,000	703,266,650	854,621,850		1,711,888,500
1878.....	14,000,000		98,850,000	240,000,000	703,266,650	738,619,000		1,794,735,650
1879.....	14,000,000		741,522,000	250,000,000	508,440,350	283,681,350		1,797,643,700
1880.....	14,000,000		739,347,800	250,000,000	484,864,900	235,780,400		1,723,963,100
1881.....	14,000,000		739,347,800	250,000,000	439,841,350	196,378,600		1,639,567,150
1882.....	14,000,000	\$460,461,050	739,347,800	250,000,000				1,463,810,400
1883.....	318,204,350	32,082,000	737,942,200	250,000,000				1,338,229,150
1884.....	238,612,150		737,951,700	250,000,000				1,226,563,850
1885.....	208,190,500		737,960,450	250,000,000				1,196,150,950
1886.....	158,046,600		737,967,500	250,000,000				1,146,014,100
1887.....	33,716,500		737,975,850	250,000,000				1,021,692,350

YEAR.	Debt on which interest has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.	Outstanding principal.	Cash in the Treasury, July 1.	Total debt less cash in Treasury.	Annual interest charge.
1856, July 1.....	\$200,776		\$31,072,537	\$21,006,584	\$10,065,953	\$1,869,445
1857.....	238,872		28,699,831	18,701,210	9,998,621	1,072,767
1858.....	211,042		44,911,881	7,011,689	37,900,191	2,446,670
1859.....	206,099		58,496,837	5,091,603	53,405,234	3,128,168
1860.....	201,449		64,842,287	4,877,885	59,964,402	3,443,687
1861.....	199,999		90,580,873	2,862,212	87,718,660	5,092,630
1862.....	280,195	\$138,591,390	524,176,412	18,863,659	505,312,752	22,049,509
1863.....	473,048	411,767,456	1,119,772,138	8,421,401	1,111,350,737	41,854,148
1864.....	416,335	455,437,271	1,815,784,370	106,332,093	1,709,452,277	78,573,447
1865.....	1,245,771	458,090,180	2,680,647,869	6,832,012	2,674,815,856	137,422,617
1865, Aug. 31.....	1,503,020	461,616,311	2,844,649,626	88,218,055	2,756,431,571	150,977,607
1866, July 1.....	935,062	439,969,874	2,775,236,173	137,200,009	2,638,036,163	146,068,196
1867.....	1,840,013	428,218,101	2,678,126,103	169,974,592	2,508,151,211	138,892,451
1868.....	1,197,340	408,401,782	2,611,687,851	180,834,437	2,430,853,413	128,469,698
1869.....	5,290,181	421,131,610	2,588,452,213	165,680,340	2,422,771,873	125,525,998
1870.....	5,708,641	430,508,064	2,480,672,427	149,502,471	2,331,169,956	118,784,960
1871.....	1,948,902	416,565,680	2,353,211,332	106,217,263	2,246,994,068	111,949,339
1872.....	7,926,797	430,530,431	2,253,251,328	103,470,798	2,149,780,530	105,988,463
1873.....	51,929,710	472,099,332	2,234,482,993	129,020,932	2,105,462,060	98,049,804
1874.....	3,216,590	509,543,128	2,251,090,468	147,541,814	2,104,149,153	98,796,004
1875.....	11,425,820	498,182,411	2,232,284,531	142,245,361	2,090,041,170	96,855,690
1876.....	3,902,420	465,807,196	2,180,395,067	119,469,726	2,060,925,340	95,104,299
1877.....	16,648,860	476,764,031	2,205,301,392	156,025,960	2,019,275,431	93,160,643
1878.....	5,594,560	455,875,082	2,256,205,802	256,823,612	1,999,382,290	94,634,472
1879.....	37,015,630	410,935,741	2,245,495,072	249,080,167	1,996,414,905	85,773,775
1880.....		388,900,815	2,120,415,370	201,088,622	1,919,326,747	79,633,981
1881.....	6,723,863	422,721,934	2,069,013,569	249,383,415	1,819,630,154	75,018,695
1882.....	16,260,805	438,244,788	1,918,312,994	243,289,619	1,675,023,474	67,360,110
1883.....	7,831,415	538,111,162	1,884,171,728	345,889,902	1,538,281,825	61,436,709
1884.....	19,656,205	584,308,868	1,830,528,923	391,985,928	1,438,542,995	47,926,432
1885.....	4,100,995	663,712,927	1,863,964,873	488,612,429	1,375,352,443	47,014,133
1886.....	9,704,445	619,344,468	1,775,063,013	492,917,173	1,282,145,840	45,510,098
1887.....	6,115,165	629,795,077	1,657,602,392	482,433,917	1,175,168,475	41,780,529

NOTE 1.—The annual interest charge is computed upon the amount of outstanding principal at the close of the fiscal year, and is exclusive of interest charge on Pacific Railway bonds.

NOTE 2.—The figures for July 1, 1879, were made up assuming pending funding operations to have been completed.

NOTE 3.—The temporary loan, per act of July 11, 1862, is included in the 4 per cents from 1862 to 1868, inclusive, with the exception of the amount outstanding for Aug. 31, 1865, this being the date at which the public debt reached its highest point. This loan bore interest from 4 per cent to 6 per cent, and was redeemable on ten days' notice after thirty days; but being constantly changing, it has been considered more equitable to include the whole amount outstanding as bearing 4 per cent interest on an average for the year.

NOTE 4.—In the recent monthly statements of the public debt the interest accrued has been added to the principal, making the net debt larger in that amount than the amount herein stated for each year.

## No. XIV.—Public Debt of United States, 1791 to 1887.

[Principal outstanding Jan. 1 of each year from 1791 to 1843, inclusive, and July 1 of each year from 1843 to 1887 inclusive.]

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1791.....	\$75,463,476	1816.....	\$127,334,933	1841.....	\$5,250,875	1864.....	\$1,815,784,370
1792.....	77,227,924	1817.....	123,491,965	1842.....	13,594,480	1865.....	2,680,647,809
1793.....	80,352,634	1818.....	103,466,633	1843.....	20,601,226	1866.....	2,773,236,173
1794.....	78,427,404	1819.....	95,529,648	1844.....	32,742,922	1867.....	2,678,126,103
1795.....	80,747,587	1820.....	91,015,566	1845.....	23,461,652	1868.....	2,611,687,851
1796.....	83,762,172	1821.....	89,987,427	1846.....	15,925,303	1869.....	2,588,462,213
1797.....	82,064,479	1822.....	93,546,676	1847.....	16,550,202	1870.....	2,480,672,427
1798.....	79,228,529	1823.....	90,875,877	1848.....	38,826,534	1871.....	2,353,211,332
1799.....	78,408,669	1824.....	90,209,777	1849.....	47,044,862	1872.....	2,253,251,328
1800.....	82,976,294	1825.....	83,788,432	1850.....	63,061,858	1873.....	*2,234,482,993
1801.....	83,038,050	1826.....	81,054,059	1851.....	63,452,773	1874.....	*2,251,690,468
1802.....	80,712,632	1827.....	73,987,357	1852.....	68,304,796	1875.....	*2,232,284,531
1803.....	77,054,686	1828.....	67,476,043	1853.....	66,199,341	1876.....	*2,180,395,067
1804.....	86,427,120	1829.....	58,421,413	1854.....	59,803,117	1877.....	*2,205,301,892
1805.....	82,312,150	1830.....	48,565,406	1855.....	42,242,222	1878.....	*2,256,205,892
1806.....	75,723,270	1831.....	39,123,191	1856.....	35,586,956	1879.....	*2,349,567,482
1807.....	69,218,398	1832.....	24,322,235	1857.....	31,972,537	1880.....	*2,120,415,370
1808.....	65,196,317	1833.....	7,001,698	1858.....	28,699,831	1881.....	*2,069,013,569
1809.....	57,023,192	1834.....	4,760,082	1859.....	44,911,881	1882.....	*1,918,312,994
1810.....	53,173,217	1835.....	37,733	1860.....	58,496,837	1883.....	*1,884,171,728
1811.....	48,005,587	1836.....	37,513	1861.....	64,842,287	1884.....	*1,830,528,923
1812.....	45,209,737	1837.....	336,967	1862.....	90,580,873	1885.....	*1,876,424,276
1813.....	55,962,827	1838.....	3,308,124	1863.....	524,176,412	1886.....	*1,756,445,205
1814.....	81,487,846	1839.....	10,434,221		1,119,772,138	1887.....	*1,688,229,591
1815.....	99,833,660	1840.....	3,573,343				

\* In the amount here stated as the outstanding principal of the public debt are included the certificates of deposit outstanding on the 30th of June, issued under act of June 3, 1872, for which a like amount in United States notes was on special deposit in the Treasury for their redemption, and added to the cash balance in the Treasury. These certificates, as a matter of accounts, are treated as a part of the public debt, but, being offset by notes held on deposit for their redemption, should properly be deducted from the principal of the public debt in making comparison with former years.

† Exclusive of gold, silver, and currency certificates held in the Treasury's cash, and including \$64,623,512 bonds issued to the several Pacific railroads.

## No. XV.—Growth of the Nation under Protection since 1860 in Population, Wealth, Industries, and Commerce.

In the following table from official sources we have an exhibit, during the period from 1860 to 1880, of the growth of the Nation in population, wealth, industries, and commerce.

SUBJECTS.	1860.	1880.	Increase per cent.
Population of the United States.....	31,443,321	50,155,783	60
Value of farms.....	\$3,271,575,426	\$19,197,161,905	212
Wheat produced.....bushels.....	173,104,924	498,549,868	183
Wheat exported.....bushels.....	4,155,153	153,869,935	3,603
Corn produced.....bushels.....	838,792,742	1,717,434,543	106
Corn exported.....bushels.....	3,314,305	98,169,877	2,861
Wool produced.....pounds.....	60,264,913	232,500,000	286
Cotton produced.....bales.....	3,826,086	6,343,269	65
Oats produced.....bushels.....	172,643,185	407,858,999	136
Barley produced.....bushels.....	15,825,898	44,113,495	179
Butter exported.....pounds.....	7,651,224	39,236,658	413
Cheese exported.....pounds.....	15,524,830	127,553,907	722
Petroleum produced.....barrels.....	231,000	22,382,509	8,817
Pig-iron produced.....net tons.....	919,770	4,295,414	367
Rails produced.....net tons.....	205,038	1,461,837	613
Hogs packed.....	2,350,822	6,950,451	196
Merchandise imported.....	\$353,616,119	\$667,954,746	89
Merchandise exported.....	\$333,576,067	\$835,638,658	150
Gold and silver produced.....	\$46,150,000	\$75,200,000	63
Gold and silver exported.....	\$66,546,239	\$17,142,919	
Gold and silver imported.....	\$8,550,135	\$93,034,310	983
Railroads, miles.....	30,635	88,237	189

No. XVI. — Public Debt Statement for July, 1888.

[At close of business, July 31, 1888.]

Interest-bearing Debt.

TITLE OF LOAN.	RATE.	AMOUNT OUTSTANDING.			Interest due and unpaid.	Accrued Interest.
		Registered.	Coupon.	Total.		
Funded Loan of 1891...	4½ p.c.	\$185,961,350 00	\$35,681,000 00	\$221,642,350 00	\$220,984 19	\$1,662,617 62
Funded Loan of 1907...	4 p.c.	607,134,300 00	106,603,900 00	713,738,200 00	1,492,220 83	2,579,127 58
Refunding Certificates...	4 p.c.	.....	.....	134,080 00	49,608 60	446 53
Navy-Pension Fund....	3 p.c.	.....	.....	14,000,000 00	210,000 00	35,000 00
Bonds issued to Pacific Railroads .....		64,623,512 00	.....	64,623,512 00	43,679 96	323,117 66
Aggregate of Interest-bearing Debt.....		\$857,719,162 00	\$142,284,900 00	\$1,014,138,142 00	\$2,016,534 58	\$4,400,009 44

Recapitulation.

	Principal.	Interest.	Totals.
Interest-bearing debt.....	\$1,014,138,142 00	\$6,416,544 02	\$1,020,554,686 02
Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity .....	2,478,665 26	167,925 96	2,646,591 22
Debt bearing no interest.....	704,505,258 32	.....	704,505,258 32
Total debt .....	\$1,721,122,065 58	\$6,584,469 98	\$1,727,706,535 56
Less cash items available for reduction of the debt. ....		\$359,909,641 53	
Less reserve held for redemption of U. S. notes.....		100,000,000 00	
			459,909,641 53
Total debt, less available cash items.....			\$1,267,796,894 03
Net cash in the Treasury .....			106,349,535 47
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, Aug. 1, 1888.....			\$1,161,447,358 56
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, July 1, 1888 .....			1,165,584,656 64
Decrease of debt during the month.....			\$4,137,298 08
Decrease of debt since June 30, 1888.....			\$4,137,298 08

Debt of the Pacific Railroads for Bonds issued and Interest paid by the United States.

NAME OF RAILWAY.	Principal Outstanding.	Interest Accrued and not yet paid.	Interest paid by the United States.	Interest repaid by Companies.		Balance of Interest paid by the United States.
				By Transportation Service.	By cash payments: 5 per cent net earnings.	
Central Pacific .....	\$25,885,120 00	\$129,425 60	\$31,218,091 27	\$5,677,463 67	\$658,283 26	\$24,882,344 34
Kansas Pacific .....	6,603,000 00	31,515 00	8,020,233 09	3,614,719 77	.....	4,405,513 32
Union Pacific .....	27,236,512 00	136,182 56	33,123,804 01	11,717,776 96	438,409 58	20,972,617 47
Central Branch, U.P.....	1,600,000 00	8,000 00	2,029,808 26	341,109 78	6,926 91	1,681,771 57
Western Pacific .....	1,970,560 00	9,852 80	2,259,416 94	9,367 00	.....	2,250,049 94
Sioux City and Pacific..	1,628,320 00	8,141 60	1,952,793 49	141,050 64	.....	1,811,742 85
Totals .....	\$64,623,512 00	\$323,117 56	\$78,609,147 06	\$21,601,487 82	\$1,103,619 75	\$56,004,039 49

# No. XVII.—Gold and Silver Coin and Bullion; Gold, Silver, and Currency Certificates; U. S. Notes, National and State Bank Notes in the United States

June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1887.

[From Treasury Statement.]

DATE.	Gold.	Gold Certificates.	Silver Certificates.	Silver Dollars.	Subsidiary Silver.
June 30 —					
1860.....					
1861.....					
1862.....					
1863.....					
1864.....					
1865.....					
1866.....					
1867.....		\$10,947,800 00			
1868.....		18,773,580 00			
1869.....		17,673,640 00			
1870.....		30,480,640 00			
1871.....		24,547,120 00			
1872.....		19,886,300 00			
1873.....		32,086,300 00			
1874.....	\$135,000,000 00	39,460,000 00		\$1,149,305 00	\$5,000,000 00
1875.....	147,379,493 00	22,825,100 00		1,592,261 00	8,763,217 00
1876.....	121,134,906 00	15,413,700 00		2,742,548 00	16,625,447 00
1877.....	130,056,907 00	21,798,300 00		3,997,258 00	32,418,734 00
1878.....	167,501,472 00	28,681,400 00		4,626,921 00	151,837,506 00
1879.....	213,199,977 00	41,572,000 00		16,269,079 00	171,778,828 00
1880.....	245,741,837 00	44,307,000 00	\$1,462,600 00	41,276,356 00	176,249,985 00
1881.....	351,841,206 00	15,413,700 00	2,466,950 00	69,660,408 00	178,862,270 00
1882.....	478,484,538 00	8,004,600 00	12,374,270 00	95,297,088 00	180,087,061 00
1883.....	506,757,715 00	5,782,920 00	51,166,530 00	122,798,844 00	180,428,580 00
1884.....	542,732,063 00	5,037,120 00	66,096,710 00	152,047,685 00	180,960,300 00
1885.....	545,500,797 00	82,378,640 00	88,016,831 00	180,306,614 00	175,261,528 00
1886.....	588,697,036 00	98,392,060 00	119,811,691 00	208,538,967 00	74,939,820 00
1887.....	590,774,461 00	140,323,140 00	139,904,646 00	237,191,906 00	75,060,937 00
1887.....	634,520,335 00	131,174,245 00	115,977,075 00	277,445,767 00	75,547,799 00
1887.....		121,480,817 00	145,543,150 00		

Date.	State-bank circulation.	Demand notes.	One and two year notes of 1863.	Compound interest notes.	Fractional currency.	National bank notes.	Legal- tender notes.	Legal- tender cer- tificates.	Aggregate circulation.
June 30 —									
1860.....	\$207,102,477								
1861.....	202,005,767								
1862.....	188,792,079	\$53,040,000							
1863.....	238,677,218	3,351,019	\$89,879,475		\$20,192,456	\$31,235,270	\$447,300,203		
1864.....	179,157,717	780,999	153,471,450	\$15,000,000	22,894,877	146,137,860	431,066,428		
1865.....	142,919,638	472,603	42,338,710	193,756,080	25,005,828	281,479,908	400,780,306		
1866.....	19,996,163	272,162	3,454,230	159,012,140	27,070,876	298,625,379	371,783,597		
1867.....	4,484,112	208,432	1,123,630	122,394,480	28,307,523	299,742,475	355,935,194		
1868.....	3,163,771	141,723	555,492	28,161,810	32,626,951	299,762,855	356,000,000		
1869.....	2,558,874	123,739	347,772	2,571,410	32,114,637	299,742,475	355,935,194		
1870.....	2,222,793	106,256	248,272	2,152,910	39,878,684	299,766,984	356,000,000		
1871.....	1,968,058	86,505	198,572	768,500	40,582,874	318,261,241	356,000,000		
1872.....	1,700,935	88,296	167,522	593,520	40,855,835	337,664,795	357,500,000		
1873.....	1,294,470	79,967	142,105	479,400	44,799,365	347,267,061	356,000,000	\$31,730,000	\$962,401,673
1874.....	1,009,021	76,732	127,625	415,210	45,881,295	351,981,032	382,000,000	58,755,000	1,020,805,987
1875.....	786,844	70,197	113,375	367,390	42,129,424	354,408,008	375,771,580	58,415,000	994,360,929
1876.....	658,938	66,917	104,705	328,760	34,446,595	332,998,336	369,772,284	32,840,000	966,370,834
1877.....	521,611	63,962	95,725	296,630	20,403,137	317,048,872	359,764,332	54,960,000	1,018,692,763
1878.....	426,504	62,297	90,485	274,920	16,547,768	324,514,284	346,681,016	46,816,000	1,082,489,759
1879.....	352,452	61,470	86,185	259,000	15,842,610	329,691,697	346,681,016	30,805,000	1,104,918,348
1880.....	299,790	60,975	82,485	242,590	15,590,892	344,505,427	346,681,016	14,695,000	1,242,800,929
1881.....	242,967	60,535	79,985	230,250	15,481,891	355,042,675	346,681,016	11,925,000	1,440,562,451
1882.....	235,173	59,695	74,065	220,960	15,423,186	355,042,675	346,681,016	13,320,000	1,515,865,698
1883.....	189,253	58,985	71,765	213,620	15,376,629	356,073,281	346,681,016	13,375,000	1,678,775,068
1884.....	187,978	58,440	69,765	207,660	15,355,999	339,499,883	346,681,016	12,385,000	1,733,719,031
1885.....	144,459	57,950	68,035	202,730	15,340,114	318,576,711	346,681,016	29,785,000	1,863,259,664
1886.....	132,470	57,445	66,545	197,170	15,330,021	311,699,454	346,681,016	18,500,000	1,842,843,345
1887.....	98,697	57,130	65,695	192,880	15,322,898	279,217,788	346,681,016	9,080,000	1,925,259,882

NOTE.—The aggregate circulation should be reduced by the total amount of gold, silver, and legal-tender certificates, to obtain the net circulation, as the funds which these certificates represent are also included in the aggregate.

NOTE 2.—The stock of gold coin and bullion and of silver coin and bullion in the United States at the close of each year from June 30, 1873, to June 30, 1887, is the amount estimated by the Director of the Mint.

\* Bullion in the mints and New York assay office.

† Includes trade-dollars.

‡ Trade-dollars (\$5,000,000) deducted.



No. XVIII.—Balance of Trade (A).

Annual Imports and Exports, 1870 to 1887.

Value of merchandise imported into and exported from the United States from 1870 to 1887, inclusive; also annual excess of imports or of exports—specie values.

Year ending June 30—	Exports.		Total exports.	Imports.	Total exports and imports.	Excess of exports over imports.	Excess of imports over exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
1870.....	\$376,616,473	\$16,155,295	\$392,771,768	\$435,958,408	\$828,730,176		\$43,186,640
1871.....	428,398,908	14,421,270	442,820,178	520,223,684	963,043,862		77,403,506
1872.....	428,487,131	15,690,455	444,177,586	626,595,077	1,070,772,663		182,417,491
1873.....	505,033,439	17,446,483	522,479,922	642,136,210	1,164,616,132		119,656,288
1874.....	569,433,421	16,849,619	586,283,040	567,406,342	1,153,689,382	\$18,876,698	
1875.....	499,284,100	14,158,611	513,442,711	533,005,436	1,046,448,147		19,562,725
1876.....	525,582,247	14,802,424	540,384,671	460,741,190	1,001,125,861	79,643,481	
1877.....	589,670,224	12,804,996	602,475,220	451,323,126	1,053,798,346	151,152,094	
1878.....	680,709,268	14,156,498	694,865,766	437,061,532	1,131,917,298	257,814,234	
1879.....	698,340,790	12,098,651	710,439,441	445,777,775	1,156,217,216	264,661,666	
1880.....	823,946,353	11,692,305	835,638,658	667,954,746	1,503,593,404	167,683,912	
1881.....	883,925,647	18,451,299	902,377,346	642,664,628	1,545,041,974	259,712,718	
1882.....	733,239,732	17,302,525	750,542,257	724,639,574	1,475,181,831	25,902,683	
1883.....	804,223,632	19,615,770	823,839,402	723,180,914	1,547,020,316	100,658,488	
1884.....	724,964,852	15,548,757	740,513,609	667,627,693	1,408,211,302	72,815,916	
1885.....	726,682,946	15,606,809	742,289,755	577,527,329	1,319,717,084	164,662,426	
1886.....	665,964,529	13,560,391	679,524,920	635,436,136	1,314,961,056	44,088,694	
1887.....	703,022,923	13,160,288	716,183,211	692,319,768	1,408,502,977	23,863,443	

Value of gold coin and bullion imported into and exported from the United States from 1870 to 1887, inclusive; also annual excess of imports or of exports.

Year ending June 30—	Exports.		Total exports.	Imports.	Excess of exports over imports.	Excess of imports over exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.				
1870.....	\$28,580,609	\$5,055,353	\$33,635,962	\$12,056,950	\$21,579,012	
1871.....	64,581,678	2,104,530	66,686,208	6,883,561	59,802,647	
1872.....	48,377,502	1,171,258	49,548,760	8,717,458	40,831,302	
1873.....	44,472,038	384,677	44,856,715	8,682,447	36,174,268	
1874.....	32,645,486	1,390,934	34,042,420	19,508,137	14,534,283	
1875.....	61,543,545	5,437,432	66,980,977	13,696,793	53,284,184	
1876.....	29,431,757	1,745,293	31,177,050	7,962,709	23,184,341	
1877.....	22,359,101	4,231,273	26,590,374	26,246,234	344,140	
1878.....	6,632,570	2,971,885	9,604,455	13,330,205		\$4,125,760
1879.....	4,145,085	442,529	4,587,614	5,624,948		1,037,334
1880.....	1,775,039	1,863,986	3,639,025	80,758,396		77,119,371
1881.....	1,826,307	738,825	2,565,132	100,031,259		97,466,127
1882.....	31,403,625	1,184,255	32,587,880	34,377,054		1,789,174
1883.....	8,920,909	2,679,979	11,600,888	17,734,149		6,133,261
1884.....	35,294,204	5,787,753	41,081,957	22,831,317	18,250,640	
1885.....	2,741,559	5,736,333	8,477,892	26,691,696		18,213,804
1886.....	32,766,066	10,186,125	42,952,191	20,743,349	22,208,842	
1887.....	5,705,304	3,996,833	9,701,137	42,910,601		33,209,414

Value of merchandise and of gold and silver coin and bullion imported into and exported from the United States from 1870 to 1887, inclusive; also annual excess of imports or of exports—specie values.

Year ending June 30—	Exports.		Total exports.	Imports.	Total imports and exports.	Excess of exports over imports.	Excess of imports over exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
1870.....	\$420,500,275	\$30,427,159	\$450,927,434	\$462,377,587	\$913,305,021		\$11,450,153
1871.....	512,802,267	28,450,899	541,253,166	541,493,708	1,082,755,874		231,542
1872.....	501,285,371	22,769,749	524,055,120	640,338,766	1,164,393,886		116,283,646
1873.....	578,938,085	28,149,511	607,087,596	663,617,147	1,270,705,643		56,528,651
1874.....	629,133,107	23,780,338	652,913,445	595,861,248	1,248,774,693	\$57,052,197	
1875.....	583,141,229	22,483,624	605,624,853	553,906,153	1,159,531,006	51,668,700	
1876.....	575,620,938	21,270,035	596,890,973	476,677,871	1,073,568,844	120,213,102	
1877.....	632,804,962	25,832,495	658,637,457	492,097,540	1,150,734,997	166,539,917	
1878.....	707,771,153	20,834,738	728,605,891	466,872,846	1,195,478,737	261,733,045	
1879.....	715,895,825	19,541,057	735,436,882	466,073,775	1,201,510,657	269,363,107	
1880.....	883,294,246	19,487,331	902,781,577	700,989,056	1,603,770,633	91,792,521	
1881.....	898,152,891	23,631,302	921,784,193	753,240,125	1,675,024,318	168,544,068	
1882.....	776,720,093	23,239,734	799,959,796	767,111,964	1,567,071,760	32,847,772	
1883.....	825,846,813	29,812,922	855,659,735	751,670,305	1,607,330,040	103,989,430	
1884.....	775,190,487	32,456,509	807,646,992	705,123,955	1,512,770,947	102,523,037	
1885.....	751,056,056	33,562,224	784,618,280	620,769,652	1,405,387,932	163,851,628	
1886.....	717,883,848	34,099,594	751,983,442	674,029,792	1,426,013,232	77,953,648	
1887.....	725,733,263	26,447,639	752,180,902	752,400,560	1,504,671,462		309,658



## No. XIX. — Balance of Trade (B).

Monthly imports and exports, fiscal years 1886-1888.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE, COIN, AND BULLION.

Statement showing the values of the imports and exports of the United States for each month from June, 1886, to June, 1888, inclusive.

MERCHANDISE AND GOLD AND SILVER COIN AND BULLION.

MONTHS.	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.			Monthly Excess of Exports.	Monthly Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports from July 1 to the End of each Month.	Excess of Imports from July 1 to the End of each Month.
	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.	Free of Duty.	Dutiable.	Total.				
<b>1886.</b>										
July.....	\$54,332,366	\$1,888,507	\$56,220,873	\$19,381,268	\$36,839,605	\$56,220,873	—	\$1,421,115		\$1,421,115
August.....	51,517,524	1,676,336	53,193,860	24,154,169	29,039,691	53,193,860		11,914,730		13,339,945
September.....	54,318,318	2,491,362	56,809,680	24,374,642	32,435,038	56,809,680		4,928,514		18,283,350
October.....	69,732,589	1,877,552	71,610,141	26,364,661	45,245,480	71,610,141		\$9,835,647		8,427,712
November.....	73,079,077	2,163,699	75,242,776	29,368,936	45,873,840	75,242,776		10,080,235		\$1,632,523
December.....	86,180,089	3,031,008	89,211,097	34,167,913	55,043,184	89,211,097		19,249,320		20,901,843
<b>1887.</b>										
January.....	72,283,877	1,814,579	74,098,456	21,782,416	52,316,040	74,098,456		17,398,110		38,298,953
February.....	86,900,895	1,904,234	88,805,129	21,718,949	67,086,180	88,805,129		1,826,956		36,472,997
March.....	65,687,334	3,718,167	69,405,501	22,476,292	46,929,209	69,405,501		4,725,848		41,196,845
April.....	45,689,807	3,019,708	48,709,515	25,051,235	23,658,280	48,709,515				
May.....	43,926,062	1,629,328	45,555,390	22,917,480	22,637,910	45,555,390				
June.....	49,013,145	1,312,735	50,325,880	22,633,962	27,691,918	50,325,880				
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>725,733,263</b>	<b>26,447,639</b>	<b>752,180,902</b>	<b>294,391,923</b>	<b>457,788,979</b>	<b>752,180,902</b>				<b>309,656</b>
<b>1887.</b>										
July.....	60,637,749	1,242,010	61,879,759	22,217,370	39,662,389	61,879,759		8,206,233		8,206,233
August.....	55,927,740	1,794,064	57,721,804	28,170,579	29,551,225	57,721,804		15,708,580		23,914,613
September.....	56,234,453	1,975,824	58,210,277	34,330,620	23,879,657	58,210,277		13,358,254		37,373,067
October.....	76,665,991	2,128,422	78,794,413	34,157,369	44,637,044	78,794,413				33,541,639
November.....	76,361,817	1,539,949	77,901,766	34,619,075	43,282,691	77,901,766				19,065,784
December.....	75,259,520	1,980,789	77,240,319	31,374,480	45,865,839	77,240,319				2,521,666
<b>1888.</b>										
January.....	64,215,234	1,698,367	65,913,601	19,939,343	45,974,258	65,913,601		5,808,261		8,629,849
February.....	57,542,948	2,926,574	60,469,522	24,037,939	36,431,583	60,469,522		8,570,494		59,355
March.....	51,747,372	3,440,933	55,188,305	25,208,607	29,979,698	55,188,305		11,173,295		11,112,940
April.....	49,063,470	2,103,146	51,166,616	21,844,284	29,322,332	51,166,616		11,174,964		22,289,924
May.....	54,208,033	2,679,961	56,887,994	22,404,493	34,483,501	56,887,994		4,749,341		27,038,265
June.....	46,643,418	1,599,028	48,242,446	25,106,165	23,136,281	48,242,446		13,910,712		40,848,977
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>717,037,740</b>	<b>25,311,062</b>	<b>742,348,802</b>	<b>303,406,313</b>	<b>438,942,489</b>	<b>742,348,802</b>				<b>40,848,977</b>

## No. XX. — Imports and Exports of Merchandise into and from the United States during the Fiscal Years 1887 and 1888.

[From Treasury Statement.]

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.	1888.	1887.	EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.	1888.	1887.
Total value of dutiable merchandise.....	\$479,811,486	\$458,098,637	Total value of exports of domestic merchandise.....	\$683,862,236	\$703,022,923
Total value of merchandise free of duty.....	244,068,327	234,221,131	Carried in cars and other land vehicles.....	\$19,636,842	\$18,784,852
Total value of imports of merchandise.....	\$723,879,813	\$692,319,768	Carried in American vessels:		
Imported direct from foreign countries.....	\$686,652,447	\$656,476,996	Steam.....	32,635,932	33,706,531
Imported through exterior ports without appraisement,	37,227,366	35,842,769	Sailing.....	33,080,996	37,461,311
Entered for immediate consumption.....	\$574,003,905	\$558,714,642	Carried in foreign vessels:		
Entered for warehouse.....	149,875,908	133,605,126	Steam.....	406,997,181	493,884,766
Brought in cars and other land vehicles.....	\$32,205,381	\$27,562,069	Sailing.....	101,511,285	119,185,463
Brought in American vessels:					
Steam.....	68,077,112	60,685,426			
Sailing.....	55,375,288	60,680,067			
Brought in foreign vessels:					
Steam.....	406,127,176	476,170,712			
Sailing.....	72,094,856	67,221,504			

**No. XXI.—Balance of Trade (1886-1888). Monthly Excesses (C).\***

Showing, July 31, 1888, a Balance against us of \$44,484,650.

The following table shows the imports and exports of merchandise, gold and silver for the year ending July 31, 1888:

Excess of imports of merchandise .....	\$36,836,618
Excess of imports of gold .....	21,909,942
	\$58,746,560
Excess of exports of gold and silver .....	14,292,110
Showing an increasing excess of imports.....	\$44,484,650

*Excess of imports or exports of merchandise, gold and silver.*

Period.	Merchandise.		Gold.		Silver.	
	Excess of —		Excess of —		Excess of —	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
<b>1886.</b>						
August .....		7,492,083		4,827,792	401,145	
September .....		1,266,941		4,384,240	1,028,676	
October .....	14,827,778			5,148,983	156,852	
November .....	18,609,680			8,956,862	436,917	
December .....	29,139,222			11,350,460	1,460,668	
<b>1887.</b>						
January .....	19,683,186			2,906,935	721,859	
February .....		4,379,379	1,633,786		1,018,637	
March .....	2,422,94		1,866,961		436,038	
April .....		16,012,882	1,164,968		1,229,762	
May .....		15,429,437		607,670	641,119	
June .....		13,274,514	115,063		765,038	
July .....		7,197,314		1,681,976	673,057	
Totals .....	{ 12 months... 7 months...	19,621,215		35,484,649	8,868,658	
		34,287,441		516,803	5,386,510	

Period.	Merchandise.		Gold.		Silver.	
	Excess of —		Excess of —		Excess of —	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
<b>1887.</b>						
August .....		10,311,800		5,736,815	340,035	
September .....		761,811		13,913,367	1,816,914	
October .....	16,070,182			12,577,679	938,925	
November .....	16,656,113			1,562,457	743,189	
December .....	21,118,323			1,327,383	2,036,422	
<b>1888.</b>						
January .....	4,537,506		228,819		1,041,966	
February .....		10,170,925	652,950		947,481	
March .....		12,291,820		1,785,350	2,903,675	
April .....		11,961,017	209,923		575,160	
May .....		13,395,308	7,557,495		1,088,672	
June .....		18,293,536	2,961,106		1,206,744	
July .....		16,061,523	3,482,806		1,152,737	
Totals .....	{ 12 months... 7 months...	36,866,816		21,909,942	14,292,110.	
		77,636,823	13,207,749		8,916,625	

\* This and other preceding tables on "Balance of Trade" were prepared and given to the United States Senate, Aug. 29, 1888, by Senator Sherman, in his speech warning the country of the large Balance of Trade now against us.

## No. XXII. — The Free List.

Summary of values of imports of merchandise during the years ending June 30, 1888 and 1887, admitted free of duty.

[OFFICIALLY CORRECTED TO AUG. 3, 1888.]

ARTICLES.	VALUES.		ARTICLES.	VALUES.	
	Twelve months ending June 30.			Twelve months ending June 30.	
	1888.	1887.		1888.	1887.
<b>FREE OF DUTY.</b>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<b>FREE OF DUTY — Continued.</b>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
<i>Animals, n. e. s.:</i>			Cocoa, or cacao, crude, and		
Cattle.....	206,093	412,338	leaves and shells of.....	2,251,773	1,670,012
Horses.....	2,720,704	2,408,670	Coffee.....	60,507,625	56,347,600
Sheep.....	89,884	57,935	Coir yarn.....	141,096	140,462
All other, including fowls...	320,409	259,251	Cork wood, or cork bark, un-		
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>3,328,092</b>	<b>3,138,201</b>	manufactured.....	1,078,802	1,239,247
<i>Articles, the growth, produce,</i>			Cotton, unmanufactured.....	744,800	633,928
<i>and manufacture of the</i>			Diamonds, rough or uncut, in-		
<i>United States, returned:</i>			cluding glaziers' diamonds...	309,613	271,384
Spirits, distilled.....	2,800,789	9,256,932	Eggs.....	2,312,478	1,960,396
All other.....	5,659,587		Farinaceous substances, and		
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>8,460,376</b>	<b>9,256,932</b>	preparations of, n. e. s.....	905,988	721,404
<i>Art works, n. e. s.: Paint-</i>			<i>Fertilizers:</i>		
<i>ings, statuary, fountains,</i>			Guano.....	154,937	334,638
<i>and other works of art, the</i>			Phosphates, crude or native,		
<i>production of American</i>			for fertilizing purposes...	252,411	254,656
artists.....	531,654	473,562	All other.....	661,374	1,182,187
Asphaltum or bitumen, crude,	113,854	100,697	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,068,722</b>	<b>1,770,881</b>
Bark, hemlock.....	290,265	272,956	Fibres, n. e. s.....	318,133	(a)
Boiling-cloths.....	297,571	271,400	<i>Fish, n. e. s.:</i>		
Books, maps, engravings,			Fresh, other than shell fish —		
etchings, and other printed			Salmon.....	119,552	106,553
matter, n. e. s.....	975,637	971,203	All other.....	743,710	646,298
<i>Chemicals, drugs, and dyes,</i>			Lobsters, canned or preserved	429,668	337,047
<i>n. e. s.:</i>			All other shell fish.....	109,215	68,961
Alizarine, natural or artificial,			<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,402,145</b>	<b>1,188,859</b>
including extract of madder	414,298	356,748	<i>Fruits, including nuts, n. e. s.</i>		
.....			Bananas.....	3,172,670	2,682,143
Argal, or argol, or crude tar,			Cocoanuts.....	824,750	819,271
and argol dust.....	2,920,512	3,412,987	All other.....	1,809,267	1,266,245
Barks: Cinchona, or other,			<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,806,687</b>	<b>4,767,659</b>
used in the manufacture of			Furs and fur skins, undressed.		
quinia.....	344,718	741,653	Hair, n. e. s.....	1,950,616	2,476,285
Cochineal.....	46,444	139,146	<i>Hides and skins, other than fur</i>		
<i>Dye-woods in sticks —</i>			<i>skins:</i>		
Logwood.....	1,535,309	1,044,219	Goat skins.....	6,350,380	5,848,128
All other.....	136,294	284,741	All other.....	17,569,928	18,370,973
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,671,513</b>	<b>1,328,960</b>	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>23,920,308</b>	<b>24,219,101</b>
<i>Gums —</i>			Household and personal effects,		
Arabic.....	260,931	160,740	and wearing apparel in use,		
Camphor, crude.....	304,450	350,329	and implements, instruments,		
Cutch, or catechu, and terra			and tools of trade of persons		
japonica, or gambra.....	1,236,919	1,211,257	arriving from foreign coun-		
Shellac.....	524,782	564,251	tries, and of citizens of the		
All other gums and gum res-			United States dying abroad..	3,037,265	2,643,999
ins, n. e. s.....	2,664,469	2,251,139	India rubber and gutta percha,		
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,491,569</b>	<b>4,537,916</b>	crude.....	16,067,262	13,756,783
Indigo.....	2,231,555	2,734,117	<i>Leary:</i>		
Lime, chloride of, or bleach-			Animal.....	685,763	485,508
ing powder.....	1,568,417	1,573,167	Vegetable.....	156,533	144,663
Licorice root.....	830,490	1,070,041	<i>Oils, n. e. s.:</i>		
Mineral waters, all not arti-			Fixed or expressed.....	980,991	850,277
ficial.....	375,559	379,149	Volatile or essential.....	1,050,317	884,945
Potash muriate of.....	822,089	574,097	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>2,031,308</b>	<b>1,735,222</b>
Quina, sulphate and other			<i>Orss, n. e. s.:</i>		
salts of.....	651,535	1,143,630	Gold-bearing.....	3,288	13,671
Soda, nitrate of.....	2,449,639	2,614,161	Silver-bearing.....	5,115,563	3,798,284
Sulphur, or brimstone, crude,	1,581,582	1,688,390	<i>Paper stock, crude:</i>		
Vanilla beans.....	842,201	775,413	Rags, other than woollen...	2,034,380	2,111,422
All other.....	4,035,470	3,355,714	All other.....	3,430,476	2,429,176
<b>Total chemicals, drugs,</b>	<b>25,677,582</b>	<b>27,025,250</b>	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,464,856</b>	<b>4,540,590</b>
<b>etc.....</b>					

NOTE. — Abbreviation "n. e. s." means "not elsewhere specified."

## The Free List. — Concluded.

ARTICLES.	VALUES.		ARTICLES.	VALUES.	
	Twelve months ending June 30.			Twelve Months ending June 30.	
	1888.	1887.		1888.	1887.
<b>FREE OF DUTY — Continued.</b>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<b>FREE OF DUTY — Concluded.</b>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Plaster of Paris, or sulphate of lime, unground .....	146,496	162,492	Tea .....	13,360,679	16,771,802
Platinum, unmanufactured .....	564,761	434,516	Tin, bars, blocks, or pigs, grain or granulated .....	8,758,562	6,927,696
Plumbago .....	371,441	331,627	Wood, unmanufactured, n. e. s. ....	4,139,787	3,548,191
Seeds, not medicinal, n. e. s. ....	720,103	595,737			
<b>Silk, unmanufactured :</b>			<i>Articles admitted free under reciprocity treaty with Hawaiian Islands :</i>		
Cocoons .....	324,701	407,517	Rice .....	551,257	383,965
Eggs (silk-worms') .....	1,540	4,712	Molasses .....	6,417	14,712
Raw, or as reeled from the cocoon .....	19,151,393	18,687,245	Sugar, brown .....	10,260,048	9,255,351
Waste .....	454,058	543,323	All other .....	762	.....
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>19,931,882</b>	<b>19,642,707</b>	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>10,818,484</b>	<b>9,654,048</b>
<b>Spices, unground :</b>					
Nutmegs .....	603,556	539,291	All other free articles .....	4,828,217	4,524,313
Pepper .....	1,823,239	1,819,609			
All other .....	914,773	953,752	<b>TOTAL FREE OF DUTY .....</b>	<b>244,068,327</b>	<b>234,221,131</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>3,341,568</b>	<b>3,312,652</b>			

NOTE. — Abbreviation "n. e. s." means "not elsewhere specified."

No. XXIII. — Cost of the Democratic Rebellion:  
From July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1870, inclusive.

[Official.]\*

ITEMS APPROPRIATED FOR —	GROSS Expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Expenses of national loans and currency .....	\$51,522,730 77		\$51,522,730 77
Premiums .....	59,738,168 73		59,738,167 73
Interest on public debt .....	1,869,301,485 19	\$45,045,286 74	1,764,256,198 45
Expenses of collecting revenue from customs .....	99,090,908 51	57,151,550 44	42,939,257 87
Judgments of Court of Claims .....	5,510,290 75	551,626 07	4,964,634 68
Payments of judgments Court of Alabama Claims .....	9,315,753 19		9,315,753 19
Salaries and Expenses of Southern Claims Commission .....	371,321 82		371,321 82
Salaries and expenses of American and British Claims Com. ....	295,878 54		295,878 54
Award to British Claimants .....	1,929,819 00		1,929,819 00
Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva .....	244,815 40		244,815 40
Salaries and expenses of Alabama Claims Commission .....	253,231 12		253,231 12
Salaries and contingent expenses of Pension Office .....	7,095,968 03	1,870,180 00	5,225,788 03
Salaries and contingent expenses of War Department .....	15,331,956 58	2,712,693 79	12,619,262 79
Sal. and cont. ex. of Ex. Dept. (ex. of Pen. O. and W. D.) .....	33,944,917 67	10,110,745 70	23,833,271 97
Expenses of assessing and collecting internal revenue .....	112,803,841 31		112,803,841 31
Miscellaneous accounts .....	2,604,199 82	456,714 21	2,207,485 61
Subsistence of the Army .....	420,041,037 73	38,623,489 17	381,417,548 56
Quartermaster's Department .....	357,519,366 61	59,037,048 65	299,481,917 63
Incidental expenses of Quartermaster's Department .....	101,528,573 37	16,185,839 74	85,342,733 63
Transportation of the Army .....	407,463,324 81	70,669,439 23	336,793,885 56
Transportation of officers and their baggage .....	4,626,219 66	1,601,000 00	3,025,219 66
Clothing of the Army .....	356,651,468 31	11,107,586 11	345,543,880 20
Purchase of horses for cavalry and artillery .....	130,990,762 95	4,318,339 51	126,672,423 24
Barracks, quarters, etc. ....	49,872,669 40	18,801,822 89	31,070,846 69
Heating and cooking stoves .....	487,881 43	39,150 00	448,731 43
Pay, mileage, general expenses, etc., of the Army .....	194,473,721 26	106,358,991 79	78,084,729 47
Pay of two and three years' volunteers .....	1,041,102,702 58		1,041,102,702 51
Pay of three months' volunteers .....	896,305 41		896,305 48
Pay, etc., of one hundred days' volunteers .....	14,386,778 29		14,386,778 29
Pay of militia and volunteers .....	6,126,952 65		6,126,952 66
Pay, etc., of officers and men in Department of the Missouri .....	844,150 55		844,150 55
Pay and supplies of one hundred days' volunteers .....	4,824,877 69		4,824,877 68
Bounty to volunteers and regulars on enlistment .....	38,522,046 20		38,522,046 20
Bounty to volunteers and their widows and legal heirs .....	31,760,345 95		31,760,345 95
Additional bounty act of July 28, 1866 .....	69,998,786 61		69,998,786 61
Collection and paym't of bounty, etc., to col'd soldiers, etc. ....	268,158 11		268,158 11
Reimbursing States moneys expended paym't mil. ser. U. S. ....	9,635,512 85		9,635,512 85
Expenses minute-men and vols. in Pa., Md., O., Ind., Ky. ....	597,178 30		597,178 30
Refunding to States expenses incurred on account of vols. ....	31,297,242 60		31,297,242 60
To Baltimore for aid in const'n of defensive works in 1861. ....	96,152 00		96,152 00
Payment to members of certain mil. organizations in Kan. ....	296,597 28		296,597 28
Expenses of recruiting .....	2,598,639 91	1,270,673 56	1,297,966 35
Draft and substitute fund .....	9,713,873 13		9,713,873 13
Medical and Hospital Department .....	46,054,146 84	1,845,376 47	45,108,770 36
Medical and Surgical History and Statistics .....	196,048 32		196,048 32

\* Only the appropriations from which war expenditures were made are included in the above.

## Cost of the Democratic Rebellion—Continued.

ITEMS APPROPRIATED FOR—	Gross Expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Medical Museum and Library .....	\$55,000 00		\$55,000 00
Providing for comfort of sick, wounded, and disch'd sold'rs	2,232,785 12		2,232,785 12
Freedman's Hospital and Asylum .....	123,487 49		123,487 49
Artificial limbs and appliances .....	509,283 21		509,283 21
Ordnance service.....	6,114,533 38	\$1,561,001 67	4,553,531 71
Ordnance, ordnance stores, and supplies.....	59,798,079 70	3,864,148 87	55,933,932 83
Armament of fortifications.....	12,336,710 88	2,118,238 79	10,218,472 09
National armories, arsenals, etc.....	29,730,717 53	6,127,228 21	23,603,489 32
Purchase of arms for volunteers and regulars.....	76,378,935 13		76,378,935 13
Travelling expenses 1st Mich. Cav. and Cal. and Nev. Vols.	84,131 50		84,131 50
Payment of expenses under reconstruction acts .....	3,128,905 94		3,128,905 94
Secret service .....	681,587 42		681,587 42
Books of tactics.....	172,568 15		172,568 15
Medals of honor.....	29,890 00		29,890 00
Support of National Home for disabled volunteer soldiers.....	8,546,184 76		8,546,184 76
Publication of official records of war of the rebellion.....	170,998 98		170,998 98
Contingencies Army and Adjutant-General's Dept.....	3,291,835 14	565,136 39	2,726,698 75
Payment under special acts of relief .....	1,088,406 83		1,088,406 83
Copying official reports .....	5,000 00		5,000 00
Expenses of court of inquiry in 1868 and 1869.....	5,000 00		5,000 00
United States police for Baltimore.....	100,000 00		100,000 00
Preparing register for volunteers .....	1,015 45		1,015 45
Army pensions .....	437,744,192 80	30,315,000 00	407,429,192 80
Telegraph for military purposes.....	2,500,085 80		2,500,085 80
Maintenance of gunboat fleet proper.....	5,244,684 32		5,244,684 32
Keeping, transporting, and supplying prisoners of war .....	7,659,411 60		7,659,411 60
Permanent forts and fortifications, surveys, etc.....	20,887,756 96	7,483,765 87	13,403,991 09
Construction and maintenance of steam rams .....	1,370,730 42		1,370,730 42
Signal Service .....	222,289 79	78,473 23	143,779 56
Gunboats on the Western rivers.....	3,239,314 18		3,239,314 18
Supplying, transporting, and delivering arms, etc.....	1,649,596 57		1,649,596 57
Collecting, organizing, and drilling volunteers .....	27,091,666 57		27,091,666 57
Bridge trains and equipage .....	1,413,701 75		1,413,701 75
Tool and siege trains.....	702,250 00		702,250 00
Completing the defences of Washington.....	912,283 01		912,283 01
Commutation of rations to prisoners in rebel States.....	320,636 62		320,636 62
National cemeteries .....	4,162,848 39		4,162,848 39
Purchase of Ford's Theatre .....	88,000 00		88,000 00
Temporary relief to destitute people in District of Col.....	57,000 00		57,000 00
Headstones, erection of headstones, pay, etc.....	1,080,185 54		1,080,185 54
Tennessee, keeping and maintaining prisoners.....	22,749 49		22,749 49
Capture of Jeff Davis .....	97,031 62		97,031 62
Removing wreck gunboat Oregon, Chefunct River, La.....	5,500 00		5,500 00
Support of Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen.....	11,454,237 30		11,454,237 30
Claims for quartermaster's stores and commissary, etc.....	850,220 91		850,220 91
Miscellaneous claims audited by Third Auditor.....	94,223 11	47,112 11	47,111 00
Claims of citizens, supplies furnished during rebellion.....	4,170,304 54		4,170,304 54
Payment for use of Corcoran Art Gallery.....	125,000 00		125,000 00
Expenses of sales of stores and material .....	5,842 43		5,842 00
Transportation of insane volunteer soldiers.....	1,000 00		1,000 00
Horses and other property lost in military service.....	4,281,724 91		4,281,724 91
Purchase of cemetery grounds near Columbus, Ohio.....	500 00		500 00
Fortifications on the Northern frontier.....	683,748 12		683,748 12
Pay of the Navy.....	144,549,073 96	70,086,769 62	74,462,304 34
Provisions of the Navy.....	32,771,931 16	16,403,307 34	16,368,623 82
Clothing of the Navy .....	2,709,491 98	1,114,701 00	1,591,790 98
Construction and repair .....	170,007,781 25	35,829,684 80	134,178,096 45
Equipment of vessels.....	25,174,614 53		25,174,614 53
Ordnance .....	38,063,457 67	6,641,263 30	31,422,094 37
Surgeon's necessaries .....	2,178,769 74	241,025 68	1,937,774 06
Yards and docks .....	33,638,156 59	3,367,854 52	30,300,302 07
Fuel for the Navy.....	19,952,754 36	8,612,521 68	11,340,232 68
Hemp for the Navy.....	2,836,916 69	1,938,664 42	898,252 27
Steam machinery .....	49,297,318 57		49,297,318 57
Navigation.....	2,326,247 00		2,326,247 00
Naval hospitals .....	875,452 34	375,789 40	499,662 94
Magazines .....	753,822 13	349,290 48	404,531 65
Marine Corps, pay, clothing, etc.....	16,726,906 00	8,969,290 82	7,757,615 18
Naval Academy.....	2,640,440 87	778,308 86	1,862,132 01
Naval Asylum, Philadelphia.....	652,049 89	65,204 00	586,855 89
Temporary increase of the Navy.....	8,123,766 21		8,123,766 21
Miscellaneous appropriations.....	2,614,044 77		2,614,044 77
Naval pensions.....	7,540,043 00	950,000 00	6,590,043 00
Bounties to seamen .....	2,821,530 10		2,821,530 10
Bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels.....	271,309 28		271,309 28
Indemnity for lost clothing.....	389,025 33		389,025 33
Total .....	\$6,844,571,431 03	\$654,641,522 45	\$6,189,929,908 58

NOTE.—The above is carried down to June 30, 1870. By adding the total annual expenditures from that time, merely for pensions and interest on the public debt, the total expenditures growing out of the war will be found at the ending of the fiscal year, June 30, 1883, to have far exceeded eight thousand millions of dollars.

—COMPILER.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## Addenda.

## PART I.

Removals from Office — Circular Letter  
of Postmaster-General Vilas, April  
29, 1885.

[Confidential.]

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF POSTMASTER-GENERAL,  
WASHINGTON, April 29, 1885.

DEAR SIR: The continued illness of Mr. Hay\* will delay his coming for some time yet to the Department, and I think it desirable that some action should be taken in the way of removals, and am impatient to assist our people in securing relief, to which they are justly entitled, from partisan postmasters.

I have had a conference with the Virginia delegation, and they will soon bring in their cases, and I shall hope to make the earliest removals in that State. As soon as they shall be ready, and I hope within a week, I desire to appoint from three to ten in a county in Virginia, and amounting to several hundred altogether.

I had intended to write yourself and the Democratic delegation from Ohio to meet me this week and consider the plan upon which we should proceed in making removals in Ohio, but I understand it will be inconvenient for some of them to travel hither now, and it has occurred to me that perhaps the same end might be accomplished by writing.

I shall beg you, therefore, to consider the suggestions I make as to the methods of procedure, and if you can adopt them and get some cases ready within the next two or three weeks, I think within the month of May I can give substantial relief that will take away the importunity and discontent.

I think that from 15 to 20 per cent of the fourth-class postmasters in Ohio might be removed within the next two months, and a great good accomplished thereby, if our people will adhere to a proposed plan.

That is, in fact, to pick out the most obnoxious and offensive partisans in each county to the number of a sixth to a quarter of all, and choose first-class men to take their places. I will require no more proof of partisanship in these selections than the affirmation of knowledge on the part of a Representative or Senator that the postmaster has been an active editor or proprietor of a Republican newspaper, printing offensive articles, easily shown by the slips, or a stump speaker, or a member of a political committee, or officer of a campaign club, or organizer of political meetings, or that his office has been made the headquarters of political work, or that his clerks have been put into the performance of political duties. Possibly other acts of equal force will be needed in some cases.

If the Representative does not know the fact, it should be established by some affidavit of some person whom he can affirm to be of unquestioned credibility, or by some documentary evidence.

In recommending for appointment, I beg the Representative will state the age, business, and what kind of business experience, and a description of the business character of the applicant, and also his habits and standing in the community, and where there are various candidates, I shall be obliged by any explanations the Representative can give. This necessarily imposes a little trouble, and yet not very great, but it seems to me reasonable to require very extraordinary care and trouble to be taken to represent surely the facts.

The earliest removals and appointments of this kind will challenge the keenest scrutiny. The former must be justifiable, and the latter beyond criticism. Some mistakes have perhaps occurred, and our adversaries are keenly interested to make the most of every fault, because they have perceived a strong current of general disapprobation of the purposes of the Administration.

In rendering this justice to our people, which consists of the removal of enemies and substitution of our friends, I feel that it is very desirable to proceed with extreme care, and that I am correctly representing the President's wishes and purposes in earnestly soliciting that every step may be taken accordingly. I may add that as the common good is infinitely beyond the welfare of any one person, however great his place, so appointments to further a mere personal end should be absolutely forbidden, and recommendations upon that basis may well expect disfavor.

I shall very willingly take up the case of any district or of any county, whenever they are ready; and I shall be glad if the Representative can personally attend and go over them. Papers should be sent in as soon as possible, and will be then carefully briefed in the Department; and when so made ready, appointments can be made with great rapidity.

Should you think it desirable to have a personal conference before this is begun, I shall be very glad to meet the delegation; but as I have felt it desirable to relieve them of unnecessary journeying and expense, I have written a similar letter to each Representative from Ohio, and respectfully solicit responsive action in accordance with the spirit of it.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM F. VILAS,  
Postmaster-General.

## PART II.

President Cleveland's letter on Silver—  
He proposes a Suspension of the purchase and coinage of Silver.

The following letter addressed by Grover Cleveland to Representatives in the Forty-eighth Congress only a few days before he took the oath of office as President, March 4, 1885, will at this time be read with interest. It speaks for itself.

ALBANY, February 24, 1885.

To the Hon. A. J. WARNER, and others, members of the XLVIIIth Congress.

GENTLEMEN: The letter which I have had the honor to receive from you invites, and indeed obliges me to give expression to some grave public necessities, although in advance of the moment when they would become the objects of my official care and partial responsibility. Your solicitude that my judgment shall have been carefully and deliberately formed is entirely just, and I accept the suggestion in the same friendly spirit in which it has been made. It is also fully justified by the nature of the financial crisis which, under the operation of the act of Congress of February 28, 1878, is now close at hand. By a compliance with the requirements of that law all the vaults of the Federal Treasury have been and are heaped full of silver coins,

\* Hon. Malcolm Hay, then First Assistant Postmaster-General, in charge of appointments.— *Compiler.*

which are now worth less than eighty-five per cent of the gold dollar prescribed as "the unit of value" in section 14 of the act of February 12, 1873, and which, with the silver certificates representing such coin, are receivable for all public dues. Being thus receivable, while also constantly increasing in quantity at the rate of \$25,000,000 a year, it has followed, of necessity, that the flow of gold into the Treasury has been steadily diminished. Silver and silver certificates have displaced and are now displacing gold, and the sum of gold in the Federal Treasury now available for the payment of the gold obligations of the United States and for the redemption of the United States notes called "greenbacks," if not already encroached upon, is perilously near such encroachment. These are facts which, as they do not admit of difference of opinion, call for no argument. They have been forewarned to us in the official reports of every Secretary of the Treasury from 1878 till now. They are plainly affirmed in the last December report of the present Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the present House of Representatives. They appear in the official documents of this Congress and in the records of the New York Clearing House, of which the Treasury is a member, and through which the bulk of the receipts and payments of the Federal Government and of the country pass.

These being the facts of our present condition, our danger and our duty to avert that danger would seem to be plain. I hope that you concur with me and with the great majority of our fellow citizens in deeming it most desirable at the present juncture to maintain and continue in use the mass of our gold coin as well as the mass of silver already coined. This is possible by a present suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver. I am not aware that by any other method it is possible. It is of momentous importance to prevent the two metals from parting company; to prevent the increasing displacement of gold by the increasing coinage of silver; to prevent the disuse of gold in the custom houses of the United States in the daily business of the people; to prevent the ultimate expulsion of gold by silver. Such a financial crisis as these events would certainly precipitate, were it now to follow upon so long a period of commercial depression, would involve the people of every city and every State in the Union in a prolonged and disastrous trouble. The revival of business enterprise and prosperity so ardently desired and apparently so near would be hopelessly postponed. Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, and an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place. Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm, the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still further depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hand of toil. From these impending calamities it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.

I am, gentlemen, with sincere respect your fellow citizen,  
GROVER CLEVELAND.

### PART III.

#### Senator Edmunds on the Whiskey Tax — Why the Internal Revenue System should be abolished — The Whiskey Tax should be levied by the States, and not by the General Government.

The following letter is taken from the *Democratic Evening Post* of New York:

SENATE CHAMBER, Washington, July 21, 1888.

DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 12th inst. I have not endeavored to verify the quotation you make from what is represented to have been my remarks in 1868 on the subject of the whiskey tax, but I will assume the quotations to be correct, and to be fair in the sense of quoting enough to show the whole scope of my position; and I adhere in letter and spirit to the

propositions I am represented to have laid down. At the same time and as I think in entire consistence with all I then maintained, and still believe, I am in favor of the total abolition of the whole internal revenue system, with its army of spies, and office holders, and political bums, and thus relieving the people from a nuisance in the way of administration and from a taxation which we all know (whatever dispute there may be about who bears the principal weight of the customs duties) is a tax upon the people of the United States, and I include whiskey in this abolition for the reason that it cannot remain under taxation without the same army of office holders, and without really aiding, as it now does largely, whiskey interests and whiskey trusts rather than discouraging them. I desire that whatever revenue is obtained from liquor and the liquor traffic shall be obtained by the States themselves and go directly into their treasuries for the building of prisons for violators of the law, and providing for those — as the States only may — whom the evils of the liquor traffic have made homeless and desolate. I believe that the cause of temperance and prohibition will be largely promoted by dissolving all connection of the Government of the United States with that sort of business, and thus stimulating the States themselves to deal with it in their own independent way, as a question of social economy and social morals, and in this opinion I am sustained by a very large and rapidly increasing number of the most sincere, intelligent and active Prohibitionists of the country. And so I think it is only to be regretted that the present state of the expenditures of the Government is such as to probably require a retention of the whole or some part of the internal revenue system as it relates to the liquor traffic. It is perfectly well known here that the great whiskey combination of the country has been operating for a long time to retain the whiskey tax and the Government protection of its manufactures, and I am sure that you will agree with me in believing, as all human experience has proved in such cases, that the turning the whole matter over to the States will not make whiskey any freer than it is now, either in price or quantity.

I do not usually reply to letters on quasi-political subjects, written by strangers, but your letter is so evidently that of an earnest and honest man that it gives me pleasure to answer you with entire candor and earnestness. In haste, very respectfully yours,  
GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

CASSIUS CARTER, Esq., San Diego, Cal.

### PART IV.

#### General Secretary Litchman's [K. of L.] Letter to Senator Quay — The triumph of Democracy the most serious blow possible to organized Labor.

The following letter, dated August 27, 1888, addressed to Senator Quay, chairman of the Republican National Committee, by General Secretary Litchman of the Knights of Labor, will interest all workingmen:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30. — Senator Quay, chairman of the Republican National Committee, furnishes the following letter, dated August 27, and addressed to him in his official capacity for publication:

Dear Sir: My connection with the labor movement for the past fourteen years has made it necessary for me to be a close student of causes of labor depression and of the needs of those who toil. While as a body a labor organization may refrain from active participation in politics, so much of what organized labor demands must be obtained through legislation that the individual member of the labor organization must act politically as in his judgment will best aid the aims and objects expressed in the principles of the organization he represents, and whose success he desires.

In the gigantic political struggle now begun side issues count as nothing except to aid or hinder one of the principal combatants in the political arena. However sincere may be the advocates of the measures to

secure which these separate political organizations are formed, and whatever strength in votes may be shown at the polls, the fact remains that the candidate of either the Republican or of the Democratic party will be the next President of the United States. Therefore to him who has the good of his country and the welfare of her people at heart the necessity exists to choose to which of these two old party organizations shall be given his aid, either directly or indirectly, by voice or vote.

While it may be that neither party offers all that labor organizations desire, I believe that the Republican party, in adopting and advocating the American system of encouragement and protection to the labor and wages of our own land, is nearer the declarations and desires of organized labor than its free-trade opponents, the Democratic party.

The conflict is between the American system, as represented by the Republican party, which would foster and encourage the labor of our own people and retain for them the market and wages of our own country, and the British system, as represented by the Democratic party, which would break down the barriers of protection and throw open our home market to the production of foreign factories and foreign labor, thus making idle our own toilers and reducing to a lower level the standard of American wages.

When the Knights of Labor and kindred organizations shall have obtained in foreign lands the same commanding position and influence enjoyed in the United States the inequality of wages will disappear, not by levelling our wages down but by levelling their wages up. It is far better to level up than to level down, as the larger the income the larger the power to consume.

Until this equalization can be accomplished, and until the wages of labor abroad shall equal those at home, there must be a proper restriction of immigration, so that our land may not be the dumping ground of the pauper and degraded labor of the balance of the world. This restriction, supplemented by a continuation of thorough, systematic organization of the labor already here, in conjunction with the American idea of Protection to American labor, cannot fail to secure for our people the best results of their toil, and by our example lift the labor of the whole world to a higher and better plane of existence.

Whichever party wins, something must be done to regulate more strictly this importation of foreign labor under contract and the immigration of paupers and dependents. If nothing should be done, then Democratic success would mean not only Free Trade in goods made by pauper labor, but the importation of both the labor and the goods.

While under Free Trade goods may be cheaper to the consumer in certain lines, the labor made idle in those lines must turn to other means of employment and thus by competition compel a lower rate of wages to those already employed therein.

The power of a workingman to consume depends upon what he receives for his labor. Unemployed, his power to consume, except in charity or in theft, ceases. I prefer that America should be a land of workers rather than a land of thieves and paupers.

What is true of the individual is equally true of the nation.

The primary elements of national wealth and national prosperity are production, distribution and consumption. Whatever affects the power of labor to consume, affects the entire interests of the nation. Whatever lowers the wages of labor, affects its power to consume. An "average reduction" of 7 per cent on the cost of goods imported, will not compensate American labor for the loss of 100 per cent in wages in the lines affected, and of 10 to 50 per cent in wages in the lines of employment by the substitution of the free trade for the protective system. I hold it to be far wiser statesmanship to build up and retain our home market by a system that protects American labor, than to command a market in foreign lands secured by the wholesale degradation and pauperization of our own people.

Every dollar's worth of labor imported is by so much a reduction of home laborers' wages. This axiom is not offset by the declaration that there are more goods in the imported dollar's worth. The position of the Protectionist is rather strengthened by such a specious presentation of the matter, because the question is then instantly forced upon every intelligent man, How can American labor earn dollars if the in-

dustry in which he is experienced is transferred to foreign lands?

The theory of Protection advocated by the Republican party is the same, the underlying principle upon which all labor organizations are founded. A friend to organized labor that believes in organization as a means to enhance and maintain wages cannot consistently oppose a party that applies to all labor the same principle of protection from unfair competition that the individual trade organization gives to the single trade. Trade organizations aid in advancing wages in their respective trades and the protective system demanded by the Republican party will secure for all the toilers in the land a similar fostering care.

That this is clearly understood by most of the thinking leaders of organized labor is proved by the declaration recently made in favor of the American system and a home market by the presiding officers of the organization representing the iron and the glass industries of the United States. There is a better organization of any one trade than the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. There is no trade more thoroughly organized or better disciplined than that of the window glass workers, nor one in which higher wages are paid. The warnings of the years representing these trades against free trade are very significant and should be heeded.

A careful consideration of all these facts convinces me that the present is a grave crisis in the political affairs of our country and that I have to rise to remain silent. My position as general secretary of the Knights of Labor has given me an intimate knowledge of the various phases of the labor question, and from the knowledge thus gained I do not hesitate to say that the triumph of the Democratic party, dominated by intolerance in the South and British free-trade sentiment in the North, would be the most serious blow to organized labor it could possibly receive.

I cannot remain inactive in such a conflict. Therefore, to you and your associates of the National Republican Committee, as the representatives of the Republican party, I offer my services in any position or capacity where they may be desirable or be thought most useful to aid in securing the success of Harrison and Morton, the representatives in his campaign of the American idea of protection to American labor.

I have the honor to remain,  
Yours command,  
CHARLES I. LITCHMAN.

## PART V.

### The States and the Classes most interested in maintaining a Protective Tariff.

In his speech in the Senate, Feb. 6, 1888, Senator Platt of Connecticut said:

By the census returns of 1880 less than 20 per cent. of the manufactured products of the United States were produced in New England. More were manufactured west of the State of New York, as the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] well suggests to me, than in 1860 were manufactured in all the United States. Let us look at these facts a little, because it is such a familiar thing to hear that tariff protection is for the benefit of New England manufactures. You may create a prejudice, if you please, against New England, a prejudice against its manufactures and its manufacturers, but if you are going to tear down the protective system, I want it understood that you are not by any means the principal sufferers.

California, Illinois, New Jersey and Ohio manufactured in 1880 more goods than all New England. Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa manufactured nearly as much as New England. New York and Pennsylvania manufactured nearly half more than New England. This has increased. If manufactures are not increasing in New England, they are rushing forward with phenomenal rapidity in other sections of the country, and when the census of 1890 comes we take not more than 15 per cent. of the manufacturing in this country will be done in New England. Let me give the exact figures.

The total annual product of manufactures in the United States was, by the census of 1880, \$7,329,374,191.



## In the New England States it was as follows:

Connecticut . . . . .	\$185,697,211
Maine . . . . .	79,829,793
Massachusetts . . . . .	631,135,284
New Hampshire . . . . .	73,978,028
Rhode Island . . . . .	104,163,621
Vermont . . . . .	31,354,366

Total . . . . . \$1,076,158,303

## In the following States it was:

California . . . . .	\$116,218,792
Illinois . . . . .	414,864,673
New Jersey . . . . .	254,380,236
Ohio . . . . .	348,298,390

Total . . . . . \$1,133,762,091

## In these States as follows:

Indiana . . . . .	\$148,096,411
Maryland . . . . .	106,780,573
Michigan . . . . .	150,715,025
Missouri . . . . .	165,386,205
Wisconsin . . . . .	128,255,480
Minnesota . . . . .	76,065,198
Iowa . . . . .	71,045,926

Total . . . . . \$846,304,806

## In New York and Pennsylvania:

New York . . . . .	\$1,080,696,895
Pennsylvania . . . . .	744,818,445

Total . . . . . \$1,825,515,040

No, I tell the men who are seeking to destroy the protective tariff that they must not delude themselves with the idea that they are aiming their blows against New England. The New England manufacturer is the man who has least interest of all other classes of men in the preservation of the protective system. He is interested in it, indeed, but others and all others are interested more. If I were to name the order in which the different classes are interested in the maintenance of a protective tariff, I would say, first, the laborers everywhere, in whatever field they wipe the sweat from their brow; more than any manufacturers, are the wage-receiving men of this country interested in its preservation. The blow hits them first, and it may as well be understood, and they are coming to understand it all over the land. First, the men who work in manufactories, the artisans, are hit; next, agriculturists and the men who work on farms; next, manufacturers in other sections of the country where they are not as well established and where the industries may indeed be said even now to be infant industries; next, those engaged in transportation; next, those engaged in merchandise; and last, and least, if you please, the manufacturers of New England.

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## "THE SECRET OUT."

"The explanation of the extraordinary delay in Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance is easy. Like the rest of mankind, the President is afflicted, as we long ago made known, with a dual personality; but in his case the ordinary conditions are reversed. The Jekyll, who favors reform and is animated by patriotic and statesmanlike purposes, is feeble and small of build. The Hyde is large and powerful and fat. When Mr. Cleveland was first nominated, he was touched by this mark of confidence on the part of his fellow-men. Jekyll came uppermost. He saw, knowing as he did the irrepressible wickedness of Hyde, that unless he were checked at the outset he would use every cunning and wicked device to bring about his re-election. So Jekyll wrote the passage in the letter of acceptance which served notice on Hyde that he must not dare to think of a second term. But the ink was hardly dry before that wily and unscrupulous character began his evil machinations, and Hyde, being by far the stronger personality of the two, invariably gains the victory in the end. The sending of that ten-thousand-dollar check to the Democratic National Committee was a critical point in this tremendous struggle, of which no hint so far has escaped to the outside public. Jekyll knows that he cannot consistently or with any propriety accept the nomination, and is making a brave fight for a clean record. But what are consistency and propriety to Hyde? When, therefore, he succeeded in sending the ten-thousand-dollar check, it was with a chuckle of ghoulish glee, for he knew then that he had committed Jekyll, and while the final acceptance might be long delayed, it must come sooner or later. It is even said that the check was signed by Edward Hyde, and not by Dr. Jekyll at all. But the national committee accepted it without question, because they know that Mr. Cleveland has bank accounts in both names, and draws on Hyde's much more frequently than on Jekyll's.

"This disclosure must arouse a great popular sympathy with Mr. Cleveland. We can easily imagine now what fearful struggles have been going on in the White House, at the dead of night, when Jekyll was straining every nerve to conquer his familiar demon. If Jekyll could have had his way we might have had a model administration, within its intellectual limitations, but Hyde's unconquerable depravity has kept his wretched victim continually in hot water. It was Jekyll who promised to be a civil-service reformer, but Hyde made the appointments, and so it was that about two hundred persons directly connected with the criminal classes got into Federal office in three years. It was Jekyll who wrote such beautiful letters to George William Curtis, but to what end? Hyde had no sooner been inaugurated than he struck up a violent friendship with Gorman, and sat up late nights with him planning political rascality. It is Hyde who writes all the pension vetoes, and sneers at the soldiers and their widows. It was Hyde who wanted to return the rebel flags, but the outcry frightened even him. It was Hyde who, after a long and frightful combat, succeeded in getting possession of the President's pen last December and wrote the free-trade message, because it is the one craving of his nature to smash things. It was Hyde who determined that there must be a bid made for the Irish vote, and so wrote the retaliation message in spite of Jekyll's wailing remonstrances that his entire policy on this question was being revised and made ridiculous. It was Hyde, too, who dictated the new anti-Chinese bill.

"For ninety-one long days now this contest has lasted, and it cannot continue much longer. The sending of the ten-thousand-dollar check was a sign that Jekyll is fast losing his strength and must soon succumb. It will not be many days now before we shall have a letter in which nothing will be said concerning 'the allurements of power' and 'the temptation to retain public places once gained,' but in which the nomination for a second term will be eagerly, even greedily, accepted. The letter will be signed by Jekyll, but we shall all recognize between the lines the cunning and unscrupulous hand of Edward Hyde."—*New York Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1888.

